

A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF THE

BEST AND MOST INTERESTING

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;

MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

DIGESTED ON A NEW PLAN.

BY JOHN PINKERTON,

AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE TENTH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW;
AND CADELL AND DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1811.

GENERAL COLLECTION

TEXT AND MAPS

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

BY JOHN PINKETON

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ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS

AND A HISTORY OF THE WORLD

BY JOHN PINKETON

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, FROM THE FIRST BEGINNING OF MANKIND, TO THE PRESENT TIME, IN TWO VOLUMES. THE FIRST VOLUME, CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE EAST, FROM THE FIRST BEGINNING OF MANKIND, TO THE PRESENT TIME.

1711

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* This plate being of a large size, and requiring more time and labour, is of necessity delayed till the appearance of Volume XI.

A
GENERAL COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

A S I A

TRAVELS IN ARABIA.

BY

CARSTEN NIEBUHR.

ABRIDGED FROM THE ORIGINAL WORK.

JOURNEY FROM CAIRO TO SUEZ AND MOUNT SINAI.

CHAP. I.—*Preparations for our departure.*

ALTHOUGH the chief object of our voyage was to visit Arabia, we were unwillingly detained in Egypt for nearly a year. Several circumstances obliged us to this involuntary delay.

On account of the pretended sanctity of the Pilgrims, Christians are prohibited from travelling to Arabia by land, with the caravan for Mecca. They are under a necessity, therefore, of waiting till the season when the Red Sea becomes navigable, and vessels sail from the harbour of Suez for Jidda.

While we waited these opportunities, we found it equally impossible to visit mount Sinai, or Jibbel-el-Mokatteb, the celebrated hill of inscriptions, both of which we designed to examine. The Egyptians had been at war, during all the last year, with a small tribe of Arabs who dwelt in the environs of Tor, which rendered such a journey impracticable before the return of the caravan from Mecca, the conductor of which had been commissioned to negotiate a peace with the offended Arabs.

This skirmishing war had arisen from the intemperate rapacity of the Arabs, who gain their livelihood by hiring out camels, and carrying goods between Suez and

Cairo. A number of vessels laden with corn, are sent every year from Egypt to Mecca. One of these vessels had anchored near Tor, to take in water, which is better and cheaper there than at Suez; and the captain had made his whole crew go on shore. The Arabs could not resist such a temptation; but seized the Captain and the sailors, and plundered the vessel. While this supply of provisions lasted, they gave themselves little concern about the resentment of the Egyptians. But, when they had used all the corn, and durst no longer go to Cairo, for fear of having their camels taken from them, and being otherwise punished, they found themselves much at a loss for the means of subsistence. They began, therefore, to pillage the caravans which go and come regularly between Suez and Cairo. They had even the confidence to represent to Government, that they would continue to rob the caravans, till an amnesty should be granted them for what was past, and security given that they and their camels might come and go in safety.

So feeble is the authority of the Sultan who calls himself sovereign of Egypt, that an handful of raggamuffins ventured to brave the pride of the Ottoman throne, and came off with impunity. To restore peace and security, the regency at Cairo found themselves obliged to empower the Emir Hadgi to make the concession which the Arabs required. The treaty was accordingly concluded at a place where the caravan halted on their return from Mecca.

As soon as we received notice of this event by the discharge of a cannon upon the arrival of a courier with the news, we immediately prepared to set out. Preparations for such a journey as that which we proposed to make, would not occasion much trouble in Europe; but in the East, make a very serious and difficult concern. They merit a place here: for an account of them may contribute to the fuller representation of the manners of the East, and will shew what a variety of means must there be employed to obtain the common conveniences of life.

A traveller, although he know a little of the language, cannot want servants, who must have been previously in those parts which he means to visit. With such, we were ill provided. Our Swedish servant was as much a stranger as we ourselves; we had a Greek cook who had lived long enough in Cairo, but had never been out of Egypt; an interpreter to assist our physician in his practice, who had a renegado Greek, and had never travelled before; and a young Jew of Sana, who had before travelled the same road upon which we were entering, but was regarded with sovereign contempt by the Mahometans, on account of the nation to which he belonged. None of these could be of much service to us, in our intercourse with the Arabs.

We had so much the more occasion to supply ourselves carefully with provisions and articles of furniture; some of which might be used with advantage in Europe, in military expeditions. In the deserts through which we were to travel, a tent and beds were indispensably necessary. We had a neat collection of kitchen utensils made of copper, and tinned without and within. Instead of glasses which are so liable to be broken, we used also copper bowls completely tinned. A bottle of thick leather served us as a caraffe. Our butter we put up in a leathern jar. In a wooden box, covered with leather, and parted out into shelves, we stored our spiceries of all sorts; and in another similar box, we laid our candles; in the lid of the latter, we fixed an iron socket which served us for a candlestick. We had large lanthorns of folded linen, with the lid and bottom of white iron. For a table, with table linen, we had a round piece of leather, with iron rings at certain distances round it, through which cords were passed, after our meals, and the table hung in the form of a purse, upon one of our camels. But we imprudently put our wine into great flasks, called

in the East Damasjanas, and large enough each of them to contain twenty ordinary bottles. These vases are very liable to be broken by the jolting of the camels, as we found by the loss of a part of our wine. It is much better to put your wine, when you are to carry it upon camels, into goat's skin bottles. This species of vessels may, at first, appear little suitable for the purpose; but they communicate no bad taste to the liquor, if the skins have been properly dressed. The same vessels answer best to carry the store of water that is requisite in travelling through dry and desert countries.

My companions hired horses. But I, out of curiosity, preferred a dromedary, and found no reason to repent of my choice. On a camel, the saddle is always open above, that it may not hurt the bunch of the animal; but a dromedary's saddle is made like a horse's, and covers the bunch. The dromedary, as well as the camel, kneels to receive a load, or a rider on his back. At a certain signal, he droops his head and neck, so that one can alight and remount whenever there is occasion, without making the animal stop. I spread my bed clothes upon my saddle, and was thus enabled to change my posture, and to seat myself so as to avoid the direct impulse of the sun's rays. A dromedary walks with long and regular steps, and the rider, of consequence, feels the motion no otherwise than if he were rocked in a cradle. When my companions, who rode on horseback, were weary and faint by the fatigue of riding, and by the excessive heat, I found myself as little fatigued as if I had sitten all day at my ease, in a chaise.

CHAP. II — *Voyage from Cairo to Suez.*

THE caravan with which we had designed to travel, waited a long while for the conclusion of peace between the governors of Egypt and the Arabs of Tor. A discharge of cannons, on the 27th of August 1762, gave us notice of the return of the caravan from Mecca, and by consequence of the conclusion of a peace, which would render the road secure, by which we were to travel. We went immediately to find the Schiech from whom we had hired our beasts for the journey. He had pitched his tent near the village of Seriagus, where he, with his party, lay encamped, till we should find it proper to set out. But no body must stir on that day.

When large caravans pass through the territories of the independent Arabs, they have at their head a Caravan-Baschi, whose business is to guide the caravan, and to treat with the princes who may exact duties for the liberty of passing through their dominions. This chief regulates the departure of the caravan, its journies, and the times at which it is to rest. But small caravans, such as ours, whose expeditions are short, have no such guide. The chief merchant in the party always halts and proceeds as he pleases, and the rest follow his example. When none of the merchants in the company is considerable enough to have this influence, the Arab who has most beasts of burden, regulates the rest. We did not know the precise time at which we were set out, till the 28th of August, when we saw troops of passengers begin to move.

Our caravan had no very formidable aspect. Being in haste to set out from Cairo, before the great caravan, which goes always to Suez, immediately after the departure of the vessels, we had not more than forty camels, which were loaded with corn and materials for building. Three of our camels were employed in carrying an anchor. I have already had occasion to remark, that carriages are unknown in Egypt and Arabia.

We could not have been very formidable to any that might have been disposed to
B 2
attack

attack us. Our camel drivers, who were but few, carried broken guns, and rusty or pointed sabres. A few Schiechs, indeed, to whom the most of our camels belonged, carried complete armour, and rode upon dromedaries. But we could not trust to them for defence; for no Arab will willingly risk his life to save a Turk. It was our part, therefore, to keep in the middle of the caravan, and on no account to leave them, or encamp apart, unless we wished to be plundered. In some places, where the danger was least, my comrade and I ventured to go before the main body of the caravan, to rest and enjoy purer air for a little.

Leaving Seriaqus on the evening of the 28th of August, we passed near by a large village, called Hanke, after which we returned into the great road, and about eleven at night encamped in a place named El Kirm bebad. The great road consists of a number of parallel paths formed by camels who travel in files, just as they please. Two miles from Cairo, we saw a square area inclosed within a wall, several feet high, in which the principal inhabitants of Cairo assemble to receive the Emir Hadgi, at his return from Mecca. From this place to Adgerud, within four leagues of Suez, the country is absolutely a desert; for the space of three and twenty leagues, neither houses, water, nor the smallest spot of verdure being to be seen.

On the morning of the 29th, we decamped early, after taking a very slight refreshment. We travelled onwards, thirteen leagues, crossed the mountain of Webbe; and about sunset, encamped near the hill of Taja. The great caravan from Mecca had passed on the preceding night; but they travelling farther than we to the south, we had, in consequence of this, failed to meet them.

On the 30th of August, likewise, we set out early, and proceeded to Adgerud, where travellers are induced to halt, by finding water fit for drinking. Adgerud is a small castle, that has been built by the Turks for the protection of the road, and the preservation of the wells between Suez and the entrance into the desert. Although built only about the end of the sixteenth century, it is now ruinous. Within three hours, we reached Bir Suez, where are two deep wells, surrounded with walls, and shut up with strong gates, to exclude the Arabs from the water. This water, although bad, and almost unfit for human use, is however precious to the inhabitants of Suez, as it serves for their cattle. It is drawn from the wells in leathern buckets. Bir Suez being only a league from Suez, we reached that city in good time. By my observations, it is thirty-two ordinary leagues, or three and twenty German miles from Cairo.

Caravans used formerly to travel by Koslum, a city that stood farther to the north of the Arabic gulf, and of which considerable ruins still remain. In former times, ships entered the harbour of this city, which was famous among the Arabians. But the waters of the Red Sea having here subsided within their ancient limits, this harbour was of necessity deserted, and that of Suez constructed. It appears, from the relations of the earlier travellers, that the city of Suez was not in existence in the end of the fifteenth century. It is first mentioned in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Suez is therefore to be considered as a city of modern origin.

CHAP. III. — *Of the City of Suez.*

THE city of Suez stands upon the western side, but not just upon the western extremity of the Arabic gulf. It is not surrounded with walls; but the houses are built so closely together, that there are only two passages into the city, of which that nearest the sea is open, the other shut by a very insufficient gate. The houses are very sorry structures; the

the kans being the only solid buildings in the city. Hardly any part now remains of the cattle which the Turks built upon the ruins of the ancient Kolfum.

It is very thinly inhabited. Among its inhabitants are some Greeks, and a few families of Copts. But, about the time of the departure of the fleet, it is crowded with strangers.

The ground lying around it is all one bed of rock, slightly covered with sand. Scarce a plant is to be seen any where in the neighbourhood. Trees, gardens, meadows, and fields, are entirely unknown at Suez. Fish is the only article of provisions plentiful here. All other necessities of life, for both men and the domestic animals, are brought from afar; from Cairo, which is three days journey distant from Suez; Mount Sinai, at the distance of six days journey; or Gbasso, at the distance of seven.

At Suez, there is not a single spring of water. That at Bir Suez is, as I have already observed, scarcely good enough for cattle; but it is drawn to Suez twice a-day for their use. The water of the pretended wells of Moses is still worse; and besides, these wells lie at a league and a half's distance, on the other side of the gulf. The only water fit for drinking that is to be had here, comes from the wells of Naba, upon the other side of the gulf, and more than two leagues distant from Suez. The Arabs are the carriers; and they sell this water at the rate of nine French sols a skin; but, though reputed the best, it is still very bad.

Ship-building is the chief employment of the inhabitants of Suez: Although wood, and iron, and all the other materials, are to be brought from Cairo upon camels, and are of consequence very dear. I know not the precise number of vessels annually employed in the navigation between this port and Jidda: I was informed that four or five are freighted by the Sultan with corn for Mecca and Medina, which they convey to Jidda and Jambo; and that fourteen others serve to carry passengers between Jidda and Suez. The ships built at Suez have a very awkward rudder, made of a large beam, the use of which is dangerous and inconvenient. I saw a vessel in this harbour of a different construction, which had been built at Surat. So durable was the wood of which it was formed, that, although it had been in constant use for twenty years, it was still in a perfectly sound state.

The governor of Suez was a bey from Cairo; and he kept a very numerous household. This employment placed him in a sort of honourable exile; and being therefore very desirous of returning to the capital, he listened eagerly to any predictions respecting the period of his return thither. He assured us, that a learned Mussulman had foretold the time when he was to be recalled; and he wished us to consult the unknown inscriptions in the desert, and see whether they might not confirm the prediction of the prophetic Mussulman. We excused ourselves, as ignorant of the sublime science which unveils futurity. This Bey was a Mahometan by birth, and the son of a sugar merchant.

CHAP. IV. — *Particulars concerning the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Suez.*

THE Arabs who live about Tor, upon the other side of the gulf, are little afraid of the Turkish governor of Suez. When dissatisfied with him, or with the inhabitants of the city, they threaten to bring no more water, and forbid them to come near the wells of Naba. These threats, if carried into execution, would reduce the city to the last extremities; and all means are, therefore, used to pacify them. They might easily ruin this city, if they could resolve to give up the profits which they derive from the carriage of goods upon their camels from Cairo to Suez.

We ourselves experienced the insolence of these Arabs. The Schiechs, whom we had hired to conduct us to mount Sinai, not having fulfilled their engagement, we refused, upon our return to Suez, to pay the whole sum that had been stipulated. They threatened to kill us: We let them know that we were able to defend ourselves. They then declared that they would deprive us of the water of the Naba. Mr. Von Haven replied, that this was a matter of no consequence to Europeans who drank wine; an answer which moved the Turks to laugh at the expence of the Arabs. But, as their tribe espoused their quarrel, it was seriously feared that they might execute what they threatened, and reduce the city to distress for want of water. Wherefore, the governor begged us to terminate the difference, and pay the Schiechs what they demanded.

One thing that we had in view in our journey was, to examine the Hill of Inscriptions in the desert; and we were, therefore, desirous of receiving all possible information concerning so remarkable a place. On this occasion we discovered a custom of the Arabs which deserves explanation, because it is connected with their manners.

On our arrival at Suez, we applied to some Greeks for information concerning that hill. But none of them had ever heard of the name of Jibbel-el-Mokatteb. They directed us, however, to a Schiech of the tribe of Said, who had passed his life in traveling between Suez and mount Sinai. That Schiech was equally a stranger to the name of the Hill of Inscriptions. But, understanding that we would give a considerable reward to the person who should guide us thither, he returned next day with another Schiech of the tribe of Saccalha, who pretended to have a particular knowledge, not only of that mountain, but of all other places in the desert where inscriptions were to be met with. By his answers to our questions, however, we soon saw that he knew as little as the former of the place which we wished to visit.

At last, a Schiech of the tribe of Leghat was brought us, who, by his conversation, convinced us, that he had seen stones inscribed with unknown characters. When he learned that the object of our curiosity was called Jibbel-el-Mokatteb, he assured us that this was the name of the mountain among all the Arabs who knew it.

Pleased with finding, at length, an inhabitant of the desert, at least, who could guide us to the place where the inscriptions were to be seen; we determined to take him for our conductor, especially because his abode, as he told us, was near to that mountain. But the other two Schiechs, who had brought us the latter, warmly opposed our purpose, and insisted upon accompanying us, as well as he. The inhabitants of Suez advised us to take them all three, and told us, that we could not travel the desert in safety, without having guides from every one of the three tribes that inhabited the country between Suez and mount Sinai.

This advice referred to the custom above-mentioned, which renders Arab guides or Ghafirs necessary. Any person, whether Christian or Mahometan, who travels either by sea or land along the coast of Arabia Petræa, chooses a Ghafir, a guide, or protector, to whom he makes presents, either from time to time, in the course of his journey, or at least upon his safe return. He thus travels secure and unmolested. If the vessel in which he sails, happens to be shipwrecked, it is plundered by the Arabs; but his Ghafir, if present, saves his goods from pillage. If the person whom he names as his Ghafir be absent, his property is however set apart. But if he have no Ghafir, or name a fictitious one, he is plundered, without regard to his rank or character. The Turkish merchants, from avarice to spare a trifling present, or from pride, to avoid associating with an Arab Schiech, seldom take Ghafirs, but they suffer for the neglect. For these rights of hospitality and friendship are held sacred among those Arabs.

We therefore took with us the three Schiechs to guide us to mount Sinai. They
supplied

supplied us with camels for ourselves and our servants. To prevent disputes, we had our contract written out by the Cadi of Suez, in the presence of the Governor.

CHAP. V. — *Journey from Suez to mount Sinai.*

WE were anxious to set out, that we might return to Suez before the first ships should sail, in the beginning of October. In the succeeding months, the passage to Jidda becomes too dangerous. But our painter, Mr. Baurenfiend, had fallen ill, immediately after our arrival at Suez, from the excessive fatigues which he had undergone. Although his assistance was necessary in our expedition, yet Mr. Von Haven and I resolved to set out by ourselves, leaving Messrs. Forkal and Cramer at Suez, to take care of our sick friend.

On the 6th of September 1762, we crossed the gulph, and set out next morning with our Arabs. Beside the three Schiechs and their servants, we were accompanied by several of their friends, who had for some time carried water from the wells of Naba to Suez, and were now going to see their friends in the desarts, hoping to live at our expense by the way. It is a rule with these people, that an Arab of distinction travelling, must maintain all who choose to accompany him, whether it be at his own desire or not. We, as we lived at some expence, were thought to be very rich.

The first day we travelled along the coast of the Arabic gulf, through a sandy plain, having a few hills scattered over it. The Arabs call such plains, when they lie somewhat low, Wadi, or vallies, because water remains stagnant in them, after heavy rains. We rested under a palm tree, in a place called Ajjun Musa, Moses' Fountains. These pretended fountains, are five holes in the sand, in a well of very indifferent water that becomes turbid, whenever any of it is drawn. As the holes bear the name of Moses, the Arabs ascribe them to the Jewish lawgiver. After a day's journey of five German miles and a half, we encamped on the sandy plain of El-Ti. In the evening, a violent blast of wind raised the sand about us, so much, that we were not more incommoded than a similar incident would have incommenced us in Europe.

The country through which we passed, is famous as the scene of the emigration of the Jews under Moses. We were therefore desirous of learning from the Arabs, the names of all the places, and of all the mountains, especially in our way. Mr. Von Haven who could not resolve to make himself familiar with the Bedouins, could obtain nothing but vague and uncivil answers from them. I again sought to gain the confidence and friendship of one of those Arabs, by making him some presents, and causing him to ride sometimes behind me upon my camel. From him I received honest and distinct answers. To the objects which I pointed out to him, he gave the same names coming as going. I likewise measured the distances of places, by counting the steps of the camel, and comparing the number with the time in which they were travelled by my watch. By means of a compass, I distinguished likewise the directions of the road. None of the Arabs understood the nature of this instrument. It is plainly, therefore, an idle tale, that they follow the direction of the compass in travelling through their desarts.

On the 8th of September, we travelled through the plain of Gidan. We saw, on our way, an enormous mass of rock, that had fallen from a neighbouring mountain. We entered next the valley of Girondel, and, after proceeding five miles and a half farther, found ourselves in the vicinity of Jebel Hamman Faurus. Next day, sending our servants forward, we ourselves stayed to examine these environs. In the rainy season a considerable torrent runs through the valley of Girondel. It was at this time dry;

dry; yet, by digging in the bed to the depth of two feet, we found better water than that which is used at Suez. This valley not being deficient in water, has in it several trees, and even groves that appear singularly striking to travellers from Cairo, who have seen no similar appearance in the previous part of their journey.

Hammam Faraun is the name of a hot spring which rises by two apertures out of a rock, at the foot of a high mountain. It is used in baths by the neighbouring sick, who commonly stay forty days for a cure, during which their only food is but a fruit called *Lallaf*, which grows here. An extensive burying place near the baths, suggested doubts in my mind of the beneficial effects of this regimen. The tradition that the Jews passed this way, and that Pharaoh's army was drowned here, has occasioned this place to receive the name of Birket-el-Faraun. The Arabs imagine that Pharaoh is doing penance at the bottom of this well, and vomits up the sulphureous vapour with which the water is impregnated.

This eastern side of the Arabic gulph is tolerably level and uniform. But the opposite side is one range of lofty mountains; broken, however, and divided by two vales, by one of which we must pass in travelling from Egypt to the shore of the Red Sea.

We turned by degrees towards the north east, in pursuing the direct road to mount Sinai, and at length entered a narrow vale, which appeared to have been cut by the torrents in the rock. The mountains which rose upon every side of us, in uninterrupted chains, were masses of a sort of limestone intermingled with veins of granite. In several places through them, I discovered a quantity of petrified shells, of a species which is to be found with the living shell-fish in it, in the Arabic gulf. One of those hills is entirely covered with flints. The granite becomes more and more plentiful as we approach mount Sinai.

Our road lay often along the brink of precipices, commonly through stony glynns, and sometimes through wide vallies, watered and fertile. Such were *Ufaitu*, *El Hamer*, and *Warfan*. We passed also in our way, by *Nasbe*, the seat of some Bedouins of this country. As water was sometimes at a distance from the places where we encamped, our servants were obliged to go to bring it. We could have wished to accompany them, in order to see a little of the country; but our guides would not always permit us.

After passing through the valley of *Warfan*, we turned a little out of the highway, and in the same evening reached the abode of our chief of the tribe of *Leghat*. As it could not be far from *Jibbel el Mokatteb*, I began to hope that I might take this opportunity of going thither. But the conversation of the *Schiech* made me soon give up that hope. In my description of this mountain, which I did not see till my return, the reader will find an account of what happened to me upon this occasion.

The *Schiech* had given notice of his arrival to several of his friends, who, to the number of ten or twelve, came to see him. I lent him to entertain his guests, and in the mean time ranged over several hills in the neighbourhood. I saw by accident, in a sequestered spot, a wretched tent, the dwelling of our *Schiech*, in which were his wife and sister, busy grinding corn. One of the women came out of the tent, to present me with a bit of gum, and did not refuse a small piece of money in return. At a little farther distance, I met the *Schiech's* son, who was tending goats, and conversed with him for a considerable time. I was surpris'd at the sense, gravity, and assurance of the child, who seem'd to be in no degree embarrassed by the presence of a stranger. He invited me very kindly to the house to drink some excellent water which had been drawn on that same day from the well. I had here an opportunity of remarking the relation between language and manners.

manners. A tent, of which the original Arabic name is Cheime, is however, called by these Bedouins, Beit, which signifies house; because they have no other houses than tents.

Most of our Schiech's friends were distinguished by the same title of Schiech, although nowise superior in their air or dress, to the vulgar Arabs. I hence supposed the title to mean no more among the Arabs, than Master, or Sir, with us.

Being determined to proceed on to mount Sinai, we set out from the dwelling of our Schiech of Beni Leghat, on the 12th of September. The country became more mountainous, as we advanced. Yet we passed through some pleasant vallies; such were those of Chamela, Dahur, Barak, and Genna. Before reaching the vale of Israitu, which, although surrounded with rocky and precipitous mountains, displays some rich and cheerful prospects, we were obliged to go over another lofty and almost inaccessible hill.

In this vale we met an Arabian lady attended by a servant. In respect to our Schiech, she quitted the road, alighted from her camel, and passed us on foot. Another woman veiled, and walking on foot, who happened to meet us in so narrow a part of the valley of Genna, that she could not avoid us, sat down as we passed, and turned her back upon us. I gave her the salutation of peace; but my conductors told me, that she had turned her back in respect to us as strangers, and that I had done wrong in saluting her.

At the distance of nearly seven German miles from the dwelling of our Schiech of the tribe of Leghat, we found the abode of our other Schiech of the tribe of Said. The latter was as little willing as the former had been, to pass so near his family without seeing them. We were again therefore obliged to leave the highway, and to follow our conductor half a league out of the road. The Arabs set up our tents near a tree, in the valley of Faran, and left us to amuse ourselves there, in the best manner we could, till they went to see their friends in gardens of date trees, scattered over the valley. We were at no great distance from our Schiech's camp, which consisted of nine or ten tents. We were informed that the ruins of an ancient city were to be seen in the neighbourhood. But, when the Arabs found us curious to visit it, they left us and would give us no farther account of it.

The famous valley of Faran, in which we now were, has retained its name unchanged since the days of Moses, being still called Wadi Faran, The Valley of Faran. Its length is equal to a journey of a day and a half, extending from the foot of mount Sinai to the Arabic Gulph. In the rainy season it is filled with water; and the inhabitants are then obliged to retire up the hills: it was dry, however, when we passed through it. That part of it which we saw was far from being fertile, but served as a pasture to goats, camels, and asses. The other part is said to be very fertile; and the Arabs told us, that in the districts to which our Ghazirs had gone, were many orchards of date trees, which produced fruit enough to sustain some thousands of people. Fruit must, indeed, be very plentiful there; for the Arabs of the valley bring every year to Cairo an astonishing quantity of dates, raisins, pears, apples, and other fruits, all of excellent quality.

Some Arabs, who came to see us, offered us fresh dates which were yellow, but scarcely ripe. The chief of our Schiech's wives (for he had two), came likewise to see us, and presented us with some eggs and a chicken. The two wives of our Schiech presided over two different departments of his affairs. One was placed at some distance from where our tents happened to be pitched, in order to manage a garden of date trees. The other was our neighbour, and superintended the cattle and the servants. The latter would not enter our tents, but sat down near enough by to converse with us. She complained of her husband, who neglected her, she said, for her rival, and spent all his time in drawing water in Egypt, or in carrying articles of merchandize from one place

to another. Our law, by which every man is confined to one wife, appeared to her admirable. This was the first opportunity I had of conversing, without restraint, with a Mahometan female.

We left this place on the 14th of September, and, after travelling two miles farther, in the valley of Faran, arrived at the foot of Jibbel Mufa. Up this mountain we ascended a mile and a half, and encamped near a large mass of stone, which Moses is said by the Arabs to have divided into two, as it at present appears, with one blow of his sword. Among these mountains we found several springs of excellent water, at which, for the first time since my arrival in Egypt, I quaffed this precious liquid with real satisfaction.

CHAP. VI. — *Of Mount Sinai, and the Convent of St. Catharine.*

THE Arabs call Jibbel Mufa, The Mount of Moses, all that range of mountains which rises at the interior extremity of the valley of Faran; and to that part of the range on which the convent of St. Catharine stands, they give the name of Tur Sina. This similarity of name, owing, most probably, to tradition, affords ground for presumption, that the hill which we had now reached was the Sinai of the Jews, on which Moses received the law. It is, indeed, not easy to comprehend how such a multitude of people as the Jews, who accompanied Moses out of Egypt, could encamp in those narrow gullies, amidst frightful and precipitous rocks. But, perhaps, there are plains, that we know not of, on the other side of the mountain.

Two German miles and a half up the mountain, stands the convent of St. Catharine. The body of this monastery is a building one hundred and twenty feet in length, and almost as many in breadth. Before it stands another small building, in which is the only gate of the convent, which remains always shut, except when the bishop is here. At other times, whatever is introduced within the convent, whether men or provisions, is drawn up by the roof in a basket, and with a cord and a pulley. The whole building is of hewn stone; which, in such a desert, must have cost prodigious expence and pains.

Before the convent is a large garden, planted with excellent fruit trees. The Arabs told us, that the monks enter it by a subterraneous passage.

These Greek ecclesiastics are not allowed to receive an European without an order from the bishop of Mount Sinai, who resides ordinarily at Cairo. He had promised us a letter, but had set out, without our knowledge, to Constantinople. By the favour of the English ambassador at Constantinople, we had obtained another letter from a deposed patriarch, who had resided three years in the convent of St. Catharine. Believing that this letter might be sufficient to gain us admittance, we presented it to those clergymen, through a small chink in the wall. They took some time to consider, and, after making us wait long, let us know that they could not receive us, as we had not a letter from their bishop.

During this parley, many Arabs, who had observed us from the neighbouring hills, gathered round us. They are paid a certain sum for every stranger that is received into the convent. When the bishop happens to be present, the gate is opened, and the convent must entertain all the Arabs who come in then. This custom is very burthenfome to those poor monks, who have nothing but alms to live upon; and have their provisions, which they are obliged to bring from Cairo, often stolen by the way. The Arabs are in general very dangerous neighbours. They often fire upon the convent from the adjacent rocks. They seize the monks whenever they happen to find them without the walls of the monastery, and refuse to release them, without a considerable ransom. We witnessed the

the insolence of one of those Bedouins, who uttered a thousand abuses against the inhabitants of the convent, because they would not give him bread at the very instant when he asked it in a roguish counterfeit tone of distress.

That we might not occasion uneasiness to those monks, we retired, and encamped at a quarter of a league distance from the monastery. As a recompence for our discretion, they immediately sent us a present of fruits. Grapes could not but be delicious to persons like us, who had travelled so long in parched and uncultivated regions.

I wished to chuse from among the Arabs who had gathered about us, a guide to conduct me to Sinai. This, however, our Ghafirs would not permit; which occasioned a quarrel among them and the other Arabs. Next day, however, our Schiechs brought me an Arab, whom they qualified with the title of Schiech of Mount Sinai, to procure him some profit from us, by the right which he then arrogated to himself of attending strangers who came to visit the mountain.

Under the conduct of this newly created Lord of Sinai, with our Schiechs, I attempted, on this same day, to clamber to the summit of that mountain. It is so steep, that Moses cannot have ascended on the side which I viewed. The Greeks have cut a flight of steps up the rock. Pococke reckons three thousand of these steps to the top of the mountain, or rather bare, pointed rock.

Five hundred steps above the convent we found a charming spring, which, by a little pains, might be improved into a very agreeable spot. A thousand steps higher stands a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; and five hundred above this, two other chapels, situated in a plain, which the traveller enters by two small gates of mason work. Upon this plain are two trees, under which, at high festivals, the Arabs are regaled at the expence of the Greeks. My Mahometan guides, imitating the practices which they had seen the pilgrims observe, kissed the images, and repeated their prayers in the chapels. They would accompany me no farther; but maintained this to be the highest accessible peak of the mountain; whereas, according to Pococke, I had yet a thousand steps to ascend. I was therefore obliged to return, and content myself with viewing the Hill of St. Catharine at a distance.

CHAP. VII. — *Our return from Mount Sinai.*

IN the afternoon of the 15th of September, we descended Jibbel Mufa, and passed the night at the bottom of that clifsy mountain, at the opening into the valley of Faran. Next day, after advancing three miles through the vale, we halted near the dwelling of our Schiech of the tribe of Said.

Our Ghafirs left us again, and went to see their friends in the gardens of date trees. During their absence we met with a young Arab, riding on a dromedary, who had made himself drunk in one of those gardens. Understanding that we were Europeans and Christians, he began to pour out abusive language against us, much in the same strain in which an insolent and ill bred young man in Europe might perhaps wantonly abuse a Jew. From this incident, we judged that the Bedouins use wine. We could not help remarking at the same time, that the law of Mahomet, with great wisdom, forbids the use of strong liquors, as they have such tendency to warm the passions, which, with the inhabitants of hot climates, have naturally but too much violence. In the cities, indeed, many of the Mahometans are in the habit of getting drunk. But, either for shame or for fear of punishment, they never appear drunk in public; and take this vicious indulgence only in private, in their own houses. Except that young man, I never saw another Mahometan brutally drunk in all my travels.

Our Ghafirs returned, and we continued our journey on the 20th of the month. Next day I advanced before my fellow travellers, on purpose again to view the mountain, of which I shall speak, when I come to describe the Egyptian place of burial.

On the day following, we had an opportunity of seeing a part of the road which we had passed by night, when travelling to Jibbel Mufa. In this place, near a defile, named Om-er-ridg-lein, I found some inscriptions in unknown characters, which had been mentioned to me at Cairo. They are coarsely engraven, apparently with some pointed instrument of iron in the rock, without order or regularity. Our Arabs thought the time lost which I spent in copying those inscriptions. They were not very wrong; but I shall speak my sentiments on this head, when I give an account of Jibbel-el-Mokkateb.

On the 25th of September, we arrived again at Suez. Mr. Baurenfeind was much recovered. Before we could reach the city we had to cross the same arm of the sea over which we had been ferried when we set out on our journey; but we could find no boat on the eastern side. Perceiving, however, that the tide was ebbing, we ventured to ford this part of the gulf. We succeeded happily a little north from the ruins of Kolfum. Our camels walked steadily; and the Arabs who waded were only in water to the knees. This was perhaps the first time that any Europeans attempted to pass here in this manner. This attempt shewed us that the waters in the gulf are much influenced by the tides, and convinced us that in the ebb, the Red Sea may be safely passed on foot.

After my return to Suez, I was desirous to examine also the western side of the gulf, and the adjoining hills. I could prevail with no person to accompany me in so dangerous an expedition, for, at the smallest distance from the city, the passenger is in no less danger of being robbed, than in the desert. At length, however, an Arab undertook to be my guide. But he trembled at the sight of every human being that we met; and indeed those whom we met seemed to be no less afraid of us. Thus teased and vexed as I was, I could make but few interesting observations in these petty excursions.

I now, for the first time, observed an appearance with which I was singularly struck, but which became afterwards familiar to me. An Arab, whom I saw approaching at a distance, upon a camel, appeared to move through the air, with the gigantic bulk of a tower; although he was travelling along the sand like ourselves. Several travellers mention this error of vision, which is owing to a peculiar refraction produced in these torrid climates, by vapours differing greatly in their nature, from those which fill the air in temperate regions.

I could learn nothing certain concerning the canal which is said to have joined the Nile with the Arabic Gulf. No Arab would conduct me into that part of the country through which it is probable that the canal might pass; because the tribe who inhabit it were at variance with the inhabitants of Suez. In the neighbourhood of Suez, I could find no trace of any canal; unless the valley of Mosbeiba, between Bir Suez and the city, may be regarded as such. After the rains, a considerable quantity of water remains stagnate in this vale, which the inhabitants draw for use; and when the waters are gone off, it is soon covered with grass.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of the Mountain of Inscriptions, and of an Egyptian Burying-place.*

SINCE Mr. Clayton, bishop of Clogher, published the narrative of the superior of a convent of Franciscans at Cairo, we have heard much talk in Europe of a discovery made by that monk of a mountain covered wholly with inscriptions in unknown characters. It was imagined that those inscriptions might furnish some testimony concerning the ancient residence of the Jews in that country: and, in this expectation, the bishop of Clogher offered five hundred pounds sterling, to defray the expences of his journey, to any man of letters who would undertake to copy them.

But the marvellous part of this discovery by degrees disappeared; and the sanguine hopes which had been built upon it vanished. Several travellers had before observed, upon the way to mount Sinai, some rocks inscribed with strange characters; even in the third century, these inscriptions had been mentioned by a Greek author. Momonys had formerly copied some of them, Pococke and Montague had copied others, and had communicated them to several men of letters. They were judged to be neither Jewish nor Arabic, from the appearance of some coarse pieces of sculpture that accompanied them. Some considered them as a mixture of Coptic and Arabic characters. At last, a person, who was very well versed in Oriental literature, conjectured that they might be Phœnician; an opinion which is the more probable, as the Phœnicians had, at a very remote period, settlements upon the eastern coast of the Arabic Gulph.

As little were the learned agreed concerning the purport of those inscriptions, and the information which they might afford. Those who examined them the most accurately, concluded from their position, and the manner in which they were engraven, that they related nothing more than the names of travellers, and the dates of their journeys. In the same place are still to be seen a vast number of ill-engraven inscriptions in Greek and Arabic, of the names of persons who have sought by this means to transmit the memory of their existence to future times.

That I might be enabled to guess for myself, I copied a good number of those inscriptions in unknown characters, which we found engraven upon the rocks on the way to mount Sinai, and some of them upon the mountain. I have in my possession a copy of another inscription, the characters of which differ from those which I copied myself. It was copied by Mr. Donati, a learned traveller, whose papers will be lost, as he himself has not returned to Europe. The place where these inscriptions are most numerous, is in the narrow pass of Om-er-ridstein, which I have already mentioned. The pretended Jibbel-el-Mokatteb may possibly be in its neighbourhood.

After examining the situations and the engraving of these inscriptions, I incline to the opinion of those who think them of little importance. They seem to have been executed at idle hours by travellers who were satisfied with cutting the unpolished rock with any pointed instrument; adding to their names, and the date of their journeys, some rude figures, which bespeak the hand of a people but little skilled in the arts. When such inscriptions are executed with the design of transmitting to posterity the memory of such events as might afford instructive lessons, greater care is generally taken in the preparation of the stones, and the inscriptions are engraven with more regularity, as I shall have occasion to observe, when I come to speak of the ruins of Persepolis.

Although convinced that the wonderful part of the story of that mountain was perfectly imaginary, we took pains at Cairo to inform ourselves particularly concerning its situation; and as I have before mentioned, we found a Scheich of the tribe of Leghat, who pretended to know the famous Jibbel-el-Mokatteb, and promised to conduct us thither.

thither. We had been directed to examine those curiosities; and we were eager to see them, even for our own gratification.

Arriving on the evening of the 10th of September at our Schiech's dwelling, he conducted us next day, with our other Ghafirs, to that hill, which he had told us lay in his neighbourhood. We climbed up it by a steep and rugged path, and instead of inscriptions, were surprised to find on the summit an Egyptian cemetery. We gave this name to the place, although we had seen nothing of the same kind in Egypt, where all such monuments are now sunk in the sand. But a slight acquaintance with the Egyptian architecture and hieroglyphics, and with the antiquities discovered by Norden in Upper Egypt, may enable any person to see that the ruins on the top of Jibbel-el-Mokatteb can be no other than Egyptian.

It is covered with stones of from five to seven feet in length, inscribed with hieroglyphics, and some of them standing on end, while others are lying flat. The more carefully they are examined, so much the more certainly do they appear to be sepulchral stones, having epitaphs inscribed upon them. In the middle of these stones is a building, of which only the walls now remain; and within it are likewise a great many of the sepulchral stones. At one end of the building seems to have been a small chamber, of which the roof still remains. It is supported upon square pillars; and these, as well as the walls of the chamber, are covered over with hieroglyphic inscriptions. Through the whole building are various busts, executed in the manner of the ancient Egyptians. The sepulchral stones and the busts, are of hard and fine grained sand stone. The Egyptians are known to have used granite, or some similar species of stone, in all their works of sculpture or architecture.

The Arabs suffered us to examine those curiosities at our leisure, and to note down upon the spot, some particulars relative to them. But when I began to copy some of the hieroglyphics, they gathered all about me, and told me, that the Schiech of the mountain would not permit this to be done. That pretended Schiech was an Arab of their acquaintance, whom they had agreed to honour with the title, and invest with the power, on purpose to draw money from us. The lord of Jibbel-el-Mokatteb who had waited our approach upon the top of the hill, came up upon this and told us, that he would not for an hundred crowns suffer us to copy the least thing, or permit Christians to carry away any treasures that were hidden in his territories. The Arabs believe, or pretend at least to believe, that the Europeans are in possession of secrets by which they can make any hidden treasure arise out of the earth, and can convey it away through the air, if they are only permitted to copy any inscription indicating its situation. Upon this story, they raised a claim of either sharing with us in the treasures which might be found, or receiving an hundred crowns for their permission to us to search for them.

Despairing of being able to bring those selfish mortals to reason, I secretly promised four crowns to one of our Ghafirs, who had always shewn himself honest and obliging, if he would accompany me by ourselves to that place, upon my return from mount Sinai, and give me time to copy what I pleased. I have already observed, that this Arab kept his word, and I effected my purpose. The hieroglyphics which I copied were as well executed as any I had seen in Egypt. One thing in which they differ, is in exhibiting the goat, an animal common through this country; whereas in Egypt the goat never appears as an hieroglyphic symbol, but the cow frequently. These monuments may therefore be supposed to be the work, not of persons actually inhabiting Egypt, but of an Egyptian colony, or of some people who had adopted the arts and manners of Egypt. The Arabs, who had in those early ages conquered

Egypt under their shepherd kings, might bring with them when expelled from the scene of their conquests, the arts and manners which they had learned from the conquered people.

Whether this conjecture be rejected or admitted, it still remains a difficulty how to account for the situation of this cemetery, which must have belonged to an opulent city, where the arts were flourishing, at such a distance from the scenes of cultivation in the middle of a desert, and on the summit of a precipitous mountain. This country is indeed more populous than it seems at first to be, for the Arabs studiously conduct travellers by roads passing at a distance from their dwellings. But, it is impossible to conceive, how a populous and opulent city could spring up in the midst of such a desert. It is more probable, that the inhabitants of some maritime city upon the coast of the Arabic Gulph, have been induced by a veneration for the mountain, founded upon some superstitious sentiments, to convey their dead to this distance, that they might be interred in sacred ground.

CHAP. IX. — *Of some Customs of the Arabs in the Desert.*

THE Arabs, as is well known, are divided into tribes. Speaking of these, they say, Beni, which signifies the *sons* of some person; thus Beni Leghat means the tribe of Leghat. These small tribes have each its Schiech, who is commonly dependant on the Grand Schiech of some more potent tribe.

In our way to mount Sinai, we passed through the territories of Beni Leghat, Beni Saualha, and Beni Said. These three tribes are particularly connected with the convent of St. Catharine, pretending to be its protectors, although in reality its oppressors. The tribe of Beni Said, who are the more immediate neighbours of the convent, have a very bad character. They are originally from Upper Egypt.

These Arabs, although scattered in separate families over the country, seem to be fond of society, and visit one another frequently. A sort of politeness too prevails among them, but it is too ceremonious. We witnessed the etiquette of their visits, at the dwelling of our Schiech of the tribe of Leghat. His friends having had notice of his return, came to pay their compliments to him upon the occasion. We had likewise our share in their polite attentions, for they congratulated us upon our travelling through the desert, without meeting with any unfortunate accident. When they salute they join hands, embrace, and ask one another in a tone of tenderness; "How art thou? Is all well?" When a Schiech enters a company, all rise, and the Schiech goes round to embrace every one in his turn.

Some travellers have fancied, that a part of their politeness upon such occasions, consists in mutual enquiries after the health of their camels and other domestic animals. But such enquiries are rather taken ill. Although, as it is natural for two men of the same profession when they meet, to converse concerning their affairs; so two Bedouins, whose sole employment is to manage their cattle, will naturally question one another upon that head, just as our peasants talk of their fields and meadows.

Their way of living is nearly the same as that of the other wandering Arabs of the Kurlas, and of the Turcomans. They lodge in tents made of camels' stuff, either black or striped black and white, which is manufactured by the women of goats' hair. The tent consists of three apartments, of which one is for the men, another for the women, and the third for the cattle. Those who are too poor to have a tent, contrive however, to shelter themselves from the inclemencies of the weather, either with a piece of cloth stretched upon poles, or by retiring to the cavities of the rocks. As the Mus-

of trees is exceedingly agreeable in such torrid regions, the Bedouins are at great pains in seeking out shaded situations to encamp in.

The furniture corresponds to the simplicity of the dwelling ; the chief article is a large straw mat, which serves equally for a seat, a table, and a bed ; the kitchen utensils are merely a few pots, a few plates, and a few cups of tinned copper. Their clothes, with all their valuable moveables, are put up in leathern bags, which are hung within the tent. Their butter is put into a leathern bag, and the water which they use, is preserved in goat skins. The hearth for the kitchen fire is placed any where, and without much trouble ; it consists of a hole made in the ground, and laid with stones. Instead of an oven, they use an iron plate, in preparing their bread, which is made into small cakes. They know no mills but such as are moved with the hands.

Their food is equally simple. They are fond of newly baked bread, and in their excursions through the desert, they are particularly careful to carry with them sufficient supplies of meal. The only other victuals which they use, are dates, milk, cheese, and honey. On occasions of festivals, indeed, a goat is killed and roasted. Although poor, and much inclined to live at the expence of strangers, they are, however, hospitable among themselves, and often invite one another to share their meals. Our Schiechs never accepted a treat from any of their friends, without striving to repay it.

The Arabs of the desert are dressed much like their brethren in Egypt. The only difference is, that the former wear shoes of undressed leather, and of a peculiar shape. Many of them, however, walk with bare feet upon the scorching sand, which renders their skin at length insensible. They arm themselves too like the Egyptian Arab, riding upon camels, as those upon horses, and bearing a lance, a sabre, and sometimes a gun.

The dress of the females in the desert, although simpler than that worn by the ordinary women in Egypt, is in reality, however, the very same. The wife of one of our Schiechs wore an uncommon piece of dress ; bra's rings of an enormous size in her ears. These women living remote from the world, and being wholly occupied in the management of their domestic affairs, appear to be, from these circumstances, less shy and scrupulous than the other women of the East. They make less difficulty of conversing with a stranger, or exposing their face unveiled before him.

It is commonly known, that the Mahometans are permitted to have four wives. The Bedouins who are poor, and cannot easily find the means of subsistence, content themselves with one for the most part. Those who are in the easiest circumstances, and who have two wives, seem to have married so many, chiefly that they might superintend their concerns in two different places. The conduct of our Schiech of Beni Said, as as well as his conversation, led us to make this reflection. The disagreement that subsisted between his two wives afforded an instance of some of the inconveniences that attend polygamy.

VOYAGE FROM SUEZ TO JIDDA AND LOHEIA.

CHAP. X. — *Departure from Suez.*

DURING our absence several small caravans had successively arrived at Suez, and the arrival of the great caravan from Cairo, followed soon after our return from mount Sinai. Although from pirates, properly so called, there is little to be feared in the Arabian Gulf, yet so unskilful are the mariners in these latitudes, that they dare not venture to any distance from the coasts. This timorous mode of sailing might expose
a single

a single vessel to the robbery of the Arabs, to avoid which, these ships sail in little fleets; four always setting out together, that they may join to defend themselves.

After the arrival of the caravans, Su-z seemed more populous than Cairo; and as such a multitude could not long find subsistence there, all were eager to set out without delay. We were recommended to the master of two ships that were to make the voyage. Although now accustomed to live with the Mahometans, yet in our passage to Jidda, we suffered a degree of uneasiness which we had not felt upon occasions of greater danger. Some Greeks had hinted to us, that the Mussulmans thought Christians unworthy of making this voyage in the company of the pilgrims who were journeying to the holy city; and that upon this account we should not go abroad with shoes upon our feet. Some of the pilgrims, indeed, seemed to look upon us little less unfavourably than a Capuchin going to Jerusalem would regard a Protestant. But to be obliged to walk without shoes upon the deck was not an humiliating distinction, confined to Christians; it was a restraint to which all on board were subjected. Nobody in those vessels but must walk upon deck without shoes.

To avoid the company of the Mahometans, we had hired an apartment which we thought the best. In a chamber opposite to ours lodged a rich black eunuch, who was going to Mecca; and useless as it could not but be to him, was accompanied with his seraglio like a Turkish lord. In a large apartment under ours were forty women and slaves, with their children, whose crying and noise gave us no little disturbance. Every one of the other passengers had hired a place upon the deck, where he remained with his bales and parcels around him, having only a small space vacant in the middle where he might dress his viçtuals, sit, and sleep. Our Greek sailors, who were very unskilful, were perplexed by these incumbrances, and could not go about to manage the vessel, without trampling upon the goods of the merchants, which produced endless disputes.

Our vessel, although large enough to have carried at least forty guns, was very deeply laden. Besides her own freight, she towed after her three large shallops and one small; the three larger filled with passengers, horses, sheep, and even women of pleasure.

The master, an honest merchant from Cairo, whose name was Schoreibe, would not have been distinguished among the seamen of Europe. He took upon himself the task of pilot to the vessel; but was indeed a very unskilful pilot. Between the two compasses, where European navigators set a light, he had placed a large magnet to restore imperceptibly, as he said, their magnetic virtue to the needles. It was with difficulty that I persuaded him to remove it.

With such seamen, however, we were obliged to sail, although they durst not venture out into the open sea, but coasted round the shores at the risk of being dashed in pieces upon jutting rocks, or stranded upon banks of coral. We had paid the master for our passage immediately after agreeing for it. But according to the custom of the country, we were obliged to give an acknowledgement to the sailors before going on board, which, in other places, is not expected till passengers are leaving the vessel.

To avoid any disagreeable rencounters with the other passengers, we had taken care to go first on board. We had yet several days to wait till the governor should inspect the ships, to see whether they were not overladen. This duty he never fails to perform, for a sum of money is payable to him from each vessel upon the occasion, which constitutes a part of his revenue.

At length, after all these delays, the four ships weighed anchor about midnight on the 10th of October. The side upon which we passed would have been dangerous, if the wind had not been favourable; for it is covered all over with coral rocks. The ships

cast anchor every night, and we had then liberty to go on shore, if we chose to run the hazard, in order to see any object of curiosity.

CHAP. XI. — *Of the Harbour of Tor.*

THE harbour in which we happened to cast anchor, was once a place of some consideration; but the small fort of Kalla and Tor is now ruinous, and without a garrison. In its neighbourhood, however, are some remarkable villages, the inhabitants of which, as of all this barren coast, live by fishing.

The inhabitants of Beled-en-Naflara are Greek Christians. In the neighbourhood is a convent, but only a single ecclesiastic in it. At Bir is a well, the water of which is better than that at Naba, but not equal to what the Arabs bring upon camels from the hills. All the pilots who sail between Suez and Jidda live in the village of Jebil. Each of these pilots receives five hundred crowns for the voyage; and gains something besides in the course of it, by instructing young persons who accompany him, to learn his art, which consists merely in distinguishing where the sand banks and beds of coral lie.

Mr. Forikal went on shore to visit the pretended Valley of Elim. The ecclesiastic belonging to the Greek convent sent a guide to conduct him thither. He found it overgrown with date trees. As he did not immediately return, a report arose in the vessel that he had been detained by the Arabs, for attempting to take draughts of their hills. Some merchants, who were also janissaries, set instantly out, to relieve and bring him back. Happily, the report turned out to have been false, and Mr. Forikal returned without having met with any unpleasant accident.

In this place we had an opportunity of seeing that whole range of mountains which terminates with Jibbel Mufa, and forms a mass, of which the mountain of St. Catharine's is the highest peak. One of those mountains rises near Tor. We had a distinct view of St. Catharine's, and perceived how high it towers above Sinai. This vast pile of mountains fills the whole tract between the two arms of the Arabic gulf. Near the shore, those mountains sink into small hills, which slope into sandy plains.

CHAP. XII. — *Voyage from Tor to Jidda.*

WE continued till we had sailed as far as Ras Mahommed, to cast anchor every night. But between that cape and the coast of Arabia, we had to cross the Red Sea at its full breadth. The Europeans think this the safest route, as there is not through the whole one rock on which a ship can be wrecked. But the Turks think themselves undone, whenever they lose sight of land.

So many misfortunes happen, indeed, from the ignorance of their seamen, that they have reason for their fears. Out of four vessels that had set out rather too late in the foregoing year, two had perished in these latitudes. Some persons who had made the voyage in those vessels, narrated to us the particulars of that event, which afforded no bad specimen of the nautical skill of the Turks. When the storm arose, all the sailors and passengers leaped into the boats, and betook themselves to the shore. The two ships being thus abandoned to the storm, one was dashed against a rock, and the other sank. The master of the third cut away the cords of his boats, for which the passengers threatened to cut him in pieces. But by explaining to them their danger, and promising to extricate them, if they should not perplex and impede him, he prevailed upon them to assist him in saving the ship.

In our passage, we found ourselves in danger of a worse misfortune than shipwreck.

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The females, who were lodged under us, more than once suffered linen, which they were drying, to catch fire, in consequence of which the vessel must have been burnt, if we had not been alarmed by their screams, and hastened to their assistance. The second time when this happened, our captain was engaged, and sent down an inferior officer into the seraglio, to beat the women for their carelessness. The infliction of this punishment produced, at first, no small noise among them; but it was followed by four and twenty hours of a sweet silence. Those women were, indeed, extremely troublesome and indiscreet. Hearing their voices so very near us, I was tempted to look through a chink, and saw three or four of them naked and bathing.

Nothing remarkable appeared upon the track by which we sailed, unless a few small and desert islands, and the summits of some distant hills. The last objects that remained within our view, upon the coast of Egypt, were the famous mountains of emeralds, called by the Arabs *Jibbel Sumrud*.

On the 17th of October, an eclipse of the sun happened, which had been foretold to our captain by Mr. Forskal. I shewed this phenomenon through glasses to the captain and the principal merchants, with which they were much pleased; for, among the Mahometans, a person who can predict an eclipse, passes for an universal scholar, and especially for a very skilful physician. Mr. Forskal was consulted by several of the passengers, who fancied themselves sick upon a sudden. He mentioned some harmless medicines to them, and recommended exercise and a peculiar regimen. At length, one of the pilgrims, complaining that he could not see by night, my friend advised him to light a candle. This humorous prescription did him better service than the most profound skill in medicine could have done: Those Mussulmans were pleased to find him thus accommodate himself to their manners, and became very fond of him.

When we came near to the small isle of *Kassani*, the Turks began to express their joy at having escaped the dangers of such a passage, and having so nearly reached the coast of Arabia. Cannons and muskets were fired; the ship and the boats were illuminated with lamps and lanthorns; and all was exultation and jollity. The sailors went round with a box, asking a dole from the passengers; every one gave some trifle; and they then threw into the sea,—not the money,—but the box in which they had collected it.

Continuing our course, we incurred considerable danger, in doubling a cape surrounded with banks of coral, because our pilot was drunk. He had frequently asked us for brandy, on pretence that he could not see the hills, or the outline of the coast, unless his sight were cleared by the drinking of a little strong liquor. We had refused him, for fear of giving offence to the other Mussulmans; but we soon saw that they are not so scrupulous, for the captain sent to us every morning for a quarter of a bottle of brandy to his pilot. The Greek merchants might perhaps have made him drunk, by adding to the dose which he received daily from us.

We arrived soon after at *Jambo*, a walled town near the sea, and having a safe harbour. Not having seen a single house, since we had left *Tor*, we felt no small pleasure at the sight of *Jambo*.

Such as meant to take *Medina* on their way to *Mecca*, went on shore here. Three of our party also landed, and took their sabres in their hands, like the other passengers. An inhabitant of *Jambo*, supposing them Turks, gave them the salutation of peace, *Salam Alicum*, and entered familiarly into conversation with them. But learning that they were Franks, he became vexed at having profaned his form of salutation, by addressing it to Christians, and passionately railed at the insolent audacity of these infidels, who dared to wear arms in Arabia. But the other Arabs not seconding his

complaint, my fellow travellers came on board, without meeting with any other unpleasant accident.

After stopping for one day in this harbour, we proceeded upon our voyage, retiring by degrees from the coast, near which many beds of coral rocks were scattered. We had an opportunity of seeing the town of Mastura, which stands at the foot of a hill of the same name. We doubled Cape Wardan; and anchored near Rabogh, a permanent habitation of a body of Arabs, who lived there in tents. We purchased from them a plentiful stock of provisions.

Pilgrims, in their first journey to Mecca, are obliged to assume the Ihhram immediately after passing Cape Wardan, if the state of their health permit. This is a piece of linen, which is wrapped round the loins. The rest of the body is naked; and in this state they proceed through the rest of the pilgrimage, till they have visited the Kaaba. The only other garment they are suffered to wear, is a linen cloth upon the shoulders, which hangs down in the fashion of a scarf. But many, under pretext of indisposition, retain their ordinary dress. Others, more devout, assumed the Ihhram, although they had been formerly at Mecca; so that by the evening, we saw most of those Mussulmans dressed in a garb different from what they had worn in the morning.

It may seem strange, that Mahomet should have enjoined the observance of stripping, which is so injurious to the health of the pilgrims. But this law was instituted at a time when his followers were all Arabs, and there was little probability that his religion would be propagated in more northern regions. His design was to make the pilgrims appear with due humility, and in the common dress of the Arabs. Those linens are still the only dress worn by the inhabitants of this province. But the Turks, who are accustomed to wear warm clothes, and even furred cloaks, find it extremely uncomfortable to change these for the Ihhram. Superstition maintains local customs and institutions, even after circumstances have so changed, as to make them counteract the purposes for which they were originally intended. The members of several religious orders retain, in cold countries, the common dress of the warm countries in which their orders were instituted. In a chilling climate we see them repair, in the middle of winter, to damp icy churches, because the primitive Christians, in the mild climate of Asia, assembled through the whole year, in such buildings, which were there agreeable by their coolness.

At length, on the 29th of October, we arrived in the harbour of Jidda. The same reason which had induced us to enter the ship before the other passengers, disposed us to remain in it till they had all gone on shore. Every one was to get away with his goods as soon as possible, and to conceal them as much as he could from the officers of the customs. They were particularly at pains to conceal their ready money, which pays two and a half per cent. of duty. One of the passengers failed in the attempt to secrete his money; for his purse burst as he entered the boat, and his crowns fell into the sea. Those who defraud the customs, suffer no confiscation of their goods upon detection; they are only laughed at. In several places in Turkey, those detected in these practices are compelled to pay the duties double.

All who had been this way in the former year, and were now returning from the city, complained bitterly of the harshness with which they had been treated by the customhouse officers. We were therefore perplexed about our ready money, not that we were unwilling to pay the duties, but we were afraid of being plundered by the Arabs. As the Mahometans are unacquainted with the use of letters of exchange, we had been obliged to carry with us in Venetian sequins, the whole sum that we intended to expend on our journey. After various thoughts, we resolved to put our money in
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the bottom of our medicine chest, reserving only two hundred sequins, where we expected the officers of the customs to search. Our stratagem succeeded; and no person offered to move our medicines.

The other three vessels which had set out with us from Suez, did not reach Jidda till a considerable time after our arrival. One of them, by the ignorance of the sailors, had been in great danger in the course of the passage. She was even overturned in the road, the sailors having, in order to gratify the impatience of the merchants, in discharging the cargo, placed too great a weight of goods upon the stern of the ship. She was again raised upon her keel, but a great part of the goods had fallen into the sea, and were much damaged; a new instance this, of the unskilfulness of the Turkish seamen.

CHAP. XIII. — *Of Jidda, and its Vicinity.*

WE entered this city under strong apprehensions of ill treatment from its inhabitants. Recollecting with what contempt Christians are regarded at Cairo, and how our companions had been insulted by the Arab at Jambo; we feared that we might experience still more of the inhospitable insolence of the Mussulmans, as we approached nearer to their holy cities. But we found ourselves agreeably disappointed. The inhabitants of Jidda, who are much accustomed to Christian merchants in the European dress, were not struck with any thing strange in our appearance, and did not seem to take much notice of us. We went freely to the coffee-houses and markets, without suffering any insults. But we understood that none, except Mussulmans, are permitted to pass through the gate that opens towards Mecca, or even to approach it; and kept therefore carefully at a distance from that gate, lest we might be discovered.

Our letters of recommendation were of great use to us. Mr. Gœhler had been personally acquainted with the Pacha of Jidda, at Constantinople, and had accordingly recommended us to him. We had letters from two considerable merchants at Cairo, to two of the principal merchants in Jidda. A poor Scheich had given us one to the Kiaja, the Pacha's lieutenant: a recommendation from which we had not expected much, but which was, nevertheless, of more service to us than all the rest.

That Scheich was secretary to one of the principal members of the academy of Jamea-el-Afhar, at Cairo. He had been born in European Turkey, and having often heard of the superiority of the European Christians in matters of science, he came frequently to see us, and was eager to receive information from us. He was a truly worthy man, perfectly free from superstition, and a friend to the whole human race. Mr. Forikal and I instructed him in the elements of botany and astronomy. He, for his part, was very useful to us, exercising us in the Arabic language, and explaining to us many things of which we must otherwise have remained ignorant. In his youth, he had given the Kiaja some lessons. He had written, without our knowledge by the last caravan, to prepossess his old friend in our favour: and gave us, besides, this letter to him.

As we had not time to deliver all our letters with our own hands, we sent those to the two merchants by our servant, in hopes that they might find us lodgings. But when they understood that we were so many, they excused themselves, alledging that it was not possible to find a house large enough. Had we been fewer, we might have taken chambers in the public Kan. Our Greek servant, when we were thus at a loss for lodgings, applied to one of his countrymen, who was goldsmith to the Sheriffe of Mecca, and in great credit with the principal men in the city. This goldsmith informed

informed him, that the Kiaja, having had previous intimation of our coming, had given him orders to do us any service in his power. He even offered us the use of his own house for a night, and promised us a whole house to ourselves, by next day.

Upon receiving this notice, we went instantly to deliver the Scheich's letter to the Kiaja; who received us with great politeness. We went afterwards frequently to see him; and in our answers to his questions concerning the customs and manners of Europe, we communicated to him and his friends more just and favourable ideas of the Europeans, than they seemed to have before entertained. The Arabs consider us in the same light in which we regard the Chinese. They esteem themselves the more enlightened and ingenious people; and think they do us great honour, when they rank us in the second place. The Kiaja was fond of conversing about astronomy. Mr. Forstkal, who often visited him, persuaded him to form a garden for plants near his house, and to bring from the interior parts of the country, the shrub which produces the balm in Mecca. The Arabs looked upon this as a happy thought; and the more so, because the balm is not to be obtained pure at Jidda, but is commonly corrupted with an intermixture of extraneous substances, before it comes there.

After a few days, we delivered our letter of recommendation to the Pacha. He had also some knowledge of astronomy, and wished to see our instruments. He thought them better than those used in the East, and shewed them to a Scheich, a learned Turk, whom he had with him. The Pacha and the Scheich spoke no language but the Turkish, to which I was a stranger. But we had enough of interpreters; and, among others three French and Italian renegades, in the service of the Pacha. Yet they knew not the terms of science, either in their native language, or in the Turkish. I could not, of consequence, make myself well understood by the Pacha; and our conversation upon these subjects was not long nor profound. With the Kiaja I was obliged to speak Arabic, which I found not a little difficult, being still ignorant of the terms of science in that language.

On the 1st of November, after hiring a house, we made our effects be carried to the customhouse, before we should remove them into the city, and had the pleasure to observe, that we were not the less kindly dealt with for being known to the Kiaja. That officer sat in an elevated situation, with his clerks around him, and directed the goods of the merchants to be examined, piece by piece; but he was satisfied with opening our trunks, and did not make them be emptied. The officers of the customs expect a gratuity, when they behave with discretion. The Sherriffe's goldsmith, who had taken upon himself the direction of our expence, gave them a trifle in our name publicly.

The news of the arrival of a party of Europeans, among whom was an astronomer, soon reached Mecca. The brother of the reigning Sherriffe was at that time advancing with an army to attack the city. With the Mahometans, an astronomer is always deemed an astrologer. The Sherriffe, therefore, directed his Greek goldsmith to enquire of me, whether he should remain in possession of the sovereign power, or be compelled to give place to his brother? I excused myself from returning an answer, as being ignorant of future events, and as cultivating astronomy only to improve the art of navigation. But Mr. Von Haven replied, that, of the two brothers, he who bore the greatest resemblance to Hassan, the founder of the family, should remain victorious. This response turned out the more happily, that the reigning Sherriffe was enabled to maintain himself upon the throne.

A nobleman in Jidda asked me to discover to him the thief who had stolen two hundred sequins which he had lost. I alleged the same excuse as in the former case.

case. He then applied to a famous Scheich, who was a better astrologer than I. The Scheich gathered all his servants, ranged them in a line, and after a long prayer, made each of them take into his mouth a bit of folded paper, telling them, that they who were innocent might swallow it with safety, but that the guilty person would be choked by it. They all swallowed the paper, save one, who, being thus surpris'd, and embarrassed, confessed the theft, and made restitution.

He is said to have been Sultan El Guri, sovereign of Egypt, who in the year 1514, surrounded Jidda with walls, to protect it from the Portuguese, then beginning to become formidable on the Red Sea. Those walls are still standing, but are now so ruinous, that a person may, in many places, enter over them on horseback. The bridge is in an equally defenceless state; a ruinous battery, with one dismounted cannon, is all that remains to shelter it. Some cannons before the palace of the Pacha, are good for nothing but to return the salute of ships which enter the harbour. This palace is but an indifferent building, like the houses of the other Pachas through the Ottoman empire. In the city, however, are several fine buildings of coral stone. But the other houses are slight wooden fabrics, like the ordinary dwellings of the Arabs through the country.

The city is entirely destitute of water. The inhabitants have none to drink, but what is collected by the Arabs, in reservoirs among the hills, and brought by them from thence upon camels.

People of distinction in this place dress nearly as the Turks in Cairo. But the poorer sort wear only a shirt without breeches. The Bedouins in the neighbourhood wear only the Ihram upon their loins. The dress of the women among the lower ranks is the same which is worn by the Arabian females in general; large drawers, a flowing shirt, and a veil. Many of the poorer people are employed in fishing, by which they seem to earn but a scanty living.

The country lying immediately around this city is sandy and barren. If we may believe tradition, these regions have undergone no change since the creation; for the tomb of Eve is still shewn in a spot at no great distance from the sea. But I have remarked some sure indications of the sea having receded from the surface of the land here as well as in other places. At a certain distance from the shore, are hills entirely composed of coral-rock, and having a perfect resemblance to the banks of coral lying along the coast.

As I was walking by the harbour, I had an opportunity of observing a singular practice, which the Arabs use for taking up wild ducks. The person who is in search of the game, strips, puts sea weeds upon his head, and approaches the bird. The duck, not being alarmed at the sight of the sea weeds, tirs not till the Arab seizes it by the feet.

Perocke, and some other travellers, were not credited, when they spoke of this mode of taking wild fowls as practis'd in China. But no fact can be more certain.

CHAP. XIV. — *The Government and Trade of Jidda.*

JIDDA has been always a part of the dominions of the Sherriſſe of Mecca. The Turkish Sultan sends, indeed, a Pacha to this city; but he is not absolute sovereign of it. The supreme authority is shared between the Sherriſſe and the Turkish governor. The latter is changed every year; and accordingly refuses sometimes to obey the Pacha; as did the present Kiaja, in one instance, during our stay at Jidda.

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The Sheriffe keeps an officer, who is called his Visier, to represent him in this city; and on this Visier, solely, do all such of the inhabitants of Jidda, as are the Sheriffe's subjects, depend. This officer is always chosen out of the family of the Sheriffe, from among those who aspire to the sovereign power. A descendant of a noble Arab family would not deign to compare before a judge of a meaner birth.

The revenue arising from the customs is shared between the Sultan and the Sheriffe; upon which account the Kinja and the Visier always attend together, when goods are examined. The dues of custom are fixed at 10 *per cent.* upon the value of the goods, estimated arbitrarily by the customhouse officers; so that they may be considered as equal, in reality, to 12 or 15 *per cent.* The English, however, are particularly favoured, even more than the subjects of the Sultan: They pay only 8 *per cent.* and are suffered to discharge this in goods; whereas all others must produce money.

Although the trade of Jidda is so considerable, yet this city is no more than a mart between Egypt and India. The ships from Suez seldom proceed farther than this port; and those from India are not suffered to advance to Suez. The master of a vessel from Surat being driven one year too far north to enter the harbour of Jidda, proceeded to Suez, and there discharged his cargo. But he was put in prison next year at Jidda, and obliged to pay the whole dues that would have been charged at Jidda, upon the goods which he had disposed of at Suez.

Were it not for this advantage, the trade of Suez would be very trifling. The circumjacent country affords nothing but Taif almonds for an object of traffic; of these, indeed, the English carry five hundred thousand weight a-year to India. Bala of Mecca is also brought hither from the neighbourhood of Medina, as an article for exportation.

The imports are greater, because both Mecca and Medina are to be supplied from this market. Large quantities of corn, rice, lentiles, sugar, oil, &c. are imported from Egypt, without which this part of Arabia could not possibly be inhabited. All goods from Europe come also by the way of Egypt; and, on the other hand, those which are brought hither from India pass generally into Egypt.

Millet, who resided long in Cairo, imagined that it might be of advantage to the nations of Europe, to conduct their trade to India by the way of the Red Sea. But it is doubtful whether ships would be allowed to pass the harbour of Jidda. They would undoubtedly meet with much fraud and chicanery at Suez; for the proprietors of the vessels which trade at present between the two harbours, are the most respectable merchants in Cairo. Besides, the exorbitant duties which would be exacted, would greatly curtail their profits. But European merchants would hardly be hindered to settle at Jidda: One Englishman has lived several years here.

A circumstance which must always have an unfavourable influence upon the state of this trade, is the low state of the finances of the Government which presides here. Continually in want of money, they often require the merchants to advance some part of the duties for the next year, and promise to discount what is thus advanced, when it falls due. But these advances, when once obtained, are left to accumulate year after year, and will never be repaid. The English have not yet submitted to these impositions: but their firm refusal continually embroils them with the officers of Government.

No money is coined in this province; the specie current here is all foreign, and the same as at Constantinople and Cairo. But the larger coins pass at a higher rate here than in Cairo, because small money is more plentiful here than even where it is coined. Pilgrims bring this abundance of small money into the country, to defray their travelling

expences, and the alms which they are obliged to bestow on their journey, and in the Holy City. That small money is never carried out of the country, and the province is, by consequence, absolutely overflowed with it.

I have had occasion to speak of the trading janissaries. Those are properly merchants, who have inrolled themselves among the janissaries, that they might be protected by the privileges of that body from the impositions to which they would otherwise be exposed in conducting their traffic; but they perform no military duty, and receive no pay. Such a janissary is independent of the civil magistrate, and amenable to no judges but the officers of the military body to which he belongs. He enjoys also an exemption from the payment of custom-house dues, for a trunk and two baskets, which are allowed them for the conveyance of their baggage and provisions. But, instead of baggage or provisions, the trading janissaries take care to fill the trunk and baskets with their most precious goods. I have seen, likewise, some ship captains and pilots who had inrolled themselves among the janissaries, solely to acquire importance, and to secure the protection of this powerful body, who are always ready to support and defend a brother janissary; for such janissaries did not share the privileges of their Turkish brethren.

While we were in Jidda, the janissary traders, resenting the strictness with which their goods were inspected, threatened to defend themselves with the help of their fellows, from what they called injustice. The Kiaja and Visier ordered strong detachments from the troops of the Pacha and the Sultan, to attend them to the custom house; and the mutineers were thus repressed. But after our departure, the janissaries assembled in arms; upon which the Pacha directed some cannons to be pointed against the house in which the ringleaders were assembled, and all became quiet.

CHAP. XV. — *Voyage from Jidda to Lobeia.*

OUR orders were to proceed as directly as possible to Yemen; and nothing detained us at Jidda but the prevalence of the north wind, which kept back the arrival of the ships going thither for coffee; for there were none else with which we could continue our voyage to the south of the Arabic Gulph. At last some of those vessels arrived in the beginning of December; and we were advised to take our passage in a ship from Maskate, bound to Hodeida, for a cargo of coffee.

We went in haste to see this vessel, but were not a little surprised to find it more like a hoghead than a ship. It was only seven fathoms long, by three in breadth. It had no deck; its planks were extremely thin, and seemed to be only nailed together, but not pitched. The Captain wore nothing but a linen cloth upon his loins; and his sailors, who were nine in number, and all black slaves from Africa or Malabar, had nothing to cover their nakedness, but about an hand breadth of linen, bound upon their haunches with a cord. Our friends persuaded us not to stickle at appearances, as the Arabs of Maskate are esteemed good sailors, and manage their sails like European mariners; whereas the subjects of the Imam are very unskillful navigators, and use mats for sails, which it is very difficult to manage. We took their advice and agreed with the master for our passage to Hodeida.

Our first intention had been to go straight by sea to Mokha, as we hoped that some English vessel might be found there. But we were told, that this passage would be extremely tedious, and that we might travel more agreeably by land, and could meet with no molestation in the dominions of the Imam. However, the danger of living among Arabs, whom we represented to ourselves such as those whom we had seen in the

defeat, still dwelt upon our imagination. But our friends again assured us, that our fears were groundless; and we accordingly determined to land at Loheia, or rather at Hodeida, as we should thus begin the sooner to traverse Arabia the Happy. The Kiaja gave us letters to the Dolas, or governors of Loheia and Hodeida: and the merchants to whom we had been recommended, gave us others to some of the principal merchants in those two cities. The Pacha gave orders that our baggage should pass unexamined.

We had freighted the vessel for ourselves alone: but yet we found it laden with goods. The master excused this, by telling us, that these were absolutely necessary for ballast. A small space was however allotted to each of us, which we found spread with a straw mat, intended equally for a seat and a bed, upon which we might sleep if we could. Bales of goods occupied every place else, except one small corner, which served as a kitchen. It was impossible, therefore, to walk or take the least exercise. Mr. Cramer lost his watch the first night between the boards and a mat of branches of trees, which was spread all over the bottom of the vessel, to keep the goods dry. It was found undamaged, when we reached Loheia; a circumstance which proves that the timber of those vessels is more closely joined than one would at first imagine.

We set out from Jidda on the 13th of December, and our Captain followed the practice of casting anchor every night; although the banks of coral are less numerous in the southern than in the northern part of the Arabic Gulph. If we had seen few towns or villages between Suez and Jidda, we saw no more between Jidda and Loheia.

Our voyage was uniformly safe and pleasant. We observed some flying fishes, which the Arabs call sea locusts. On the sixth day of our voyage, we overtook a vessel belonging to Hodeida, which had sailed from Jidda three days before us. This was an instance of the slow sailing of the ships of Yemen, whose mat sails receive so little wind, that often the Arabs can scarce get out of the harbour. We saw also several small vessels, which proceeded in such a manner as to shew themselves to be managed by men of much more spirit than the Turkish sailors.

After seven days sailing we anchored near Ghunfude, a considerable city, but consisting merely of huts. It belongs to the Sherriffe of Mecca, and is governed by one of his officers, who lives in a small isle, at some distance from the city. He is obliged to pass daily between the isle and the town, in order to attend the receipt of the customs. All the ships which are employed in carrying coffee to Jidda, are obliged to anchor here, and pay a duty to the Sherriffe. They are under no necessity of stopping on their return; if the crew, however, wish to go on shore, they may obtain a general permission for the payment of two crowns.

Next day after our departure from Ghunfude, where we staid only one day, we passed within sight of Hali, where the Sherriffe of Mecca keeps a garrison. This city is upon the confines of his dominions, and upon the border of the province of Hedjas. The neighbouring Arabs belong to Yemen.

As our captain needed provisions, we had an early opportunity of forming acquaintance with those independent Arabs who live between the dominions of the two Sherriffes of Mecca and Abu-Arifch. They are governed by Schiechs of their own, and profess a religion which seems to have been that of their ancestors before Mahomet arose. We had heard it mentioned, that those people have a strong inclination to appropriate the clothes of travellers: in imitation of our ship captain, therefore, we dressed ourselves modestly and simply, in different shirts, and in this guise went on shore unarmed. Some men immediately advanced to meet us; instead of a turban they

they wore only a string upon the head, to confine the hair; and a cloth upon the loins was all the rest of their dress. Conceiving our behaviour to be expressive of suspicion and distrust, they threw down their lances, and told us that we had nothing to fear.

As we wished to purchase provisions, they led us to their tents. As we approached, two women came out to meet us, and respectfully kissed the arms of the Schiechs, who kissed their heads in return. They wore no veils upon their faces; their eyes were blackened with lead ore; and they had black spots impressed, as ornaments upon their brows, cheeks, and chin. Those beauties, whose complexion was a yellowish brown, and who were almost naked, immediately asked us for Kochhel, to blacken their eyes, and for Elheune to dye their nails yellow. We were not a little mortified that we had forgotten to provide ourselves in these articles, by which we might have been enabled to gratify the eagerness of those fair ones for dress, and to supply them with powerful aids to their charms. They regaled us with milk and butter, which had been kept in goat skins, and gave us bad bread to eat with these dainties. They were not displeased at our paying them before hand. Although wanderers in the desert, they seemed to us more civilized than most of the other Bedouin tribes.

Next day, after this interview, we halted near a mountain called Konembel, situated in the middle of the sea, and said by the Arabs to have been originally a volcano. It may possibly be the remains of that burning island which is placed by Arrian and Ptolemy in these latitudes. We saw, likewise, not far off, the city of Gefan, situate upon a tongue of land, on the coast; but we did not venture to approach it; for the Sherriffe to whom it belongs bears the character of being inhospitable to strangers.

On the 29th of December, we arrived in the harbour of Loheia, and cast anchor within a league of the town.

ROUTE FROM LOHEIA TO BEIT EL FAKIH.

CHAP. XVI. — *Of our Stay at Loheia.*

BETWEEN Suez and Loheia, we had heard much of the independent Schiechs, who are unwilling to suffer strangers to enter their dominions. From this circumstance we could not readily credit what was told us concerning the ease and security with which we might travel through the territories of the Imam of Sana. It was for this reason that we had wished to go straight by sea to Mokha; although we had been often enough opposed by contrary winds, to make us weary of this mode of travelling. Two merchants of Mokha, who had set out with us, determined, however, to continue their journey by land. We thought it might be proper to accompany them into the city, where we might learn from the governor, whether we could be safe to travel by land between Loheia and Mokha.

Dola, or Emir, is the title which the Arabs give to the governor of cities. He of Loheia was an Emir, and his name was Farhan. He was a native of Africa, and entirely black; but had been brought into Arabia in his youth, and sold to a man of rank, who was since dead, after having occupied one of the first offices in the service of the Imam. He had given young Farhan a good education, and had obtained for him a small office, in which he gave so much satisfaction, that his merit soon raised him to be Dola of a considerable city. We found him to possess the dignified politeness of a nobleman, the strict integrity, and the candid benevolence of a true friend to mankind.

We explained to him our situation; and told him that we were Europeans, and wished to go by Hodeida to Mokha, where we hoped to find some English ships, in which we might take our passage to India; but, being strangers to the country through which we were to travel, had brought a letter to him from the Kiaia of Jidda, and another from one of the principal merchants in Jidda to Mæchsen-el-Makkawisch, the chief merchant in Loheia. The Emir had known a good many Europeans, or Franks, at Mokha, but had never before seen any arrayed in the garb of the East, which is, however, universally worn by the Oriental Christians. We knew that the Mussulmans regard Christians with greater esteem than those of any other religious community, except their own. When we were asked, therefore, by Emir Farhan, whether we were Franks or Nazarites, we replied that we were both; fearing that he might, perhaps, take the Europeans for Pagans. Mæchsen, the merchant was then sick; but the Emir sent for his clerk, to receive the letter in our hands, addressed to him.

Hitherto this governor had known no Europeans but India merchants. He was surprised when he understood from the letters, that one of us was a physician; another in search of plants; and a third, an observer of stars. Struck with this singularity, and supposing that we might not be in very great haste, he proposed to us to stay some time at Loheia, offering to send us to Mokha upon his own camels. Mæchsen, the merchant, who needed a physician, earnestly invited us, at the same time, to take up our lodgings in one of his houses.

We were delighted thus to find the Arabs more civilized the further we proceeded from Egypt, and to meet with so polite a reception among the people who were the object of our enquiries. We were still more delighted that the people themselves contributed to afford us opportunities of traversing their country unsuspected. To hide our joy at the proposal, we expressed our fears of danger in travelling so near the seat of the war between the Schiechs of Mekkrani and the Sherriffe of Abu-Arifch. But the Emir assured us, that we should be safe from all danger at Loheia, and might travel in full security through the whole territories of his master the Imam.

We no longer hesitated to quit the vessel. The captain not having taken the precaution to exact payment of our passage, when we came first on board, now applied to the governor, begging him to compel us to pay in full for our passage to Hodeida. The Emir generously replied, that he would pay his demand from his own purse, if we refused; and the merchant Mæchsen made the same promise. We did not put the generosity of our Arabian friends to the trial; but felt ourselves deeply indebted to them for their services.

When we spoke of the conveyance of our baggage to the shore, the Emir sent his own boat for it; and, to spare us all trouble, directed the merchant's clerk to satisfy the officers of the customs. In the evening he sent us an excellent sheep, as a present of welcome, and accompanied it with a letter, in which he called us his guests, and assured us of his friendship. His boat having only mat sails, moved so slowly that we could not bring all our effects on shore. The Emir, understanding that we were uneasy upon this head, immediately sent some soldiers to guard our baggage.

We passed the night on the shore, whither our good friend Mæchsen, who very naturally supposed that our cooking utensils must be yet in confusion, sent us an excellent supper. Nothing was wanting but wine; and our stock of bad brandy, which we had brought from Jidda, was by this time finished. We might have supplied ourselves with wine, and other liquors, from the Jews of Sana, who manufacture large quantities of those articles; but we should have been obliged to carry them in copper vessels, which would have rendered them noxious to the health. They offered us a

fort of bowza, which we found nauseous. We were, therefore, obliged to content ourselves with the prospect of living without strong liquor of any kind for some months.

Our trunks were carried next day to the custom-house; they were opened; and we were afraid that they might be strictly examined. But the custom-house officers behaved with great civility. We had remarked, that the Emir's attention was fixed upon our instruments solely, and that he seemed anxious to understand the uses of them: We therefore explained to him whatever he wished to know. Mr. Forkal shewed him some small objects through a microscope; and he was most agreeably surprised to see minute insects magnified to so large a size.

The house assigned us for a lodging was built in the Eastern fashion, with a square court in the middle. There was not one well furnished room in it; yet it consisted of several distinct apartments, into which the entrance was through an open gallery, which extended all around it. This lodging was far from being elegant, in comparison with the splendid inns in Europe; but in Arabia it was both elegant and commodious. At first our court was constantly filled with crowds of people curious to see us. This we found troublesome; and therefore hired a porter who suffered none to enter but persons who had business to transact with us.

CHAP. XVII. — *Of the City of Loheia.*

THE city of Loheia has stood only for these three centuries. Its founder and patron was a Mahometan saint, called Schiech Scœlei, who built a hut on the shore where Loheia now stands, and spent there the rest of his days as a hermit. After his death, a Kabbet, or house of prayer, was raised over the tomb; and it was afterwards by degrees embellished and endowed. Some devout persons imagining that it would be a great happiness to them to live near the remains of so holy a person, built huts for themselves about his tomb. Nearly at the same time the harbour of Marabea, a neighbouring city in which a governor resided, was filled up. The inhabitants upon this deserted their city, and settled at Loheia, whither the seat of government was also transferred.

I remarked upon this occasion, that the Sunnites, the prevalent sect in this province, although forbidden by the Koran to pay any acts of worship to created beings, yet regard their saints with very singular veneration. In this part of Arabia, the posterity of the saints are treated with as much respect as is shewn to the posterity of Mahomet at Mecca. Every person who can number a reputed saint among his ancestors, is dignified with the title of Schiech, and considered as an ecclesiastic by birth. Families that find it their interest to establish, by every possible means, the sanctity of the person to whom they owe their origin, and to maintain the authenticity of the miracles ascribed to him. In this manner is superstition daily extending its influence among the Mahometans, and feigned miracles are constantly multiplying.

The territory of Loheia is arid and barren. The harbour is so indifferent that even the smallest vessels are obliged to anchor at a distance from the city; and, when the tide is at ebb, laden boats cannot approach near it. Notwithstanding this disadvantage a considerable trade in coffee is carried on from Loheia; the coffee is brought from the neighbouring hills, and exposed in one large heap for sale. This coffee is not reputed to be so good as that which comes from Beit-el-Fakih, and is shipped at Mokha and Hodeida. But coffee is to be purchased here upon more reasonable terms; and the carriage to Jidda costs less. On this account several merchants from Cairo live at Loheia, and others come annually hither to make purchases of coffee. In this city are also forty poor Banians, employed in different trades.

Loheia, although without walls, is not entirely defenceless. Twelve towers, guarded by soldiers, stand at equal distances round it. These towers resemble those in some of the imperial cities of Germany; the height of its gates renders it necessary to climb up to them upon ladders. In Turkey, and even in Europe, it would have been dangerous to approach near such fortifications, in order to examine them. But the Arab guards sat smoking their pipes and drinking Kischeb, and gave me no interruption in my walks about them. Some of the officers even invited me to sit down and partake of their refreshments. They put many questions to me concerning the military skill of the Europeans, and seemed to be surprised at what I told them. I shewed them our invention for writing without ink, and in their presence, drew with a pencil the lines and angles necessary for laying down the plan of the city, while they had no suspicion of my purpose, but called on their comrades from the neighbouring towers to see my exhibition.

Only one of those towers, and that newly built by Emir Farhan, is such as to admit of being defended by cannons. The rest are so ill built, that the Arabs of Hasehid, some time since, made their way through them, and set fire to the city. The inhabitants are sensible of the weakness of their fortifications. After our departure, upon some hundred of those Arabs advancing through the province towards the shore, many of the inhabitants left Loheia, and took refuge in a small island, carrying with them their most precious effects. But their terror proved to have been premature; for Emir Farhan no sooner put his troops in motion, than those contemptible enemies retreated.

Several of the houses in Loheia are built of stone; but the greater part are huts constructed in that fashion which is common among the Arabs. The walls are of mud mixed with dung; and the roof is thatched with a sort of grass which is very common here. Round the walls within are a range of beds made of straw, on which, notwithstanding their simplicity, a person may either sit or lie commodiously enough. Such a house is not large enough to be divided into separate apartments; it has seldom windows, and its door is only a straw mat. When an Arab has a family and cattle, he builds for their accommodation several such huts, and incloses the whole with a strong wooden fence. The population of the cities of Arabia, therefore, cannot be proportionate to their extent.

Lime is prepared in the neighbourhood of this city, by the calcination of coral from the sea in the open air, and without a furnace. In the larger masses, when they were broken, we often saw oblong shells, with the animal still alive within them. These seas abound in beautiful shells and uncommon fishes.

The water at Loheia is very bad and is brought from a distance. The common people drink from a well which is a league from the city. The best water, which however cannot be praised as good, comes from two leagues and a half's distance. As wheeled carriages are unknown here, this water is carried upon camels or asses; not in skins as in Egypt and Turkey, but in earthen jars, a number of which hang upon each side of a camel. Within two leagues of the city is a small hill which affords considerable quantities of mineral salt.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Of the Inhabitants of Lobeia.*

FROM all that we saw and from all that befel us in this city, we judged the inhabitants to be curious, intelligent, and polished in their manners. All were eager to see the Europeans and the wonders which they performed. After we had employed a porter,

porter, those who had no other pretext upon which they might obtain admission to us pretended to consult our physician. One asked him to feel his pulse, and to tell him what medicines or regimen he stood in need of; while another enquired how it came that he could not sleep?

We had one opportunity of learning their ideas of the benefits to be derived from medicine. Mr. Cramer had given a scorpion a wound which operated with extreme violence. The Arabs being struck at its wonderful effects, resolved all to take the same excellent remedy; and the reputation of our friend's skill thus became very high among them. The Emir Bahr, or inspector of the port, sent one day for him; and as he did not go immediately the Emir soon after sent a saddled horse to our gate. Mr. Cramer, supposing that this horse was intended to bear him to the Emir, was going to mount him, when he was told that this was the patient he was to cure. We luckily found out another physician in our party. Our Swedish servant had served among the hussar troops in his native country, and in that service had learned some knowledge of the diseases of horses. He offered to cure the Emir's horse and succeeded. The cure rendered him famous: and he was often sent for afterwards to human patients. The Arabian physicians extend their care equally to men and horses, and even other creatures.

When we shewed our microscopes to Emir Farhan at the customhouse, the other Arabs were all astonished as well as he, to see the size of the insects so much magnified. A servant who saw one of those magnified insects, said that they were the growth of Europe, and that those of Arabia, were in comparison exceedingly diminutive. But nothing surprised the people of Jerusalem more than when they saw through a telescope a woman walking; they could not conceive how it happened, that although she appeared topsy turvy, yet her under garments did not turn about her ears, and exclaimed repeatedly, Allah Akbar, God is Great.

The children of serving that we gathered insects, brought great numbers, which they asked us to buy. Those who were grown up shewed also many indications of a turn for industry, which, if properly directed and encouraged, might render this people a commercial nation.

Two Arabs came one day to see us eat. The one was a young nobleman of Sana, who had received a good education; the other, a man of some consequence from the province of Hachtan, where few strangers are ever seen, and the greatest simplicity of manners still prevails. When we invited them to dine with us, the latter earnestly replied, "God preserve me from eating with infidels who believe not in God." When I asked him some particulars concerning his country, he replied, "What is my country to you? Do you want to conquer it?" He was astonished at every thing he saw, our spoons, our plates, our forks. He asked some simple questions which excited laughter. He then went out in a passion, and his companion from Sana had some difficulty to persuade him back. When he came back he saw whole fowls before us, which surprised that sober Arab not a little, as he imagined we had eaten too much before. When at last, he saw Mr. Von Haven about to carve one of these fowls, he stepped forward, and seized him by the arm, saying, with a peevish tone, "What, wilt thou eat still?" He then went out in a rage, and would not return. The young man from Sana apologized for him, and begged us to excuse the simplicity of his countryman.

Mr. Baurenfeind and I sometimes diverted ourselves with playing on the violin, which led such as happened to overhear us, to think us musicians. A rich merchant tent for us to come with our instruments to his house. We refused, because the Arabs look with contempt upon musicians by profession. The merchant being old and not able

to walk so far, mounted an afs, and came with two servants supporting him to our house, in order to gratify his curiosity by seeing and hearing us. He was very polite, and assured us that he had no aversion to Christians; for that a diversity of religion was tolerated by God, the Creator of all. After some conversation, he expressed a wish to see our violins, and hear us play upon them. We played some solemn tunes, which are more to the taste of the Orientals, than our gayer music. He seemed to be pleased and offered each of us half a crown at parting. The Arabs refuse no presents, however small, and he was not a little surprised when we declined accepting his money; especially as he could not conceive what inducements any person could have to learn music if not to gain by it.

This merchant was one of those few who wear their beards dyed red; a custom which seems to be disapproved by the more judicious Arabs. His reason to us was, that a red beard was handsomer than a white one; but others told us, that he had the weakness to think to conceal his age by this silly disguise. He told us that he was about seventy years of age; but his acquaintance affirmed that he was not under ninety. We had observed of the Mussulmans in general, however, that they seldom know their own age exactly. They reckon by the most remarkable incidents in their lives, and say, I was a child when such an event happened, or when such a one was governor of the province or city.

This merchant often afterwards invited us to his house, and became at length so familiar as to entertain us with a detail of his adventures. If we might believe his story, he had enjoyed, one after another, near an hundred young and beautiful female slaves, all of whom he had sold, given in marriage, or restored to liberty, after keeping them for some time. He had still two of these; and he would die content, he said, if he could only forget the frailty of old age now and then in their company; he offered to make our physician a considerable present, if he could restore him so much of the vigour of youth as might qualify him for this enjoyment. Another merchant who was fifty years of age, had promised our physician an hundred crowns, if he would give him some remedies to fit him for the enjoyment of some young and beautiful female slaves whom he had in a house at Mecca. But he was so exhausted by excessive indulgence, that neither Mr. Cramer's prescription, nor yet those of the surgeons of some English ships whom he had before consulted, could restore him to his genial vigour.

The women of Loheia wear large veils in the street which cover their countenances so entirely, that only one of their eyes can be discovered, and that but imperfectly. Yet they make no difficulty of unveiling before strangers as they pass, especially if they happen to think themselves pretty, and are sure that they are not observed by any of their countrymen. Mr. Baurenfeind made a drawing of one of those females. Her brow, cheeks, and chin, were ornamented with black spots, impressed into the skin, and she had also her eyes artificially blackened.

CHAP. XIX. — *Departure from Loheia.*

AFTER examining all that seemed worthy of notice in this city and its neighbourhood, we became desirous to proceed on our journey, and to visit the other parts of Yemen. It was requisite, however, that we should assign a reason to our friend Farhan for our earnestness to depart. By good fortune we learned that an English vessel was arrived at Mokha: but this vessel, the Emir well knew, was not to sail from that harbour till June. We told him, therefore, that we had some immediate business to transact with our countrymen that were newly arrived; upon which account we meant to set out

out for Beit el Fakih, and after resting there a short time, to continue our journey to Mokha. He answered, that we were surely dissatisfied with our entertainment at Loheia, otherwise we would not think of leaving it so soon; and yet no governor could take more concern to serve us than he. After convincing him that we were actually under a necessity of setting out for Mokha, we prepared for our departure.

We had made a large collection of natural curiosities, the carriage of which by land would have cost a great expence. We resolved, therefore, to send our trunks, and all the baggage we were not likely to need, to Beit el Fakih. The governor did us the kindness of sending by the same conveyance, a letter to the Dola of Mokha, in which he asked him to suffer our effects to remain untouched at the custom-house, till we ourselves should arrive.

When we sent to take leave of our friend Emir Farhan he was indisposed, and we could not see him. But when he heard that we had determined to set out, he desired that we would come to him very late in the evening. We found him in company with several Arabs; before him lay an English telescope which I had lent him, a piece of silk stuff, and a parcel of crowns. He would return me my telescope, but I insisted that he should keep it; which, after long refusal, he at last, with visible satisfaction, consented to do. The piece of silk, with twenty crowns, were a present intended for our physician; and the rest of the crowns he pressed us to accept, in order to pay the hire for our asses and camels. He and his company testified the strongest surprise, when they saw us refuse the money thus offered us; for instead of refusing, Turkish travellers are ready to demand such gratuities.

We were unwilling to be burthensome to the Arabs, and would therefore accept of nothing from them, without making a recompense. We made the Emir a present of a watch, which, having never before had one of his own, he knew not how to manage. A merchant from Cairo, who was settled at Loheia, promised to wind it up every day. We parted with sincere regret from this good governor.

We hired camels for our baggage, and horses for ourselves. In Arabia, Christians are not prohibited the use of horses; but these can rarely be had for hire. The usual mode of travelling here is upon asses; which in this province are large, strong, spirited, and walk with a pace not the most pleasant to the rider.

Travelling being as little exposed to danger in Yemen as in any other country in the world, we did not need to wait for the setting out of any caravan. We therefore set out from Loheia alone on the 20th of February, sending the camels before, and following them ourselves within a few hours upon our asses.

CHAP. XX. — *Route by Tehama.*

THE territory of Yemen is naturally divided into two distinct provinces. That part which borders on the Arabic gulf is a sandy plain, which, as it spreads backward, rises by a gradual ascent into hills, and terminates in a lofty range of mountains. The plain is called Tehama. We had to cross it on our way to Beit el Fakih.

In the first day of our journey we travelled through a parched and barren tract of country, along an arm of the sea which penetrates a considerable way into the land. We rested in a coffee-house situate near a village. Mokeya is the name given by the Arabs to such coffee-houses which stand in the open country, and are intended, like our inns, for the accommodation of travellers. They are mere huts, and are scarcely furnished with a Serir, or long seat of straw ropes; nor do they afford any refreshment but Kischer, a hot infusion of coffee beans. This drink is served out in coarse earthen cups;

but persons of distinction carry always porcelain cups in their baggage. Fresh water is distributed gratis. The master of the coffee-house lives commonly in some neighbouring village, whence he comes every day to wait for passengers.

After a journey of six German miles, we arrived by midnight at a large city, in which a Sub-Dola resides, with a few soldiers. Emir Farhan had given us a letter to the deputy governor, with an order to the inhabitants to supply us with a sheep, which, however, we did not choose to accept. But we came afterwards to understand, that the inhabitants had been obliged to pay a sum of money equivalent to the value of the sheep, which had been shared between the Sub-Dola and a servant of the Emir's, who accompanied us upon business of his own. In the other villages through which we passed, therefore, we made no difficulty of accepting the sheep which the Emir had ordered us.

Through the whole country, we found water scarce and bad. But we met with many large villages, less distant from one another than we should have expected in so barren a plain. Menegre is one of those villages of which we were before making particular notice, by finding in it the first Mansafe that we saw. A Mansafe is a house in which travellers are received and entertained gratis, if they will be content with such treatment as is usual in the country; they are all lodged in one common apartment, which is furnished with a Serir, and are served with Kitcher, hot millet bread, camels milk and butter. When the master of this Mansafe understood that some European guests were arrived, he came to see whether his servants treated us properly; and was going to kill a sheep for our entertainment, if we had stayed longer. He caused wheat bread to be baked for us, which is in this province very rare; and made them bring cow milk, when he saw us nauseate the viscosity of the camel's milk. Our Arabian servants let us know, that he might be disobliged, if we should offer any compensation for his kind hospitality; but the attendant who served us with those things, took an opportunity in a place where he could not be seen by his master, to ask a small gratuity.

At Dahhi, a large village, where is a mosque, the tomb of a saint, and several houses built of stone, we stayed a whole day. Near this we saw a tannery, and a manufacture of earthen ware, which is prepared in the open air, and without a furnace. We saw likewise, indigo manufactured here; it is sold at a cheap rate, but is of a bad quality. Much of this dying stuff is used here; for the women, among the commonalty, wear blue shirts and drawers.

From this village there is a direct road leading to Beit el Fakih. But the tract of country through which it passes is extremely arid, and almost uninhabited, and affords scarcely any water. We therefore preferred a longer road nearer the mountains, and found reason to be pleased with our choice; for we met with several small woods, a number of villages skirted with bushes, and many wells, which were from an hundred and sixty, to an hundred and seventy feet deep; but happily for both men and beasts, dug in sloping ground, for as the water is to be raised by a cord dragging a leathern bucket, this is more easily accomplished in a going down hill, than if the ground were barely level, or an ascent were to be climbed.

We passed two large villages under the jurisdiction of the governor of Beit el Fakih; but in neither of these did any thing remarkable offer itself to our observation. But in two places upon this journey, we saw spots scattered with small villages, bearing all the same name, from which we were led to think, that some small detached tribes might have settled each in a particular district of this province. We passed also two of those vallies so common in Arabia, which when heavy rains fall, are filled with water, and are then called wadi or rivers, although perfectly dry at other times of the year.

After

After resting a night in one of those wretched coffee-houses, we arrived in the morning of the 25th of February at Beit el Fakih, and had our trunks sent immediately to the custom house; but they were not inspected till noon, and then in the presence of the Dola. We, in the mean time, delivered letters of recommendation from Mæchsen of Loheia to Ambar Seif, one of the principal merchants in Beit el Fakih. This worthy man received us in a very obliging manner, hired us a house, saw our effects carried thither, and invited us to dine with him, till we could have matters put into order in our own habitation.

CHAP. XXI.—*Of the City of Beit el Fakih.*

THIS city is situated on a plain, which, although far from being naturally fertile, is however, carefully cultivated. The houses join not one to another, but are built separate. Many are of stone, and the mode of building is every day improving; many, however, are still in that style of architecture which I had occasion to remark when speaking of Loheia. In the city of Beit el Fakih is a citadel, which is thought of the utmost importance in a country where armies are without artillery.

The house which we occupied was a building of stone; but the proprietor had been dislodged by a species of ants named by the Arabs, *Ard*. These ants, which are well known to naturalists, form covert ways, through which they introduce themselves into houses, where they destroy equally clothes and provisions of all kinds. They are not less troublesome in gardens, where they also form their covert ways between the root and the top of trees, wasting the sap, and devouring the buds and the extremities of the branches. Our chambers were full of them; we took the measures which are ordinarily employed to quit ourselves of them, destroying their cells and passages several times successively. The insect indeed restores these with amazing rapidity, especially in the dark; but it at length yields. On our way hither we had observed a number of bushes covered with earth, in which were a vast quantity of galleries formed by those little animals. The shrub which they had attacked in this manner was always withered.

The city of Beit el Fakih is not of ancient origin. It has existed only for some centuries; and like Loheia, owes its rise to a faint called Achmed ibn Musa, from whom it has derived its name; Beit el Fakih meaning the house or dwelling of the sage. The tomb of that faint is shewn without the city upon a sandy hill, where a fine mosque has been reared. At first, some devout persons built themselves cottages round the tomb. The harbour of Ghaleika was about the same time choked up; and the inhabitants of that city, for the convenience of trade, then removed all their effects to the vicinity of this tomb, and settled about it. When it had thus become a considerable city, the lord of the territory built a citadel for its defence, in a place where water had been found. The city is now nearer the tomb; and the vicinity of the tomb is almost deserted.

That faint was a great worker of miracles. The following is the most wonderful which he performed. A Turkish Pacha, who had been for twenty years a captive in Spain, where he was bound with massy and ponderous chains to two large stones, had long invoked in vain, the aid of several different faints. At last, he bethought him of the great Achmed, and invoked him also in his turn. The faint stretched out his hand from his tomb; and at that very instant, the Pacha arrived from Spain, bearing with him his stones and chains. The miracle took place on the evening of the anniversary festival of the faint, in the presence of many witnesses. Such a miracle, of so late a date, and performed so publicly, they consider as proved by the most unexceptionable evidence.

So modern a city cannot contain many antiquities of an interesting nature. Yet I copied here an ancient Kufic inscription, in the presence of many spectators, none of whom suspected me, as the Egyptians had done, of any intention to seek out and pilfer their treasures. They were all very obliging, and especially the Scheichs or learned Arabs, who seemed pleased that strangers should shew a desire to acquire their language. In this city as well as in Loheia, I obtained much information from a class of Arab literati, who come much about us. These are denominated Fakih, and no where through Arabia do their circumstances appear to correspond to their merit.

The city of Beit el Fakih is in a favourable situation for trade; being only half a day's journey from the hills in which the coffee grows, and but a few days journey from the harbours of Loheia, Hodeida, and Mokha, from which this commodity is exported; it naturally becomes the most considerable mart for it. This trade brings hither merchants from Egypt, Syria, Barbary, Persia, Habbesch, India, and often from Europe. Here are also, as in all the other great towns in Arabia, a number of Banians, all of them natives of Diu, who are allowed the free exercise of their religion. Yet they dare not bring their women hither, nor burn their dead; and these prohibitions induce them to return to their native country, as soon as they have accumulated a little fortune.

Beit el Fakih is the residence of a Dola, whose jurisdiction extends over a large district. This Dola seemed to take little concern about us; and his indifference left us more at liberty than we had been at Loheia. Emir Farhan, having understood that Mr. Forskal rambled out through the neighbourhood by himself, thought that he might fall into some mishap, by exposing himself so carelessly, and therefore would not suffer us to go out of Loheia, without having one of his soldiers to accompany us. This kind of assiduity proved troublesome to us; as we did not wish to have a witness to overhear all our enquiries, and spy all our operations. Besides, we found the inhabitants of Yemen in such a state of civilization, that we could travel among them with the same safety as in Europe. The Dola of Beit el Fakih did us a real favour by neglecting us, and suffering us to travel about the country, unincumbered with attendants.

EXCURSIONS THROUGH THE COUNTRY ABOUT BEIT EL FAKIH.

CHAP. XXII. — *Journey to Ghalefka.*

IN order that we might avail ourselves of the liberty which we enjoyed at Beit el Fakih, I, for my part, purposed to visit some places which are now ruinous, but were once famous, and are mentioned by Abulfeda. I hoped that I might discover some inscriptions tending to explain what changes the manners and language of this province had undergone; I accomplished, at least in part, what I desired.

As I was convinced that I might travel in safety through all Tehama, I resolved to go by Ghalefka, and to perform this expedition in as simple a guise as possible, and without any appearance of splendour or opulence that might prove a temptation to robbers. I hired an afs; and its owner agreed to follow me as my servant on foot. A turban, a great coat wanting the sleeves, a shirt, linen drawers, and a pair of slippers, were all the drefs that I wore. It being the fashion of the country to wear arms in travelling, I carried a sabre and two pistols hung by my girdle. A piece of an old carpet was my saddle, and served me likewise for a seat, a table, and various other purposes. To cover me at night, I had the linen cloak which the Arabs wrap about their shoulders,

to shelter them from the sun and rain. A bucket of water, an article of indispensable necessity to a traveller in these arid regions, hung by my saddle. I had for some time endeavoured to suit myself to the Arabian manner of living, and now could spare many conveniences to which I had been accustomed in Europe, and could content myself with bad bread, the only article to be obtained in most of the inns.

On the 7th of March, I set out from Beit el Fakih; and before I had travelled a mile, saw several villages; but upon all the rest of the way to Ghalefka, which is four miles and a half, I saw not a single dwelling, nor any mark of human industry, but a few wells. For the two last miles, the way lies through so sandy a tract, that my guide often lost himself; such are the continual changes which the wind produces on the scenery, by demolishing the hillocks, carrying the sand about, and forming others. We were even obliged to turn several times out of what we knew to be the true direction, in order to avoid being buried in some of those hillocks which were then forming. Ghalefka is at the same distance from Zebid as from Beit el Fakih.

Ghalefka was once a famous city; and the sea port town of Zebid was then in an equally flourishing condition. That harbour is now filled up, so that no ship, of however small burden, can enter it; not only has the sea receded, while the banks of coral have been augmented, but a quantity of sand has been here accumulated by the winds, which actually rises into a hill of considerable height. The ruins of a mosque are still to be seen here, which was dedicated to a saint, who, by his prayers, obtained from Heaven an excellent spring of water, for which the inhabitants believe that they ought still to be grateful to him. About a score of cottages now hold all the inhabitants of this once flourishing city; and dates, with the milk and flesh of a few sheep, are all the provisions they have.

The sea affords them no fish, nor any thing else but salt; of which every person may have as much as he pleases, upon paying a small fee to the Dola of Beit el Fakih's secretary.

In a burying place near this poor village, I found two stones bearing Kufic inscriptions; one of them was large, and stood on end; the other lay flat upon a tomb, and was but small. The inhabitants could not comprehend for what reason I was so eager to copy the inscriptions from the larger stone; but when I returned next day to do the same for that upon the smaller stone, I found it to have been carried away in the night. I applied to the Hakim or judge of the village, and offered him a trifle if he could procure me another sight of it. He led me through many turnings and windings to a poor hut, in which was the tomb of another saint; and we there found the stone that I was in search of; by his account of the matter, it had not been hidden by the inhabitants, but the saint had brought it hither himself. Notwithstanding the saint's care of it, the Hakim offered me this stone with me to Beit el Fakih, if I would be at the expence of having it conveyed.

CHAP. XXIII. — *Return to Beit el Fakih by the way of Hodeida.*

I SET out next day from Ghalefka, with my afs and his owner. The road lies, for the greater part of it, along the shore, through a sandy and barren country. The only vegetables by which it is enlivened, are a few date trees. A number of coffee-houses, however, and one village occur here to the traveller. At some distance from the village, are a few houses scattered among groves of date trees, but which are inhabited only in the season when the dates are gathered. I arrived the same evening at Hodeida, which is about five German miles distant from Ghalefka.

The harbour of Hodeida is somewhat better than that of Loheia. Yet large vessels cannot enter it. The Dola of Hodeida is accountable only to the Imam. But his jurisdiction is confined to this city. His revenues consist, in part, of the duties upon coffee exported. The mansion of the Dola, the custom-house, and the houses of the principal merchants, are stone buildings. The rest of the town consists of huts built in the ordinary style. Near the sea, stands a small citadel, which could not prove a very strong defence. This city has also its patron saint, Sheikh Sddik, who is honoured with due veneration.

At Hodeida, I found my friends Von Haven and Cramer, who had come hither to deliver two letters of recommendation from our friends in Jidda to the Dola, and an eminent merchant in this place. They had been received, lodged, and treated in the kindest manner. But I, not being disposed to lose my time in visits, returned on the next day, which was the 9th of March, to Beit el Fakih.

In this season of the year, night is always preferred for travelling through Tehama. I should not have had it in my power, therefore, to distinguish such objects as deserved notice, if I had not chosen to depart from the prevalent custom, and to expose myself to the torrid heat of the day.

On the road, are a number of coffee-huts, but very few villages. A mile and a half from Hodeida, there is a well of excellent water, which is carried to that city for the use of the inhabitants; the water which they have nearer, being very bad. As I approached Beit el Fakih, I passed through some paltry villages; and arrived at my place of destination, on the same day upon which I had set out. The distance between Beit el Fakih and Hodeida, is, by my estimation, seven German miles; and this journey I performed in one day, under the most scorching heat, and upon a hired ass.

CHAP. XXIV. — *Journey to Zebid.*

HAVING found the Arabs very civil, and having met with no disagreeable accident in my first excursion, I was impatient to set out again. I accordingly departed for Zebid on the 11th of March, to see the remains of that famous city, which was once the capital of Tehama; and to investigate some ancient inscriptions which were said to be concealed at Tabate, a small town in that neighbourhood. An Arab who was learned, but poor, accompanied me in this expedition, and was glad of the opportunity of visiting an old friend at Zebid, without expence. I was no less pleased to have him for the companion of my journey, as his conversation was very entertaining.

After passing by several coffee-houses, and through some small hamlets, we came to a large village called El Mahad, situated in a beautiful valley which receives the waters that fall from Mount Rama. In the rainy season, these waters form a river which spreads into several branches, and fertilizes the adjacent lands. A large quantity of maize grows in this valley. In this neighbourhood, too, there stood anciently a considerable city, called also El Mahad; but of it no vestige now remains.

Near Zebid are some heaps of stones, which are said to be part of the ruins of another large and ancient city, that was called El Haad. I arrived early in the morning at Zebid; having travelled in a short time five German miles, which is the computed distance between this town and Beit el Fakih.

Zebid is situate near the largest and most fertile valley in all Tehama. It was dry when I visited it; but, in the rainy season, a large river runs through it, and being, like the

the Nile, conducted by canals through the neighbouring fields, communicates to them an high degree of fertility.

Zebid was once the place of a sovereign's residence, and the most commercial city in all Tehama. But, since the harbour of *el defka* was choked up, its trade has been transferred to *Beit el Fakih* and *Makha*; and this city now retains nothing but the shadow of its former splendour. Viewed from a distance, it appears to some advantage, by means of the mosques and minarets, of which it is full. Several of these mosques were erected by different Pachas who resided here, during the short period while this part of Arabia was in the possession of the Ottoman Porte. But Zebid pays dear for its exterior magnificence; its inhabitants are oppressed by the numerous clergy belonging to those pious foundations, by whom the wealth of this place is almost wholly engrossed. I was told, as a matter of certainty, that if the whole revenue of this territory be considered as divided into five parts, the clergy receive three of these, the Imam one for the taxes, and the inhabitants have only one-fifth remaining for their maintenance.

The Turks have left here one useful monument of their power; an aqueduct, which conveyed water from the hills into the city. But this work has been neglected, that only its ruins now remain, and the inhabitants are obliged to content themselves with water from their draw-wells; which is fortunately not bad, and in such plenty as to water many fine gardens that are to be seen in the neighbourhood of the city.

Abulfeda ascribes eight gates to Zebid; but of these, only five are now standing, and the river is gradually breaking down a part of them. The walls of the Old City are demolished, and the very ruins are sold by poor people, who gather out the stones, and sell them for building new houses. The present buildings occupy about one half of the ancient extent of the city.

Zebid is still distinguished for an academy, in which the youth of Tehama, and of a part of Yemen, study such sciences as are cultivated among the Mussulmans. This is, besides, the seat of a *Dola*, a *Mufti*, and a *Cadi*, of the sect of *Schafey*; and of two other *Cadis* of the sect of *Zeidi*, to which the Imam and the greater part of his subjects profess to belong.

In the inn I met with the vainest and most foolishly loquacious man I had yet seen among the Arabs. He was a *Sherriffe*, or nobleman of the first rank, but, being poor and beggarly, travelled about the country, living at the expence of the more opulent professors of his religion. Having been in Egypt, Syria, and even in Abyssinia, he boasted, that he could speak several foreign languages, although all that he knew of these was a few proverbs. I wished to obtain some information from him concerning the countries through which he had travelled; but he could tell nothing but the names of a vast number of *Schiechs*, Pachas, and *Dolas*, by all of whom he pretended to have been received with the honours due to a descendant of Mahomet. He disgusted and sickened me with everlasting babbling about his genealogy and high birth. He looked with disdain upon the Turkish *Sheriffes*, and the Arabian *Seids*, because they connected themselves in marriage with strange women. No person in his family, he said, had ever married a vulgar wench. He gave the name of *Sherriffa*, to a poor woman who made coffee for us, this being the title by which ladies of the highest quality are distinguished; and harangued long upon her pure and illustrious genealogy. His son, a boy of ten years, who acted as his servant, never received another name from him than *Sherriffe Achmet*. The father had hired only one *Serir* for his son and himself together; whereas every other traveller, who is not absolutely mendicant, hires here a separate couch, just as separate rooms are occupied by different travellers

in the inns of Europe. With all those airs of greatness, he often abused his son, and called him Kælb ibn Kælb, dog son of a dog.

When I had finished my researches at Zebid, we set out on the 12th of March; and, after a ride of two German miles, reached Tahæte, which was once a town of some magnitude, but has now dwindled to a small village. The road leads still through Wadi Zebid, the vale or the bed of the river; in which the fields had a beautiful and rich appearance, wherever they had not been encroached upon and ravaged by the torrents. Much indigo is raised here; I counted more than six hundred large vessels, in which this colouring matter is prepared for sale.

In this village are also several mosques and houses of prayer, reared over the tombs of saints or opulent persons. Ibn Hassan is the chief of the saints. His tomb is always illuminated by night with lamps; and one of his descendants keeps a Mansale, or house of hospitable entertainment, in the village. I lodged in a common inn; but the master of the Mansale came to invite me to his house, and when he found me unwilling to remove, sent me a good supper. I had been told that the masters of Mansales accept no money; but he of Tahæte did not refuse a small gratuity.

Finding nothing remarkable in this village, we set out upon the 13th of March for Beit el Fakih. I saw no houses by the way except the populous village of Murra, situate in the beautiful vale of El Mahad. In this village are many Kubbets, and a large Mansale, in which thirty or forty people are daily entertained.

CHAP. XXV. — *Journey to Kabbme.*

BEING now still more satisfied by experience of the ease and security with which a person might travel through Yemen; I immediately prepared for another excursion. The approach of Ramadan, which was this year to begin on the 16th of March, gave me some concern.

I was afraid that the Mussulmans, who lived so near the Holy City, might be still more rigid observers of this fast, than their brethren who were placed at a great distance. The Egyptian Arabs, who had been in company with us in the preceding Ramadan, kept the fast as religiously, while we were travelling, as they could have done at home. Through the whole day they would eat or drink nothing; and they were displeased to see us take the smallest refreshment. I should not have liked to suffer the same inconveniences here. But I was not a little surprized to find that the Arabs of Yemen were less scrupulous, and upon a journey, continued to take the usual refreshments, without mortifying themselves with abstinence; but intending, as they said, to keep Lent for as many days next month. But it is probable, that they would not always recollect the number of days very accurately.

After being thus satisfied that, although it was Ramadan, I might still eat as usual, I set out upon the 19th, accompanied only by the owner of the ass upon which I rode, for Kabbme, where I expected to find some remains of antiquity in the ruins of the city Lelue. I passed by some villages; and, nearer the mountains, villages are indeed more numerous. The most considerable of those which I passed was El Achfa, famous for the tomb of a saint, named Schiech el Achfa, son to the holy Achmet ibn Musa, whom I have before mentioned as the patron of Beit el Fakih. I also crossed a vale, through which runs a river which joins the river of Rema. In the rainy season, the latter holds its course to the sea, and enters it near Schurem.

I went, immediately after my arrival at Kabbme, to search for the antiquities of Lelue.

But

But I found only a large burying place, filled with pentagonal stones, each eight inches in diameter, and four or five feet long. When I saw those stones, so uniformly of this regular figure, I was at first inclined to think, that they might have received it from the hand of art. But I soon perceived a hill in the neighbourhood wholly composed of pentagonal stones, where those people had found the seemingly artificial ornaments of their burying place. The rocks of that hill are a pile of vertical columns, of the figure and thickness above mentioned, rising one over another, as well as spreading for some extent, in a parallel body, and seemingly joined by a sort of slight cement. I saw some other piles of rocks of the same sort, in other places through Arabia. After my return to Europe I found, in a manuscript written by Mr. Kœnig, that this learned Dane had discovered in Iceland, mountains consisting of similar pentagonal columns, arranged in a vertical position, each column three ells in height, and half an ell thick. These stones are called by naturalists, *Basaltes*.

After examining the few curiosities which Kakhme afforded, I returned to Beit el Fakih, purposing soon to set out on some new excursions.

CHAP. XXVI. — *Journey to Coffee-Mountains.*

DURING my absence, Mr. Forskal had not been idle upon the hills where the coffee is produced, whither he had gone to prosecute his botanical researches. His description of that part of the country had already induced Messrs. Cramer and Baurenfeind to follow him: I also resolved to join my comrades, that I might breathe cooler air, and drink better water. The space I had to travel was only half a day's journey; and, in the course of this, I met with nothing remarkable.

I soon came within sight of the small town of Hadie, situate upon one of the foremost eminences. The roads are very bad: A causeway was, indeed, formed by the Turks; but it has been suffered to fall away, without receiving any repairs. My friends, whom I had expected to find in this town, were in the gardens upon the hill. I came up with them, after travelling two hours longer, near Bulgofa, one of those villages whose inhabitants subsist upon the profits which their crops of coffee afford. Neither asses nor mules can be used here: the hills are to be climbed by narrow and steep paths: yet, in comparison with the parched plains of Tehama, the scenery seemed to me charming, as it was covered with gardens and plantations of coffee trees.

In the neighbourhood of Kakhme I had seen only one small basaltic hill; but here, whole mountains were composed chiefly of those columns. Such detached rocks formed grand objects in the landscape, especially where cascades of water were seen to rush from their summits. The cascades, in such instances, had the appearance of being supported by rows of artificial pillars. These basaltes are of great utility to the inhabitants: the columns, which are easily separated, serve as steps where the ascent is most difficult; and as materials for walls to support the plantations of coffee trees, upon the steep declivities of the mountains.

The tree which affords the coffee is well known in Europe; so that I need not here describe it particularly. The coffee trees were all in flower at Bulgofa, and exhaled an exquisitely agreeable perfume. They are planted upon terraces, in the form of an amphitheatre. Most of them are only watered by the rains that fall; but some, indeed, from large reservoirs upon the heights; in which spring water is collected, in order to be sprinkled upon the terraces; where the trees grow so thick together, that the rays of the sun can hardly enter among their branches. We were told, that those trees thus artificially watered, yielded ripe fruit twice in the year: but the fruit becomes

not fully ripe the second time : and the coffee of the second crop is always inferior in quality to that of the first.

Stones being more common in this part of the country, than at Tehama, the houses, as well of the villages as those which are scattered solitarily over the hills, are built of this material. Although not to be compared with the houses in Europe for commodiousness or elegance, yet they have a good appearance ; especially such of them as stand upon the heights, with beautiful gardens, and trees, arranged in the form of an amphitheatre around them.

Even at Bulgofa, we were greatly above the level of the plain from which we had ascended ; yet, scarcely had we climbed half the ascent to Kufma, where the Dola of this district dwells, upon the loftiest peak of this range of mountains. Enchanting landscapes there meet the eye upon all sides.

We passed the night at Bulgofa. Several of the men of the village came to see us ; and, after they retired, we had a visit from our hostess, with some young women accompanying her, who were all very desirous to see the Europeans. They seemed less shy than the women in the cities : their faces were unveiled ; and they talked freely with us : as the air is fresher and cooler upon these hills, the women have here a finer and fairer complexion than in the plain. Mr. Baurenfeind drew a portrait of a young girl who was going to draw water, and was dressed in a shirt of linen, chequered blue and white. The top and the middle of the shirt, as well as the lower part of her drawers, were embroidered with needle-work of different colours.

On the 10th of March, we returned downwards as far as Hadie ; a place well known to the Europeans ; who come hither from Beit el Fakih, to pass some time occasionally in this little town, where the air is cool, and the water fresh and pure. It is, however, but ill built, and has nothing else of consequence, except its trade in coffee, which the inhabitants of the hills bring down upon certain days of the week. After the duties are paid to the Dola, the coffee is packed up and conveyed upon camels, either to Beit el Fakih or directly to Hodeida.

We enjoyed a singular and beautiful prospect from the house of the Sub-Dola at Hadie, and returned in the evening to Beit el Fakih, by the same way by which we had gone, in our journey up the mountains.

JOURNEY THROUGH THE MOUNTAINOUS PART OF YEMEN.

CHAP. XXVII. — *Departure from Beit el Fakih.*

WE met with less difficulty in the prosecution of our researches at Beit el Fakih, than any where else through Yemen. The inhabitants of that city were no strangers to European manners, and knew that we could not, like them, rest constantly in one place. They were therefore nowise surprized at our excursions, but were fully satisfied when we told them, that the exercise was necessary for our health.

Our friends, whom Mr. Forskal and I consulted upon the subject of our expeditions, could not comprehend why we chose to travel about in the season when the heats were most intense ; while they who were accustomed to the climate never went without doors when they could avoid it. Believing, that we had come into Arabia, only to find an opportunity of a passage to India, they advised us to take no fatigue, but to attend to our health. At length, when they saw us persist in neglecting their advice, and observed, that we lived at a considerable expence, without seeking to gain by trade ; they began to imagine that we had the art of making gold, and that Mr. For-

skal,

skal, in his excursions upon the mountains, was seeking plants which might be necessary in this great work. My astronomical observations again acquired me the reputation of a magician.

Happily for us, these shrewd conjectures were confined to the small circle of our acquaintance. The Dola seemed to have absolutely forgotten us, and had as yet made no enquiry concerning our purpose in visiting his dominion. I was desirous, therefore, to avail myself of this short period of liberty, and to penetrate into the interior parts of Yemen, after rambling through the environs of Beit el Fakih in Tehama. The southern part of the mountains I expected to see, in a journey which we purposed to make from Mokha to Sana; at present, therefore, I determined to visit Udden and Laas. But I found that the situation of these towns had been represented to me as more northern than it really was.

Through all Tehama, travelling is equally safe by night as by day. Still, however, I feared that it might be dangerous to travel alone in a mountainous country, in solitary roads, where disagreeable accidents might befall one by day not less than by night. Besides, I could not speak the language of the Highlanders, which differs considerably from that of the inhabitants of the plain. For all these reasons I was induced to beg Mr. Forskal, who had learned something of the language of the Highlands, upon the coffee mountains, to accompany me in my intended expedition. My friend agreed, in the hope of finding new matter for his botanical researches.

The preparations for our journey were easily made. We hired two asses, and the owner attended us on foot, as our guide, our servant, and occasionally our interpreter. We had already large beards in the Arab fashion; and these, with our long robes, gave us a very oriental appearance. To disguise ourselves still more, each of us assumed an Arabic name; and, under these pretensions, our real condition was so perfectly concealed, that even the owner of the asses thought us Christians of the East; and had no suspicion that we were Europeans. In this garb, and attended by the ass-hirer, we set out on the 26th of March, from Beit el Fakih.

CHAP. XXVIII. — *Route by Udden.*

WE passed through several villages in crossing the plain, and, after a journey of five German miles and a half, reached Robo, where is a weekly Suk or market. Here we lay the first night.

Next day, after advancing a mile farther, we entered upon the mountains. Near the first village we observed a running stream, the first we saw in Arabia. Till it enters Tehama, this river is called Wadi Zebid. Its channel lies very broad; but as no rain had for a long time fallen, the stream covered the breadth of twenty or four and twenty feet. In this place it runs with a considerable current; but in Tehama it spreads into a shallow lake, and is lost among the sands.

The same day we passed near Mount Sullam, where, from the account given by an Arab who lived in the country, I had been led to expect that I should find hieroglyphics or inscriptions cut upon the rock. But I found only some figures which had been impressed at an idle hour by some shepherd, and as coarsely executed as those upon Mount Sinai. We lay at Machfa.

The road by which we travelled is not much frequented by travellers. The ways are very bad and unsafe, and scarce a house appears, upon any hand. Within these few years, however, they have become less dangerous than they were before. The Dola of Udden has placed some soldiers with a Sub-Dola, at Machfa, who is responsible for

the thefts or robberies that happen in his district. This regulation of the police has dispersed the robbers.

Machfa is one of the villages in which weekly fairs are held. The houses are still more wretched here than in Tehama. They have no walls, and consist merely of a few poles laid together, and covered with reeds. We could scarcely lodge in one of those huts; so small were they that a person could not stand straight in the middle; and two persons lying together upon the floor occupied the whole area of the house. It would not have held a single Serir. The inhabitants sit and sleep upon the bare ground. The air being colder in this part of the country than in Tehama, the people here put a bag upon their bodies when they go to sleep, and are warmed by their natural perspiration. In none of the inns could we find any other sort of food but coarse Durra bread, made of millet with camel's milk; but the water is every where delicious.

On the 28th of March, we passed by winding roads through a district in which the lands began to appear more fertile and better cultivated. The houses are here much more commodious, being built of stone, and flat-roofed. Yet the houses of the peasants are here too, without walls, unless we give the name to dry stones piled one upon another, and having no mortar to cement them. The roofs are covered with earth.

We passed through a village in which was a fair; a circumstance which made us hasten forward, as we were desirous to avoid the crowd. Near this place, at the foot of a high hill, we observed a sort of glittering micaceous sand. The people of the country have been led, from the appearance of this sand, to fancy that the hill affords gold. On the heights we saw the tombs of several saints too; and near one of those tombs a wooden trough, into which some devout persons are constantly pouring water for the use of the cattle which pass. We lay in a coffee-hut, near a village which is inhabited only for one day in the week, namely the market day; so that we found no inhabitant there, when we passed, except our landlord.

The inhabitants of those parts had been long looking impatiently for rain. In order that they might make the most of it when it should fall, the peasants had raised dykes along the heights, to direct the course of the waters upon their fields. The fields lay favourably for receiving it, being formed into terraces, and these supported by walls, with ditches to preserve what water may be necessary to support vegetation. If this practice merit approbation, yet we cannot avoid condemning the unskilful expedient which those Highlanders employ for felling trees: they set fire to the root, and keep it burning till the tree fall of itself.

Next day we came to a small river which runs into the Zebid, and crossed it into several rivulets, which seem to be numerous in this part of the country. Here, for the first time since our departure from Beit el Fakih, we saw plantations of coffee trees, along the sides of the road. We now drew nearer to the river Zebid, of which a branch at this time was dry, and having its channel filled with reeds growing to the height of twenty feet, served as a line of road, which was agreeably shaded by the reeds. In the evening we arrived at Udden.

The town of Udden is small and unprotected. It contains three hundred houses, all of stone. The Imam keeps no Dola here. An hereditary Schiech, who is a vassal of the Imam's, is the governor. The Schiech resides in a palace, standing upon a high hill without the city.

Except the immediate neighbourhood of Udden, the whole tract of country through which we travelled in this excursion is thinly peopled. But the territory of the town is so much the more populous, on account of the abundant produce of its coffee trees, which is esteemed the very best coffee in all Arabia.

CHAP. XXIX. — *From Udden to Dsjobla.*

LEAVING Udden on the 30th of March, we proceeded through a country which we found every where more populous. Near a village we saw a plain planted with very indifferent fugar canes.

Half the way lay over a very steep mountain ; and had been formerly paved ; but had now been long left without repairs. On this mountain I saw a new instance of the care with which the Arabians provide for the accommodation of travellers. Here, for the first time, we found a Madgil, or reservoir of excellent fresh water, for the use of passengers. Such reservoirs are of mason work, of a conical figure, and beside a reservoir, a vase always stands for drawing the water. The traveller will do well, however, to carry with him a cup of his own ; and still better, if, with the cup he have also a bucket. Through all the fertile parts of Yemen we found many of those Madgils by the sides of the highways.

As storms are pretty frequent among these mountains, some small vaulted houses have been built upon that over which we passed, to shelter travellers when surprised by any sudden blast.

The thermometer which we had with us, compared with that which Mr. Baurenfeind at the same time used in Beit el Fakih, shewed the great difference between the temperature of the air upon the hills, and that of the plain. The dress of the inhabitants affords the same indication in a simpler and more natural manner ; while the inhabitants of Tehama went almost naked, those of the mountains wore warm sheep skins.

As we advanced on our journey we saw several villages situate in a cultivated tract. The sides of the hills were covered with rye, and had an agreeable aspect. This part of the country, although in other respects very fertile, produces no coffee.

The Arabs of Yemen, and especially the Highlanders, often stop strangers, to ask whence they come, and whither they are going. These questions are suggested merely by curiosity ; and it would be indiscreet therefore to refuse to answer. We told them commonly that we came from Escham, the north ; which led them to imagine that we were Turks from Syria. When asked whether we were Turks, we replied that we were Nassara ; and they then supposed us Greeks or Armenians. We concealed our country lest we should have exposed ourselves still more to the impertinence of their curiosity. The mistress of the coffee-house supposed us to be Turkish clergymen, and recommended herself to our prayers. At Dsjobla a man saluted me by the name of Hadsji Achmed ; taking me for an old acquaintance.

Through the whole of this journey we were not once teased for passports, or required to pay duties of any sort, nor subjected to any of those difficulties, which, even in Europe, are so generally troublesome to travellers. Although it was in Ramadan, we still found our ordinary food, even in the most solitary coffee-houses ; and in the towns gave no offence when we purchased those articles which we preferred, in open day.

The town of Dsjobla is the capital of a district, and the seat of a Doka. It stands upon the brink of a steep precipice, and seems to contain about six hundred houses, of a considerable height and a good appearance. Its streets are paved ; a case uncommon in Arabia. The Jews dwell here and through all Yemen, in a separate quarter without the city.

This place has been celebrated for ages ; and yet I could discover no remarkable inscription about it. I was shewn the ruins of some mosques ; but these did not appear

to me very ancient. The town has neither a castle nor walls. At some distance is a place inclosed with walls, where a Turkish Pacha has been interred : and this proves that the conquests of the Ottoman Porte have been extended even over those mountainous regions.

CHAP. XXX. — *Route from Dsjobla by Täs to Häs.*

ON the 31st of March we continued our journey by winding paths, over a tract of country diversified by many inequalities of surface. We lay in a very large Simsera, (the Arabic name for Kan or Karavanferai,) situated on the side of a lofty hill.

From this Kan we took a guide to conduct us over a contiguous mountain, which was much higher, and on which we had been told there should see an old Arabic castle. On the summit of this mountain we accordingly found the ruins of a considerable building of hewn stone, the walls of which were flanked with towers. Here are still two reservoirs of solid mason-work. The whole structure appears to be of great antiquity; the Arabs ascribe it to one Asiane Jeshlic. The word Jeshlic signifies an unlettered person; and by this appellation the Arabs distinguish their own Pagan ancestors from other idolaters, whom they call Kafr, or infidels. I found no inscription about this castle. From this eminence a noble prospect opens, of towns and villages spreading over the country to a considerable distance.

From the Simsera, where we had slept, we proceeded down the hill by the highway which passes between Mokha and Sana. The road is paved and not at all incommodious to the traveller, although it winds around the steep declivity of a hill. We then crossed a pretty large plain, and passed near by a great number of villages, coffee-huts and Madgils.

We lay in one of the huts, which was so ill provided in victuals, that we could procure nothing for supper but a small portion of bad bread. The landlord had even difficulty in gathering some forage to feed our asses. Early next day we came within sight of the citadel of Täs, but it was noon before we reached or saw the city.

Not wishing to be known, and intending to see Täs again on our journey to Sana, we did not enter the city, but continued our progress towards Tehama. We soon left the great road from Mokha, and turning westward, travelled along stony and irregular paths without seeing any thing remarkable.

Next day, the 3d of April, we continued our journey through a thinly inhabited and unfertile region. We were surprised at the quantities of stones which lay over the arable lands. Some of the inhabitants think them necessary to prevent the lands from being parched by the sun, but they rather mark negligence in the husbandmen; and, indeed, to such a degree is every exertion of industry that might contribute to furnish the necessaries of life relaxed here, that we should scarcely have found food in this district, if we had not taken the precaution to bring with us eggs and bread.

We then crossed a plain covered with date trees; but soon after regaining the mountains, we entered the territory of Ibn Aklan, where the fields, though less stony, appeared to be equally ill cultivated. The terrace walls were generally in a bursting broken condition. This desolation is the consequence of a war between the Imam of Sana, and the independent Schiech of the family of Aklan, to whom this district appertains. But, in the issue of the war, the Schiech was obliged to acknowledge the sovereign authority of the Imam, and now no longer maintains troops.

Proceeding on our way to Tehama we saw several villages, and crossed some small rivers. We passed the night in a detached coffee-hut: and even the master of it left

us by night, and retired to a neighbouring village. When alone, we could not help congratulating one another on being thus far returned in safety from a journey among those Arabian mountains, which would not have been without danger, even in the best regulated states in Europe.

On the 4th of April we travelled along bad roads, among hills, and crossed several times over the Wadi Suradsji, a considerably large rapid river, even at that time, although no rain had fallen for a long while. We saw no village near, but several coffee-huts.

In this desert tract, upon the confines of the Tehama, Mr. Forskal was much rejoiced to discover the tree which affords the balm of Mecca. The plant which he found was pretty large and in flower. Here was nothing to hinder my friend from examining and making a description of it. This tree grows in many places through Yemen. But the inhabitants, who call it Abu Scham, the sweet smelling tree, know no other use for it but to perfume their apartments, by burning the wood. Many branches of the specimen which we found had been torn off for this purpose.

Continuing our journey, we passed through several small rivers, which appeared all to empty themselves into one large river. To the south, we had a view of a large chain of mountains; but the only habitations that we saw in this hilly region were a few inns. We came at length to a large village containing many Kubbets, and at no great distance from Hæs, where we arrived this evening.

The city of Hæs, twelve miles distant from Tæs, and situate in the Tehama, is small and ill built. However, it is the capital of the district, and the seat of a Dola, who occupies a small fortress. A considerable quantity of earthen ware is manufactured here, especially coarse drinking cups. This district is but of narrow extent, being bounded on one side by Zebid, and on the other by the territories of the Schiech of Ibn Aklan.

CHAP. XXXI. — *Return to Beit el Fakih.*

WE left Hæs on the 5th of April, and after passing several villages and coffee-huts, arrived on the same evening at Zebid. We passed without wetting our feet over the river Suradsji, which we had lately seen so large among the hills. But as we proceeded through the beautiful and cultivated plains which it watered, we perceived both the cause of its diminution, and the effects which it produced.

Our way from Zebid to Beit el Fakih was the same that I have already described. We arrived at the latter city on the 6th of April.

Upon leaving the mountains we felt the heat excessive. We halted to rest ourselves at an inn in a village between Hæs and Zebid. There we were refreshed by an agreeable breeze, although all was calm and torrid without, for the walls were built of loose stones, the many chinks among which naturally admitted a current of air. We found this coolness a great refreshment amidst the burning heat which prevailed all around. I was so imprudent as to sit down on the ground, without wrapping myself in my large cloak, and being faint from the heat and the fatigues of my journey, I fell asleep. My imprudence cost me dear; I was in a violent fever before we reached Zebid, which, continuing after my return to Beit el Fakih, rendered me unable to take any fatigue.

On our arrival in this city, upon the 6th of April, we found Mr. Von Haven likewise indisposed. He had been attacked with a fever, and was weary of the mode of life to which we were here confined. We had long wanted wine and brandy; we were

disuaded from coffee, as being of a heating quality. Kifcher, although esteemed wholesome, is but an insipid drink; and through all Tehama the water is very bad. Our cook could prepare us no such simple dishes of food as those used by the Arabs, a nation distinguished for temperance. Upon this account we daily ate animal food, although our friends, who knew the climate better, had advised us to abstain from it. Our persisting in this, doubtless, greatly injured our health, and was, in a particular manner, hurtful to Mr. Von Haven, who, except to sit down at a table, never rose from his sofa.

The first day of Bairam happened this year to be the 14th of April. On this day the Dola proceeded out of the city with a multitude of attendants, to perform prayers in a large inclosed square area, in the open air. This festival lasts three days, during which the Arabs indulge in festive amusement, and begin no piece of work, nor enter upon any journey.

On the 17th of April, we saw an instance at Beit el Fakih, of the coolness of temper and firmness of mind, by which the Arab character is distinguished. The southern end of a house caught fire; and as the wind blew strong from the south, a great part of the city was soon burnt down. The inhabitants, however, retained their usual tranquillity. No cries nor complaints were heard in the streets, and when addressed with expressions of condolence upon their misfortune, they would calmly reply, "It is the will of God." We occupied a house with stone walls in that part of the town which was spared by the flames; we went upon the roof, and saw the roofs of the other houses crowded with people, who were beholding the conflagration with the utmost indifference. A poor scholar, who used often to visit us, came, after removing his effects to a place of security, to see us, and with an air of indifference, marked the instant when the flames reached his own house. When such an accident happens, indeed, an Arab does not lose much; as the fire approaches he removes his goods, and takes refuge, either in a different quarter of the city, or in the open country. He thus loses nothing but his paltry hut, which is rebuilt easily, and at a small expence.

JOURNEY FROM BEIT EL FAKIH TO MOKHA.

CHAP. XXXII. — *Route to Mokha.*

AS soon as Mr. Von Haven and I were sufficiently recovered to bear the fatigues of travelling, it was resolved that our whole party should leave Beit el Fakih. We set out, therefore, on the 20th of April, and took the road to Zebid, where I had already been.

In Tehama, it has been observed, people generally travel by night, rather than in the day. But if we had regulated our journies in this manner, Mr. Forskal could not have continued to examine and collect plants, nor could I have surveyed the face of the country. He and I, therefore, resolved to proceed forward by day, taking the owner of our asses to attend us, and to leave the rest of our party, with the servants and the baggage, to come up by night.

In consequence of this arrangement, we set out alone next morning, and passed through the plains contiguous to the river Zebid, and by the canals which are supplied from it. This beautiful tract of country is about two miles in breadth. The peasants were busy in cultivating the fields, and raising earthen dykes about them to retain the water for a certain time, after which it would be conveyed into other fields, to water and fertilize them in like manner. From these fields to Mokha, hardly any villages
are

are to be seen. The whole intervening country is dry, sandy, and covered with that coarse species of grass with which the houses are thatched here. On these sandy plains the heat is excessive: we were overjoyed whenever we could shelter ourselves for a little in any paltry coffee-hut.

On the second and third days of our journey, we saw nothing but coffee-huts, till we at last arrived in the large village of Maufchid. We were there alarmed with an account of a skirmishing war between two families, in which a man had been killed on the day preceding. But they assured us that such private quarrels never interrupt the public tranquillity. When an Arab happens to be killed, his family may compromise with the murderer for a sum of money, or may demand of the magistrate to put him to death; or if unwilling to receive satisfaction in either of these ways, may declare a resolution of taking vengeance themselves upon the person of the assassin, or upon his relations. A peasant of Maufchid had been slain some years before, by a man belonging to another village; and the family of the deceased had determined to inflict personal vengeance. Unfortunately, the man who had been newly slain in the contest was of the same family with him whose death had given rise to it, so that there were now two deaths to revenge in a set combat. Next day we met in a coffee-hut a man belonging to the victorious party, who was armed with a large club, and told us, that he was eager to fight, as it was an affair of honour. The only thing that he regretted was, that his family was to suffer death for two persons in whose life they had no sort of interest.

In that same village a Sub-Dola resides, with a few soldiers from the troops of the Dola of Hœs. Here, as at Zebid, a tax was demanded for each of our camels, from which I presume that these duties are to be paid upon entering the territories under the jurisdiction of each separate Dola. By our agreement with the camel driver, he was obliged to discharge all demands of this nature. But he contrived to shift this payment by entering into a secret understanding with the officers who were to receive it. They told us, that we must either pay it ourselves, or suffer them to open and inspect our baggage. However, on our threatening to complain to the judge of the place, they desisted from their insolent pretensions. Thus, the establishment of customs and custom-house officers, is every where a source of endless villanies and vexations.

We passed through two other villages, and several more coffee-huts. We saw, near the road, a salt work, from which salt is carried to the mountains upon camels. The whole of this way is over sands.

CHAP. XXXIII. — *Arrival at Mokha.*

AFTER a disagreeable enough journey from Beit el Fakih, we entered this city on the 23d of April. All who travel by land to Mokha, are obliged to enter by the same gate; and Europeans are under the humiliating necessity of alighting from their asses and proceeding to their lodgings on foot. We therefore alighted while our baggage was inspected. Those who examined that, asked neither our names nor our passports, but directed us to a Kan, where Turks lodge, and where, as they supposed, we might possibly find some of our countrymen.

At the time of our arrival there was an English merchant from Bombay in the city. We were unwilling to address ourselves to him, lest he might think us vagrants of suspicious character. Besides, we had letters of recommendation from our friends at Jidda, Loheia, and Beit el Fakih, to the Dola, to the English interpreter, a Banian in great credit, and to a merchant of the city, whose name was Seid Salek. Having

observed that the Mussulmans treated those Pagans from India, commonly in a very contemptuous manner, we were in no haste to begin acquaintance with the Banian, whom we found afterwards to be a very worthy man. We were already acquainted with Seid Salek's son Ismael, who had been our companion in the passage from Jidda to Loheia, and had made advances to obtain our friendship. This Ismael, besides, had early prepossessed us in his favour, by speaking Dutch tolerably well. We unluckily, therefore, addressed ourselves to him in preference to every other person.

These two, the father and son, were accustomed to attach themselves to strangers with dishonest views; and the son had studied some of the languages of Europe, in order that he might be the better able to accomplish his knavish purposes. They had enticed a Dutch vessel from Batavia to Mokha, the master of which falling, without resource, into their hands, was cruelly duped and plundered. By their intrigues they had kept every other merchant at a distance; so that, with respect to the sale of the cargo, he was absolutely at their mercy. They had hoped to make their gain of us in the same manner; and when they saw their hopes of this frustrated, laboured, out of spite, to do us every ill office in their power.

We paid our first visit to Ismael. He received us seemingly with great kindness, treated us with punch, and invited a renegado from India, who was settled as a merchant at Mokha, to keep us company. This renegado was a deep drinker, and endeavoured, but without success, to make us drunk. Ismael advised us to resume our European dress, and not to discover our knowledge of Arabic, lest we should be taken for renegadoes. He endeavoured to dissuade from our intended journey to Sana; telling us, that those highlanders were a savage, inhospitable race, and the Imam treated all strangers who had the misfortune not to be Mussulmans, in the most abusive manner. He was also careful to prepossess us against the people of Mokha, who, by his account, entertained inveterate hatred against the Europeans; but encouraged us, by offering the powerful protection of his father, to ward off every danger or mortification, that we might have to fear. In short, his whole conversation was of such a nature, that I could not help perceiving from it, that travellers must be grossly imposed upon, whenever they trust credulously to the relations they receive from the inhabitants of the country through which they travel. Had we not known Arabic, we might have returned into Europe with very false impressions of every thing in Arabia.

The only piece of service that this man did us, was, in immediately hiring for us a house that was large enough to lodge us all.

CHAP. XXXIV. — *Disagreeable Incidents at Mokha.*

FROM what happened to us first, after our arrival in this city, we found reason to suspect that Ismael had secretly instigated the under-officers of the customs to harass and oppress us, in order that we might thus be forced to throw ourselves into a blind and implicit dependence upon him. Our baggage was carried straight to the custom-house, where was the Dola in person. We begged that those articles, which we needed for immediate use, might first be inspected: but the officers would begin with examining our chests of natural curiosities, which we had sent by sea from Loheia, and which had been kept here unopened ever since the arrival of the vessel by which they had been brought. In one of the chests were fishes from the Arabic Gulph, preserved in spirit of wine, and inclosed in a small barrel. We begged the officers of the customs not to open the barrel; for that the fishes smelled disagreeably. They, however, not only opened it, but searched it with a pointed instrument of iron, and at length

length emptied it entirely of the contents. The Arabs, who have a violent aversion to strong liquors, were much prepossessed against us, when they felt the smell of the spirituous liquor; and were no less displeased to find the factor of the dead fishes spread through the whole custom-house.

We insisted that they should, at least, let us have our beds. But, without listening to our request, they continued to toss over and examine our chests, which contained specimens of shells, at the risk of breaking them. The Arabs could not comprehend, how a man of sense could collect such trifles, without some interested views, and they accordingly accused us of intending to abuse the Dola, by producing only articles of trifling value, to amuse his people, while we concealed our more precious effects.

At last, appeared a vessel in which Mr. Forskal had preserved some serpents in spirit of wine. At sight of this the Arabs were terrified. A person who was servant to the Dola, observed that those Franks had come hither to poison the Mussulmans, and that it was in order to their success in this, that one of them pretended to be a physician. The Dola, who was a mild old man, and till now did not seem to have conceived any prejudice against us, became suddenly in a passion when this idea was suggested, and swore, by God, that we should not remain a single night in the city. The reader will readily conceive, how the insolence of the people of the custom-house, and of the attending mob, would naturally rise upon this. The custom-house was abruptly shut, and we could obtain none of our goods from it.

While we were in the custom-house a servant came to tell us, that our books and other things had been all thrown out of the windows of the house which we had hired, and the door shut against us. We went to see what might be the reason of that outrage, but could find neither Ismael nor his father. One of the citizens, who was a friend of Ismael's, attacked us with abusive language. No person would afford us lodgings; but every one looked upon us as vagrants, who would instantly be driven out of the city in disgrace. At length, one of the citizens expressed himself willing to receive us into his house, if he were sure that government would not punish him for it. We led him to the Cadi, who assured him, that he should risk nothing by lodging us. In Turkey, the Cadies are reputed very corrupt and selfish; but in Yemen, we found them persons of great worth and integrity, earnest to do prompt and candid justice. The English merchant whom I mentioned above, was Mr. Francis Scott. He had heard of our difficulties and perplexity; and, although we had not yet visited him, gave us an invitation to dinner, which we accepted with the greatest pleasure. He expressed a warm desire to serve us; and we now perceived how foolishly we had acted in not applying at first to him and his Banian interpreter. However, we durst not break off abruptly with Ismael and his father.

When we could not obtain any of our things from the custom-house, Ismael advised us to offer the Dola a present of fifty ducats; and hinted that he should be the bearer of the present, for that the Dola would not condescend to speak with Christians. We had no intention of making so large a present, still less of intrusting him with it. But after various reflections, we at last resolved to sacrifice those fifty ducats upon the occasion; and it was agreed that I should wait upon the Dola with this present, next day. On my way, however, I learned, that the Dola having been exercising his troops, had received a wound in the foot. Upon receiving this information, I returned home; hoping that our physician would be sent for, and that we might thus avoid the expence of the present.

But as Mr. Cramer was not called by the Dola, and our effects still remained at the custom-house, we understood that a considerable present was expected from us. Mr.

Forſkal had hitherto been always reſuſed admiſſion by the ſervants of the Dola, upon pretence, that their maſter would not treat with us otherwiſe than through the medium of Iſmael and his father; yet he now undertook to make a new attempt to obtain an audience. When he had explained the purpoſe of his viſit, he was admitted, and ſo graciouſly received, that the Dola kindly chid him for not applying directly to himſelf at the firſt. Next day, he, in his turn, ſent us a preſent of four lambs, and two ſmall bags of rice; and at the ſame time gave orders that our effects ſhould be delivered to us, without being more particularly examined.

CHAP. XXXV. — *Our Stay at Mokha continued; and the Death of Mr. Von Haven.*

THE Dola, when he received his wound, had been adviſed by the principal perſons about him, to ſend for the European phyſician. But he was afraid that Mr. Cramer might, in revenge for the ill treatment which we had ſuffered, adminiſter to him improper medicines, or might apply heating drugs, which the Arabs think very dangerous. But the Cadi repreſented to him that no perſon had yet complained of us; and that it was no way ſtrange that a phyſician ſhould have dead ſerpents in his poſſeſſion, theſe being uſed as ingredients in ſome medical compoſitions. The Europeans, he farther told him, ought not to be deſpiſed or ſlighted for collecting ſhells or infects, of which the Arabs knew not the uſe.

Theſe repreſentations, and the alarming ſtate of the wound, which was becoming worſe, in the hands of four or five empirics, induced the Dola to ſend, on the 4th of May, to enquire whether we were ſtill angry with him, or if our phyſician would undertake to cure him. We were all overjoyed to hear that the prejudices which the governor had conceived againſt us were ſo perfectly removed; and Mr. Cramer gladly offered his ſervices. No ſooner had our answer been carried to the Dola, than he ſent one of his ſervants with a mule for Mr. Cramer. Europeans, when they paſs before the Dola's palace, are uſually obliged to alight and walk, if they happen to be mounted; but, to evince to the people the entire reconciliation that had taken place between the Dola and us, Mr. Cramer was permitted to paſs through this forbidden ground, and even to enter the court of the palace without diſmounting.

We had, after this, frequent opportunities of ſeeing the Dola, and teſtifying our friendſhip to him. Mr. Forſkal one day related to him, how we had been inſulted and turned out by the owner of our firſt lodging. The Dola promiſed him ſatiſfaction, and made the perſon of whom he complained, be caſt, that very night, into priſon. Iſmael, enraged to ſee his friend puniſhed for an act of inſolence which he himſelf had prompted, threatened us with a mob, by which we might be torn to pieces. Mr. Forſkal, although regardleſs of his threats, waited on the Dola, and entreated him to liberate the priſoner, and only recommend to him to be more civil to ſtrangers in future.

This change in our ſituation, rendered Mokha much leſs unpleaſant to us than it had been at firſt. But diſeaſe began now to fall ſeverely upon us; I had been attacked, ſoon after our arrival here, with a violent dysentery, from which, however, I recovered, after fifteen days illneſs. Mr. Von Haven, who had been ill at Beit el Fakih, became much worſe here. After walking out in the cool of the evening, he was tolerably well through the night; but the heats of the day he was quite unable to bear. At laſt, he ventured to lie for ſeveral nights ſucceſſively upon the roof of the houſe, in the open air, and with his face uncovered. On the night of the 24th of May he caught cold, and was ſo ill in the morning, that it was neceſſary for two ſervants to carry him down into his apartment. His fever was become doubly violent, and

he was delirious by the evening. He then sunk into a deep lethargy, and expired in the night.

He had paid more attention than any other of us, to oriental literature. The public have lost, by his death, some very interesting discoveries, and some curious collections of this sort, which he had made.

The custom of interring the dead in a coffin is unknown in Arabia. We had one made, however, for our deceased friend, in order to preserve his remains from any accident. The captain of an English ship lent us six of his sailors to bear the body to the European burying place. All the English in Mokha attended at the funeral; and the obsequies were performed with more decency, and with less interruption, than those of a Consul at Cairo, which were disturbed by the crowding of the people to witness the solemnity, and by the robbery of the audacious Bedouins. On this occasion, the Arabs of Yemen shewed themselves reasonable and humane.

CHAP. XXXVI. — *We leave Mokha.*

AFTER the death of Mr. Von Haven, we began to think seriously of leaving Mokha, and making a tour into the interior parts of Yemen. We were divided in opinion, with regard to the plan upon which we ought to regulate our subsequent proceedings; some being disposed to remain another year in Arabia, while the rest were desirous of returning immediately to Europe. But we all agreed to set out without farther delay, upon our journey to Sana.

Mr. Forsskal and I had many several excursions in a very simple guise, and almost without attendants. But as our whole party were now to travel all together, we could not well go without a certain train to accompany us. We could not, however, travel in this style without permission from the Dola, which would not be easily obtained; as it could not be thought, that he would willingly suffer his physician to leave him before his wound were healed. We, nevertheless, ventured to make the request; but the Dola refused us upon a fair pretext. He told us, that he must first write to Sana, to know whether the Imam would receive us, and that we could not leave Mokha till the Imam had returned an answer.

When thus refused permission to proceed to Sana, we begged that we might, at least, be allowed to remove to Taas, in the mean time, for the sake of our health. Even this was refused us. We then proposed to the Dola, to leave our physician behind. But the Arabs feared that the separation from his friends might secretly distress Mr. Cramer, so as to render him more negligent of his patient's cure.

When we complained of these restraints to the principal men of the city, they observed, that it was hard to conceive what rendered us so impatient to depart; for that by going to the Highlands, we should only endanger our health more, as those who went thither from the burning sands of Tehama, were commonly attacked with a violent fever, immediately upon their arrival.

At length, when we were much at a loss how to proceed, a surgical empiric luckily came in, to free us from our perplexity. He promised to cure the Dola's wound within eight days; and our physician was immediately dismissed. We, at the same time, obtained permission to set out for Taas, and were favoured with a letter of recommendation to the Dola of that city. Mr. Cramer received for his fee, a mule with a saddle and bridle, and India stuff for a suit of clothes in the Arab fashion. As an additional proof of his friendship, the Dola sent one of his servants to attend us. We should have been well pleased to excuse this instance of his attention; for his servant was only a
spy,

spy, under a more honourable name, to watch over our conduct, and hinder us from going farther than Taas.

Not wishing to run any risk of losing our ready money, we put it all into the hands of the English interpreter, who gave us bills upon his countrymen, the Baniyas at Taas and Sana. This was the first time we could get bills of exchange in the East.

JOURNEY FROM MOKHA TO TAAS.

CHAP. XXXVII. — *Our Progress to Taas.*

LEAVING Mokha with pleasure, as our stay in it had been not a little disagreeable, we proceeded, on the 9th of June, through a dry and desert country, and, after advancing four miles, reached Mufa, a village situate just upon the confines of the Highlands. This village is known to the Europeans, who sometimes come hither in parties for pleasure. But the buildings are wretched, and the heat is as oppressive here as at Mokha. The water is, however, good, and the richer inhabitants of Mokha send hither for it; as that in the wells immediately around the city is very bad.

Next day we travelled along the channel of a large river, which, in the rainy season, disembogues itself into the sea, near Mokha; but is commonly lost at no great distance from its head in the sands of Tehama. We passed through several villages; and near the last of these remarked a small house, at which duties are paid for all goods sent to the independent country of Jafa: goods passing into the states of the Imam pay no such duties.

I shall hereafter have occasion to speak of Schiech Schædeli, the famous saint of Mokha. We happened to meet with one of his descendants, a good-natured ideot. Some young person in our party addressed him, and bandied jokes and raillery with him. They did not, indeed, abuse him, but as little did they shew him respect. They called him Schiech, in regard to his birth, but paid him no other honour. In this instance, the Arabs discover more good sense than the Turks, and especially than the Egyptians, who treat all ideots as Schiechs, honour them through life, and regard them as saints after their death.

In the hilly country the roads are too bad for travelling by night. We saw, as we proceeded, a large village, and near it, the fertile hills of Hammara, which belong to Schiech Ibn Aklan; but the inhabitants of the village are not subject to his authority. They had lately slain two men, and when the Schiech sent troops to chastise them, they retreated to the summits of the hills. We happened, fortunately, to enter one of the large inns, called by the Arabians Mattrach; for, early in the afternoon, a violent storm arose, and such a quantity of rain fell, that all the highways were flooded, and it became impossible for us to continue our journey.

On the 12th of June, after passing through several villages, and crossing some fertile fields, we arrived at Dorebat, a town ten miles distant from Mokha. It is the capital of the territories of Schiech Ibn Aklan, who resides here. Its situation, on the summit of a hill, renders it naturally strong. At the foot of the hill stands a town, the public prison in which is said to be the most dismal in Yemen. Before the door of the prison in Dorebat, we saw persons who had been guilty only of very trivial faults, confined, a number of them together, by one chain, in the open air. Near them stood a guard of soldiers of the Imam's, whom the Schiech is obliged to maintain.

Continuing

Continuing our journey from Dorebat, we found on our way, a number of fine villages, and many coffee huts, and Madgils, or reservoirs for water, in a columnar form. A violent storm again compelled us to halt. Next day we saw from a hill the castle of Taœs, still at a distance. Early on the 13th we reached the city.

Immediately after our arrival, we sent our letter from the Dola at Mokha, to the Dola of Taœs, who straightway required us to wait upon him at his house. He seemed to be in a very good humour, and made us an offer of Kischer, pipes, and Kaad, (the buds of a certain tree which the Arabs chew, as the Indians do Betel;) but we did not relish this drug. He related to us, how that a report had been spread at Taœs, of our having brought several chests full of serpents to Mokha. He made us be conducted into a house, the proprietor of which he had lately imprisoned; and sent us, in a present, two lambs, with a small quantity of meal. We, in our turn, offered him a piece of India stuff.

Next day, we delivered our other letters of recommendation from our friends at Mokha: of those, one was addressed to Baskateb, the first secretary; another to the steward of the household, Achmed; a third to one Sejid, a man of distinction; and a fourth to a Banian. We were well received every where. The Dola of Mokha's servant had the presumption to attend us on all our visits, and imposed his company upon us in like manner, when we received the visits of others. We could not imagine whether this were done out of vanity, or in order to keep a strict eye on all our motions.

We found the temperature of this country to agree entirely with our constitutions. Instead of the oppressive heats under which we had fainted at Mokha, we had here almost every evening refreshing rains.

CHAP. XXXVIII. — *Of the City of Taœs.*

THIS city stands at the foot of the fertile hill of Sabber. It is encompassed with a wall, between sixteen and thirty feet thick, and flanked with several towers. The fortrefs of Kahhre stands in the circuit of the wall; its walls are faced with burnt bricks, but within consist of bricks, which, instead of being burnt, have been only dried in the sun.

This city has only two gates; and each of these is after the Arabic fashion, fortified with three towers. Only two of them are in a condition to bear cannons. The garrison consisted at this time of six hundred men. These works lie so under the command of the neighbouring heights, that they would afford no defence against any but an army of Arabs, who are strangers, in a manner, to the use of artillery.

The saint who has been assumed as the patron of the city of Taœs, is the famous Ismael Mulk, who, according to tradition, was once king of this country. His remains are buried in a mosque which bears his name. But none have been permitted to approach his tomb, since once that the saint thought proper to perform a miracle which gave dissatisfaction to the rulers. This marvellous event was related to us with the following circumstances: Two beggars had asked charity from the Dola of Taœs; but only one of these had tasted of his bounty. The other went, upon this, to the tomb of Ismael Mulk to implore his aid. Ismael, who, when alive, had been very charitable, stretched his hand out of the tomb, and gave the beggar a letter, containing an order on the Dola to pay the beggar an hundred crowns. Upon examining this order, with the greatest care, it was found that Ismael Mulk had written it with his own hand, and sealed it with his seal. The governor could not refuse payment; but, to avoid an subsequent trouble from such bills of exchange, he had a wall built, inclosing the tomb.

Near

Near the mosque of Ismael Mulk is a garden, which was possessed by Ischia his son. In it there was shown to me a large basin, and a hydraulic machine, which in its time must have been an ornament of no small consequence; but all is now in a state of decay, and almost ruinous.

In the same city, and in its neighbourhood, are many deserted and ruinous mosques; one of them, in a style of architecture unusual in this country, should seem to have been built by some Turkish Pacha. The devout founders of these mosques, if they intended thereby to transmit their memory to posterity, have failed of their purpose. Their names have been forgotten, as the mosques have sunk into ruins.

The last lords of Taas have made a more judicious choice of buildings to distinguish themselves by. They have erected noble palaces for themselves and their posterity, and were content with a small Kubbet for their oratory and burial-place: thus, have they spared the lands which must otherwise have been appropriated to the maintenance of the clergy of an useless mosque; their palaces are still standing, and are the ornaments of the city, which indeed does not possess many other fine buildings. Since the last war many of the houses have remained ruinous, and some of the squares have even been converted into fields and meadows.

The ruins of two ancient cities are still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Taas. One of them is Thobad, which is situate near Mount Sabber. Some parts of its walls, with a large mosque belonging to it, are still standing. The other is Oddena, which stands at no great distance from Thobad, upon the summit of Mount Sabber, over against Kahlre. The latter was the place of the residence of the kings of this country; its only remains are the ruins of some mosques. Ismael Mulk, having built his tomb at the foot of the rock of Kahlre, some of his devout subjects chose to live near their saint; others following their example, Oddena was thus abandoned, and Taas built. So, this city, like Loheia, Beit el Fakih, and Mokha, owes its rise to a saint.

CHAP. XXXIX. — *Late Revolutions of Taas.*

SO modern a city cannot make a great figure in the history of Yemen. However, in these late years, some revolutions have taken place, which deserve to be briefly mentioned, as they may serve to give an idea of the power of the Imam, and of the manner in which the Arabians go to war.

Imam El Mansur Hossain had committed the government of Taas to his brother Achmed, who, when afterwards recalled, refused to obey. With a force of two thousand men, whom he kept in pay, he stood out for twelve years, against all that the Imam could send to reduce him to his duty. Achmed had money coined in his own name, levied taxes upon goods carried between Mokha and Sana, and conducted himself in all respects as if he had been sovereign of the country. Yet, he assumed not the title of Imam, or King, but contented himself with that of Sidi, which is common to all the princes of the blood-royal.

Sidi Achmed dying, left six sons. The eldest of whom, Abdulla, succeeded him, and lived on fair terms with the Imam. Abdulla dying in 1759, left the succession to his only son Abdul Kerim, a boy thirteen years of age. Three of the young prince's uncles, Ali, Jachia, and Machser conspired to dethrone him. One of the conspirators seized the fortress of Kahlre, and each of the other two made himself master of a gate with some adjoining towers. But, as the revenues of these three princes were very scanty, they could neither keep many soldiers on foot, nor even purchase provisions.

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They were particularly in want of powder; and whenever one of them could procure a few pounds of ammunition, he never ceased firing upon his brothers, till the whole was exhausted. But they never came to a fair combat.

In these circumstances, young Abdul Kerim wrote to his uncle, the reigning Imam, begging his assistance, and intreating him to support him in the possession of his dominions. The Imam having long wished to take part in the quarrel, sent an army to reduce the rebels. But the Nakib or General, El Mas, who commanded this army, having no artillery, had no other expedient but to fire with musquet shot, from a mosque without the wall, by which he could make no advancement in the siege.

The Imam had for several years had a dangerous enemy in a Schiech named Abdurrah, who had occupied the territory of Hodsjerie. During the blockade of Taëz, this Schiech approached Mokha, and the Imam then found it necessary to seek a reconciliation with his enemy. Peace was made, through the intermediation of the generals, on condition that the Schiech should lend assistance to accomplish the conquest of Taëz. But his troops being destitute of cannons, were as little in a condition as those of the Imam to storm the tower. Yet the shrewdness of Abdurrah suggested a stratagem. He promised a thousand crowns to twelve of the besieged soldiers, who were posted in a tower, if they would permit his troops to enter. By this means, the city was taken in the end of the year 1760, and sacked.

After the conquest of Taëz, the Imam gave the family of Sidi Achmed, with Schiech Abdurrah, a friendly invitation to visit him at Sana. The latter was at first unwilling to put himself in the power of his old enemy; but the Imam impowered his generals to pledge his faith for the Schiech's security; and he was accordingly taken in the snare. The Imam treated this hero with the blackest perfidy, and put him to an ignominious death. He returned the services of his generals with base ingratitude, and refused to reinstate Abdul Kerim in his father's principality. I saw the young prince going to the mosque at Sana; having a parasol carried over him, like the other princes of the blood royal. His two uncles, Sidi Jachia, and Sidi Machfar, were cast into confinement as rebels: the third, Sidi Ali, happening luckily to be father-in-law to the reigning Imam, preserved his liberty, and lives privately at Sana. After these events, the Imam sent a Dola to Taëz; and it is now under the same government as the other cities in his dominions.

CHAP. XI. — *Stay at Taëz.*

THE Dola who governed this city when we visited it, had been an officer in the Imam's army, and had risen rapidly to the rank of Nakib, without owing his fortune to his birth, as most of these governors do. His government was very extensive, comprehending both Mount Sabber and the territory of Hodsjerie, in which are a number of Schiechs, whose families have, for these several centuries, possessed small, and almost independent lordships. They pay taxes to the Imam, but value themselves much on their nobility of descent, and treat their governors with contempt. Our Dola had already had several differences with those haughty nobles, who refused submission to his authority. He had put one of the mutinous Schiechs in prison, and had detained a female slave whom the Arab was carrying away with him. An order from the Imam, however, obliged him to set both at liberty; but he remained in indignation against those Schiechs in general. He seized the first occasion that offered, and sent out half a dozen soldiers among them, who, according to their master's orders, conducted themselves with great insolence towards those highlanders. The Schiechs could not bear such insults; but

made an insurrection, and massacred them all. Since that period, nobody from Taëz has ventured to visit the highlands without exposing his life to extreme danger. It was even said, that the Schiechs would never be quiet till the Imam should recal the Dola.

The exuberant fertility of Mount Sabber affords, according to the accounts of the Arabs, plants of every species that is to be found any where else through the world. Mr. Forkal had this mountain daily before his eyes; but, to his infinite mortification, could not obtain permission to botanize upon it. He proposed to bring a Schiech from the mountains at his own expence, under whose protection he might go out upon his herborizing expeditions without danger. But the Dola put a negative upon all his proposals, and would only suffer him to take a short ramble over Mount Saurek. My friend set out on the 20th of June, and returned on the 22d, having found the villages in that district deserted, in consequence of the intolerable exactions of the Dola, which had forced the inhabitants to retire and settle elsewhere. In so wretched a country, Mr. Forkal could neither find provisions, nor travel about in safety.

We had occasion to observe the negligence with which the Arabs observe the phases of the moon, or rather their ignorance of astronomy. When the pilgrims arrive on mount Hurephat, in the neighbourhood of Mecca, all the Moslems celebrate a festival, called *Arata* or *Korban*, for which an immense quantity of camels, oxen, and sheep are killed. Every body believed that this festival was to begin on the 22d of June; and, as it lasts three days, during which no provisions are brought in from the country, all had provided sheep, sugar, and flour for their entertainment during that time. Meanwhile, a courier arrived from Sana, with information that the new moon had appeared a day sooner than she was expected, and that the feast must be celebrated on the 22d of June.

On the day appointed, the signal was given, by firing a few shots of a cannon. The Dola, with a numerous company, went in procession to a square without the city, where upon solemn occasions, prayers were usually offered up in the open air. Returning thence, he went to the parade, where the principal inhabitants of the city were engaged in the exercise of the *Dsjerid*.

The Dola, striving to shew his address, was thrown from his horse. However, all returned home, made good cheer, chewed Kaad, and burned spices in their houses.

In order to make the most of our stay at Taëz, I wished to make some excursions through the interior country, but durst not attempt them, on account of the prevailing disturbances. I was at last disposed to content myself with copying an inscription in the fortress; and Mr. Forkal resumed his intention of sending for a Schiech from mount Sabber. The Dola agreed to our wishes; but at midnight, he sent to tell us, that he had received a letter from the Dola of Mokha, requiring us to return immediately to the latter city. We suspected this letter to be a pretence, and refused to be gone. Early in the morning, however, camels were sent to carry us away, but we sent them back. With Turks we durst not have done so much.

We could not comprehend what were the Dola's views, unless, perhaps, he might, like the Dola of Mokha, intend to extort some considerable present from us. Into these views we had no disposition to enter, and therefore sought a private audience of him, in hopes of bringing him to reason. Our servant was several times sent back under different pretences. At last, Mr. Forkal obtained access to the Dola, and begged of him only to permit us to wait till we should receive the Imam's answer, without mentioning our little schemes. But the governor cut him short, saying; Since you would not credit my servants, I myself order you to be gone to Mokha to-morrow.

CHAP. XLI. — *Departure from Taas to Sana.*

SEEING no means to elude the Dola's orders, we had already packed up our goods, when a favourable change suddenly took place upon our circumstances. A letter was brought us by express from the Dola of Mokha, and in it were three others; one to the Imam, another to his Vizier, and a third to the Dola of Taas. He informed us, that the Imam gave us permission to go to Sana, and wished us to carry our curiosities with us. He acquainted the Dola of Taas with their master's orders, and begged him to favour our departure to Sana. Mr. Forskal went instantly with this letter to the governor, but could not obtain access to him, and was obliged to give it to his servant.

We now thought our affairs in a good train, and would even have set out without troubling the Dola farther, if we could have obtained camels without his interposition on our behalf. Those who hire these cattle are united in a sort of corporation; and travellers are obliged to apply to the head of the company, who has recourse upon the owners of the camels, and makes them furnish, in turn, the number which may be wanted. Unluckily the Dola himself was at the head of this company, and was obliged to furnish camels in his turn. We let him know that we were about to depart. He answered that camels were ready to convey us back to Mokha, but that the orders respecting our journey to Sana regarded only the Dola of Mokha.

In the perplexity to which we were reduced by this conduct of the Dola's, we knew not what to do. Several instances of the equity and generosity of the Cadi were in the mean time related to us, in which he had brought the Governor to reason in cases similar to ours. We made our complaints therefore to that judge, and shewed him our letters from Mokha. He thought the Dola's conduct very unreasonable, and immediately wrote to him to beware of doing any thing in contradiction to the orders of the Imam. The Dola replied, that he did not hinder our journey to Sana, but asked us to stay one day, till he should write his letters to court upon the occasion. We offered to stay two or three days. Notwithstanding this, the Dola's servants came next morning, and ordered us in his name, to depart to Mokha. We had again recourse to the Cadi; who being previously informed of all that had happened, had in the morning, written to the Dola, that he should not act in a harsh or interested manner with us; for we were strangers. The Baikateb told us in the evening, that the Dola was sorry that his servants had come to us with a message in his name, which he had given them no orders to deliver. But upon this head we knew sufficiently what to think.

The Dola of Mokha's servant could not now be of farther use to us; we dismissed him therefore with a handsome reward. But as we still wanted a guide who knew the interior parts of Yemen, we begged the Cadi to direct us to such a one; and he politely sent us an Arab, who afterwards accompanied us to Mokha, and with whom we were perfectly satisfied. The Dola shewed likewise a disposition to make amends by kindness for the trouble he had given us, and ordered one of his servants to accompany us on our journey. This man had the address to stipulate before hand, in the presence of several persons of distinction, for the wages which we were to pay him.

The Cadi unasked, had the generosity to give us a letter of recommendation to the Imam's vizier, in which he told him, that he should beware of believing any thing that might be related to him, to the disadvantage of these Franks. We could have wished to make the judge a present of a watch; his probity and beneficence having inspired us with the highest veneration for his character, and the liveliest gratitude for his favours. But we were informed that he would accept no such thing, lest he might appear to have interested views in taking part with us.

We could not see the Dola before our departure. He avoided receiving our visit under pretence of illness. Our friends however assured us, that he was fallen seriously ill, in consequence of the uneasiness which our obstinate resistance to his will had given him. Our firmness was, indeed, said to have made him contemptible in the eyes of the inhabitants of the city.

His conduct had occasioned us no less vexation. I even blame the uneasiness with which Mr. Forkal was at that time agitated, as the first occasion of the illness, which soon after hurried my friend to the grave.

JOURNEY TO SANA.

CHAP. XLII. — *Route from Taas to Jerim.*

FROM Taas we set out on the 28th of June, and for the two first days, found no human habitations on our way, except some paltry coffee huts, a few villages, and a small town; and most of the villages are falling into ruins. The country is uncultivated, and almost desolate; which seems to be owing to the late wars for the succession to the throne of Taas.

On the third day we reached Mharras, which I had formerly travelled over in one of my previous excursions. A violent storm surprised us, and gave us an opportunity of remarking how the torrents rushing upon such occasions from the hills, produce the gullies, one of which we passed on an arch of solid stone.

The great inns which are scattered over the country from the Tehama thus far, are called Mattrach. These are private houses, the masters of which furnish travellers with their meals, which are commonly very indifferent. Between Mharras and Sana, almost at every half day's journey, stands a large Simsera of burnt bricks. These edifices, like the caravanserais in Turkey, have been built by wealthy persons for the accommodation of travellers, and afford safe lodging, but no other sort of food than coffee, rice, bread, and butter. The traveller must bring his other provisions with him.

On the first of July, having crossed mount Mharras upon a paved road, we entered a more fertile country, and after passing several villages and a number of Madgils, arrived at Abb. This city stands on the height of a hill, is surrounded by a strong wall, and contains 800 houses, most of which are in a good fashion of building. Its streets are paved, and it has a good many small mosques. Beside one of these is a large reservoir, which receives water by an aqueduct, and supplies all the houses in the city.

At a small distance, between Abb and Dsjobla are two rivulets, one of which running westward, is increased into the river Zebid; and the other running southward from Meidam, a river which disembogues itself into the sea near Aiden. The different courses of these rivers, two of the most considerable in the country, and the circumstance of their taking their rise here, seem to indicate this as the most elevated spot in the mountainous part of the Imam's dominions. The height of mount Sumara, which we passed on the day following, is another proof of this.

We travelled down mount Abb, along good paved roads, and then crossed a country of a varied surface, having villages, Madgils, and houses for the protection of travellers, scattered over it. No remarkable place was to be seen except the city of Muchoder, standing on a hill, and the seat of a Dola.

After spending the night in a Simsera, we began to ascend mount Sumara, a hill much higher than Mharras, by ways which had been rendered accessible to camels by
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being paved, and carried in a winding direction round those places, which were too steep for direct access. Half way up the hill is the village of Menfil, in which is a superb Simsera, built all of hewn stone. We obtained a convenient apartment upon the roof, of which Mr. Forskal, who was now extremely weak, stood very much in need.

Here we remained during the next day, and would gladly have staid till our friend had been somewhat better; but our camel drivers could not here find food fitting for their cattle. They proposed to us to proceed to Jerim, a city at a small distance, and promised that our sick friend should be borne by men over the rugged roads of mount Sumara.

We were persuaded, and set forward on the 5th of July. I went before, to enjoy the fresh air; a piece of inexcusable imprudence in places of so keen a temperature. I soon felt myself affected with a severe rheum, vomitings, and excessive thirst, which I could not have quenched on that desert mountain, if I had not fortunately met with a peasant who permitted me to drink out of his pitcher of water. I saw nothing in this part of our journey, which seemed worthy of attention, except a ruinous castle, the property of the family of Haslan, and standing on the very peak of mount Sumara. In this neighbourhood are two tribes of wandering Arabs, who are now settled in villages. There are no more Bedouins in the Imam's dominions.

The Arabs could not be persuaded to carry a Christian; and Mr. Forskal was therefore placed in his bed upon a camel. Although we had proceeded slowly, he was in a deplorable condition, by the time we reached Jerim. We now found, that although we had accustomed ourselves to live like the inhabitants of the country, yet there were certain conveniences, which in case of illness, we could not well want.

CHAP. XLIII. — *Of the City of Jerim.*

WE lodged in a public inn. But the crowd of spectators whom curiosity brought together, to see the Europeans, becoming extremely troublesome, we hired a more quiet apartment in the city, where we might live undisturbed till our fellow traveller should recover his health. It was impossible to find persons who would carry our sick friend. Our Mahometan servant refused to assist us in removing Mr. Forskal from the one-house to the other; and we were obliged to carry him ourselves.

Jerim is but a small town, yet the seat of a Dola, who resides in a castle situate on a rock. The houses are built of stone, and of bricks which have been dried in the sun. I saw nothing farther remarkable about this town.

At two miles distance from Jerim, according to the tradition of the Arabs, stood once a famous city, Dhafar, very little of the ruins of which now remain. The first magistrate of Jerim, however, told me, that a large stone is still to be seen there, with an inscription, which neither Jews nor Mahometans can explain. This was probably the situation of the city of Taphar, which ancient historians mention as the seat of the Hamjarines. If any Hamjarine inscription shall ever be discovered, it will probably be among these ruins. The Arabs maintain that Dhafar was the seat of Saad-el-Kanamel, a famous hero, king of all Arabia, who lived eighteen hundred years ago.

On the east side of mount Sumara, we found the climate very different from what it was on the west side. It had rained almost every day of our journey from Tires to Menfil; and the earth was covered with a charming verdure. At Jerim, on the contrary, no rain had fallen for three months, although distant thunder had been heard almost every day. In this want of rain, the locusts had multiplied prodigiously, and had

eaten up almost all the productions of the earth. The inhabitants of Jerim resolved to put up public prayers for rain, on the eighth of July; and for that purpose repaired in procession to a place without the city, where such solemnities were usually performed. The Company, who walked in procession, consisted of a number of clergymen in a dress expressive of humility. Two venerable Scheichs walked at their head, bearing open caskets full of books. As they proceeded, all sang and repeated short prayers. Hardly was this ceremony over, when on the very same evening, a storm arose, with hail and a very heavy rain. The rains became afterwards more frequent. Between the tropics they fall at regular periods, on the different sides of the great ranges of hills.

In all the markets, locusts were sold at a low price; for so prodigiously numerous were they in a plain near Jerim, that they might be taken by handfuls. We saw a peasant having a sack full of them, which he was going to dry and lay up for winter provisions. Whenever it ceased raining for an hour or two on the other side of mount Sumara, legions of these insects used to come over to Jerim. We saw the peasants of Menfil pursuing them, in order to preserve their fields from absolute desolation.

In the streets of Jerim, we saw a bridegroom proceeding to the bath in ceremony. Two boys went before, dancing to the music of a timbrel; a crowd followed, consisting of persons of all ages, who shot pistols in the air as they went on; the bridegroom with his friends closed the procession. At night, a number of flambeaux were lighted up, and formed a pretty enough illumination.

We were one day entertained by two gladiators, who, for a few pieces of small money, exhibited their address in the streets. They wore masks; the first I had seen in the east, and were armed with a buckler and a poignard. They did not fight to wound one another; the perfection of their art consisted in their leaping, and in several agile turns of the body.

Being ever unwilling to mingle with crowds, I had not yet seen any of the markets in Arabia, although these are resorted to as places of amusement by the inhabitants of the country. To divert myself a little, I went to the market at Jerim. A great many people were met in it, who were chiefly peasants that had come to sell their different articles. I saw no shops furnished with goods of any considerable value. Many tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and other artisans, sat along the streets, behind low walls, and wrought at their trades in the open air. I saw also surgeons, who drew blood with a common knife, and then dressed the wound with pieces of hartshorn cut off at the root of the horn.

CHAP. XLIV. — *Death of Mr. Forskal.*

ON the first days after our arrival at Jerim, Mr. Forskal's illness seemed to decrease. But it soon after returned with such violence that we despaired of his recovery. On the evening of the tenth of July, he sunk into a deep lethargy, in which state he continued till his death, the next morning. We were deeply affected at his loss. In consequence of his botanical excursions, he had learned more than any of us, of the Arabic tongue, and its different dialects. Fatigue, or the want of conveniences, never discouraged him; he could accommodate himself to the manners of the people of the country, without doing which, indeed, no one can hope to travel with advantage through Arabia. In short, he seemed formed by nature for such an expedition as that in which we were engaged.

It was necessary for us to notify the death of our companion to government. To this end, we sent the Dola of Taces's servant to the Dola and the Cadi of Jerim. The latter

latter politely directed us to an Arab, who could sell us a place, where we might inter our deceased friend. The bargain which we struck with this man did not take effect; for the place being near a canal intended for the watering of the meadows, the possessors of these had threatened our Arab with an action at law, if the water should fail on account of the Christian's body. We soon after obtained a different place for the same price.

The Dola then expressed a wish to confer with some one of our number. He informed me, that in quality of governor, he had a right to the personal effects of all Jew and Banians who died within his dominions. I answered, that the deceased was neither a Jew nor a Banian, but an European; and that the Dola of Mokha had laid no claim to the effects of one of my companions, who died in that city. The Dola's son then explained to me his father's intentions, who expected to receive at least a considerable present. I told him that Europeans were accustomed to pay nothing, without receiving a written statement of what he required, we should then see what we could do. After this, the Dola, who knew that we were going to Sana, and probably feared that we might complain of him there, left us at peace.

Our greatest difficulty now was to find persons to bear the body to the grave; and this, even although we promised to pay very liberally for the service. At last we prevailed with six men to convey it to the burying place at midnight. They performed the task, but ran and hid themselves in the best manner they could, all the way; so great is the aversion of those people to touch a Christian.

We resolved to bury our deceased friend in a coffin; but we had done better to have followed the Arabian mode, and wrapped him simply in a fear cloth. The coffin made the people suspect that we Europeans buried riches with the bodies of our dead. At Sana, we learned that Mr. Forskal's body had been taken up by night, and that the grave clothes had been snatched away, after the coffin was opened. The Dola obliged the Jews to bury it again, and left them the coffin for their pains.

CHAP. XLV. — *Route from Jerim to Sana.*

AFTER the burial of our friend, we had nothing to detain us from continuing our journey. On the 13th of July, we left Jerim, and after proceeding for four miles along rugged roads, and through a barren country, arrived on the same day at Damar. Through this tract of road, the people who sell Kitcher are in so wretched a condition, that they live in poor huts, and lie on the ground.

As we had lived so long at Jerim, the inhabitants of Damar had previous notice of our approach. Europeans seldom pass this way; and the people of this place being therefore very curious to see us, came out and met us half a league from the city. As we drew nearer, the crowd became more numerous; and therefore, to avoid being seized and disturbed by them, we would not enter an inn, but hired an empty house. This precaution little availed us; for the crowd surrounded us in such a manner, that we could not enter our lodging. Mr. Cramer being mounted on his mule, forced his way; but then they exclaimed against the insolence of the mule, and began to throw stones in at our windows. We thought of asking a guard from the Dola, but were told that he had only thirty soldiers in all, and was afraid of the mob himself. At last, the first magistrate coming to consult our physician, advised us to take no notice of the petulance of the students, who threw stones that they might draw us to the windows. The tumult soon ceased, and the mob dispersed.

The city of Damar stands in a fertile plain. It is the capital of a province, and is governed

governed by a Doh, who resides in a large castle. It has a famous university, in which to the number of five hundred students are commonly employed in their studies. It is without walls; its buildings are good, and it is very large, containing no fewer than five thousand houses. The Jews live in a detached village; but the Banians are permitted to live in the town among the Mussulmans.

In no other city had our physician better practice. As he was unwilling to go out on account of the mob, the sick were brought to him in their beds; and an inhabitant of this town accompanied us to Sana, purely that he might have an opportunity of consulting our physician by the way, and in that city.

Near Damar is a mountain containing a mine of native sulphur. In another hill, somewhat farther distant, those fine carnelians are found, which are so much esteemed in Arabia.

Our European servant falling ill, we left him at Damar, to follow us by short journies. At his arrival, he complained that nobody would give him lodging by the way. The Arabs were afraid that he might die in their houses, and that they might be obliged to take the expence and pains of burying him.

On the fourteenth of July we crossed a plain encompassed with bare and arid hills. Near the road and within a mile of Damar, is the small town of Mauahhel, in which the Imam dwelled whom the Author of the voyage to Arabia Felix saw in the beginning of the present century. The road becomes very rugged; and the country appears marshy and ill cultivated towards Suradge. From Suradge to Sana, the villages are all surrounded with orchards and vineyards. We were here overtaken by a storm of hail, accompanied with peals of thunder; but no Madgils were nigh, to shelter the traveller.

Next day we had still worse roads to travel; which seemed surprising so near the capital. We saw Hodafa, which stands on a steep insulated rock, and in which is said to be a curious inscription, upon an old wall. This inscription was mentioned to me at Taces; and I was informed by a Jew at Sana, that the characters resemble neither the Arabic nor the Hebrew. I suspect them to be Hamjarene, and am sorry that I had it not in my power to examine them.

After passing through several paltry villages, we at length reached Seijan, a village, which, together with Suradge, belongs to the princes of the blood; we observed in it a good many ruinous houses. As there falls not enough of rain here, large reservoirs have been formed at the foot of the hills, and from these the water is distributed through the country at a considerable expence and trouble.

Hoping to enter Sana on the 16th of July, we put on our Turkish dresses in the morning; their appearance being somewhat better than that of the Arabic garb we had worn in the course of our journey. Along a stone bridge, we passed a small river, the water of which is not far below, lost among the sand; and we halted near the village of Hadde, where the Imam has an orchard, at a mile's distance from Sana.

OUR STAY AT SANA, IN THE IMAM'S COURT.

CHAP. XLVI. — *Our arrival at Sana.*

ON the morning of the 16th of July we had sent our servant forward, with a letter, addressed to Fakih Achmed, the Imam's vizier, announcing to him our arrival. But that nobleman, having already heard of our near approach, had sent one of his principal secretaries to meet us, and bid us welcome. This deputy informed us, that we

had been long expected at the court of Sana, and that the Imam had hired an elegant country house for us, in the suburb of Bir el Affab.

We learned that the Vizier had likewise a villa there. When we arrived near this place, the secretary asked us to alight. We supposed upon this, that we were to be immediately introduced to the Vizier; but we only saw our secretary and our Mussulman servants proceed on their asses, while we were obliged to march on foot, a long way, before we reached our lodging. This humiliating ceremony was what we had not expected to be subjected to among the Arabs, who value themselves upon their politeness.

In our villa we found very good rooms, but those perfectly naked and unfurnished. We were here as ill accommodated as we had been in Yemen, and more so than we could have been in a caravansera, where we would at least have found food. Here we were obliged to fast till we could have victuals brought from the city. Beside our house was an orchard, in which the trees appeared to have grown of themselves, without receiving any culture.

Next morning the Imam sent us a present, consisting of five sheep, with wood, rice, lights, and spices. The bearer of this present had at the same time orders to let us know, that the Imam was sorry that he could not see us for these two days yet, he being at present employed in paying off his mercenary troops. This delay we would have regarded with indifference, had we not been at the same time enjoined to keep within doors, till we should obtain our first audience of his Highness. We could have wished to make the most of our stay here.

They had however forgotten to warn us, that the *etiquette* of this court likewise prohibited strangers from receiving visits from the inhabitants of the country, till they should first appear there. We had an acquaintance at Sana, a Jew, who had made the voyage from Cairo to Loheia, in our company. The Jew, although belonging to one of the richest and most respectable families of his nation, had entered into our service, for the course of that voyage, either that he might travel in the greater security, or to spare the expence. Accordingly, he no sooner heard of our arrival, than he came to pay us a visit, and next day brought one of the greatest astrologers in his nation to see us. While these men were in our company, the secretary of Vizier Fakih Achmed happened to come in. The two Jews rose before him, in testimony of respect. But the secretary, angry that they should have presumed to violate the *etiquette*, drove them out of the house, and ordered our servants to admit no person to visit us, till we should first have waited on his master.

CHAP. XLVII. — *Our audience of the Imam.*

ON the 19th of July, the secretary of the Vizier Fakih Achmed, came to conduct us to an audience of the Imam, in his palace of Bustan el Metwokkel. We had expected that we should be introduced privately to an audience of this monarch, or at least in presence only of a few of his principal courtiers. We were surprised therefore to see every thing prepared for an occasion of great ceremony. The court of the palace was so full of horses, officers, and others, that we should scarcely have made our way through the crowd, if the Nakib Gheir Alla, who had been a slave, but was now master of the horse, had not come, with a great staff in his hand, to open a passage for us.

The hall of audience was a spacious square chamber having an arched roof. In the middle was a large basin, with some *jets d'eau*, rising fourteen feet in height. Behind

the bafon, and near the throne, were two large benches, each a foot and a half high; upon the throne was a fpace covered with filken fluff, on which, as well as on both fides of it, lay large cuflions. The Imam fat between the cuflions, with his legs croffed in the eastern falhion; his gown was of a bright green colour, and had large fleeces. On each fide of his breast was a rich filleting of gold lace, and on his head he wore a great white turban. His fons fat on his right hand, and his brothers on the left. Oppofite to them, upon the higheft of the two benches, fat the Vizier; and our place was on the lower bench. On the two fides of the hall, fat many of the principal men about court.

We were firft led up to the Imam, and were permitted to kifs both the back and the palm of his hand, as well as the hem of his robe. It is an extraordinary favour, when the Mahometan princes permit any perfon to kifs the palm of the hand. There was a folemn filence through the whole hall. As each of us touched the Imam's hand, a herald ftill proclaimed; "God preferve the Imam!" All who were prefent repeated thofe words aloud after him. I was thinking at the time, how I fhould pay my compliments in Arabic, and was not a little difturbed by this noify ceremony; but I had afterwards time to recollect myfelf.

As the language fspoken at the court of Sana differs greatly from that of Tehama, the only dialect of the Arabic tongue with which we were familiarly acquainted, or could fpeak tolerably, we had brought our fervant whom we had hired in Mokha, to be our interpreter. The Vizier who had refided long in Tehama, did the fame fervice for the Imam. Our converfation, confequently, could not be either very long, or very interefting. We did not think proper to mention the true reafons of our expedition through Arabia; but told the Imam, that wifhing to travel by the fhorteft way to the Danifh colonies in the Eaft Indies, we had heard fo much of the plenty and fecurity which prevailed through the dominions of the Imam, that we had refolved to fee them with our own eyes, that we might defcribe them to our countrymen. The Imam told us, we were welcome into his dominions, and might ftay as long as we pleafed. After repeating the ceremony of kiffing the Imam's hands, and hearing the repeated acclamations of the fpectators, we now retired in the fame order in which we had come in.

The Imam fent us, after our return home, to each a fmall purfe, containing ninety-nine Komailis, two and thirty of which make a crown. This piece of civility might perhaps appear no compliment to a traveller's delicacy. But, when it is confidered that a ftranger, unacquainted with the value of the money of the country, obliged to pay every day for his provifions, is in danger of being impofed upon by the money changers, this care of providing us with fmall money will appear to have been fufficiently obliging. We therefore accepted the prefent, although we had refolved not to be in any degree chargeable to the Arabs.

CHAP. XLVIII. — *Vifit to Vizier Fakih Achmed.*

IN Turkey no perfon is admitted to an audience of the Sultan, till after he has vifited the Vizier. The cuftom in Yemen is directly contrary. After being honoured with an audience of the Imam in the morning, we were invited to wait on Fakih Achmed in the afternoon, at his country feat, near Bir el Affab. We were at the fame time defired to bring with us thofe curiofities which we had fhewn to Emir Farhan at Loheia, and to feveral Arabs of diftinction in other cities. Thofe rarities were only microscopes, telefcopes, profpect glaffes, thermometers, maps, and other fuch things. I did not chufe to produce my mathematical inftruments, left perhaps fome Scheich might perfuade the Vizier to ask them for his ufe.

The Vizier received us with great politeness, and expressed himself highly pleased with what we shewed him. He put various questions to us, from which he appeared to possess considerable knowledge, and to have studied the sciences with a degree of care far from common among his countrymen. By means of Turkish, Persian, and Indian merchants, he had acquired tolerably correct notions of geography. The Arabians imagine that Europe lies south from them, because the Franks whom they see, come from India. But the Fakih knew very well the situation of the different states of Europe, with their respective powers and forces both by sea and land. Nor could more be expected from an Arabian who had never seen a map.

In the narratives of many voyages, we had read, that in the East an inferior might not approach before a superior, without bringing a present in his hand. Besides, we were desirous of returning the marks of politeness which had been shewn us, and of expressing our gratitude for the entertainment we had received.

For these reasons, we resolved to take this opportunity of offering our present to the Imam and the Fakih; sent to the latter some pieces of mechanism, such as watches, and some other instruments little known among the Arabs. We soon after learned, that this was more than had been expected at our hands, since, not being merchants, we had no favour to ask. All had, however, been very graciously accepted. The Turks regard the presents of the Europeans as a tribute; but at the court of Sana they appear to be considered in a different light.

The Vizier's country house was not large. It was entirely open, upon one side. A number of fruit trees grew in the garden. In the midst of it was a *jet d'eau*, similar to that which we had seen in the Imam's hall of audience. The water was put in motion, by being raised in a reservoir, by an ass and a man who led him. This *jet d'eau* was no ornament; but it cooled the air; a thing very agreeable in hot countries. We saw others of the same sort, in the gardens of all the principal inhabitants of Sana.

CHAP. XLIX.—Of the city of Sana.

THE city of Sana is situate at the foot of mount Nikkum, on which are still to be seen the ruins of a castle, which the Arabs suppose to have been built by Shem. Near this mountain stands the castle; a rivulet rises upon the other side; and near it, is the Bustan el Metwokkel, a spacious garden, which was laid out by Imam Metwokkel, and has been embellished with a fine garden, by the reigning Imam. The walls of the city, which are built of bricks, exclude this garden, which is enclosed within a wall of its own. The city properly so called, is not very extensive; one may walk round it all in an hour.

I should have wished to make an accurate ground plan of this city. But, wherever I went, the mob crowded upon me so, that a survey was absolutely impossible. The city gates are seven. Here are a number of mosques, some of which have been built by Turkish Pachas. Sana has the appearance of being more populous than it actually is; for gardens occupy a part of the space within the walls. In Sana, are only twelve public baths; but many noble palaces, three of the most splendid of which have been built by the reigning Imam. The palace of the late Imam El Manzer, with some others, belong to the royal family, who are very numerous.

The Arabian palaces are built in a style of architecture different from ours. The materials are, however, burnt bricks, and sometimes even hewn stones; but the houses of the common people are of bricks which have been dried in the sun. I saw no glass windows, except in one palace, near the citadel. The rest of the houses have, instead

of windows, merely shutters, which are opened in fair weather, and shut when it is foul. In the last case, the house is lighted by a round wicket, fitted with a piece of Muscovy glass; some of the Arabians use small panes of stained glass from Venice.

At Sana, and in the other cities of the East, are great *Simferas* or *caravanferas* for merchants and travellers. Each different commodity is sold in a separate market. In the market for bread, none but women are to be seen; and their little shops are portable. The several classes of mechanics work in the same manner, in particular quartermen in the open street. Writers go about with their desks, and make out briefs, copy-books, and instruct scholars in the art of writing, all at the same time. There is one market, where old clothes are taken in exchange for new.

Wood for the carpenter's purposes is in general extremely dear through all Yemen; and wood for the fire at Sana is no less so. All the hills near the city are bleak and bare, and wood is therefore to be brought hither from the distance of three days journey; and a camel's burthen commonly costs two crowns. This scarcity of wood is particularly supplied by the use of a little pit coal. I have seen peats burnt here, but these so bad, that straw must be intermixed to make them burn.

Fruits are, however, very plentiful at Sana. Here are more than twenty different species of grapes, which, as they do not all ripen at the same time, continue to afford a delicious refreshment for several months. The Arabs likewise preserve grapes, by hanging them up in their cellars, and eat them almost through the whole year. The Jews make a little wine, and might make more, if the Arabs were not such enemies to strong liquors. A Jew convicted of conveying wine into an Arab's house is severely punished; nay, the Jews must even use great caution, in buying and selling it among themselves. Great quantities of grapes are dried here; and the exportation of raisins from Sana is considerable. One sort of these grapes are without stones, and contains only a soft grain, the presence of which is not perceptible in eating the raisin.

In the castle, which stands on a hill, are two palaces. I saw about it some ruins of old buildings, but, notwithstanding the antiquity of the place, no remarkable inscriptions. There is the mint, and a range of prisons for persons of different ranks. The reigning Imam resides in the city; but several princes of the blood royal live in the castle. I was conducted to a battery, as the most elevated place about these buildings; and there I met with what I had no expectation of, a German mortar, with this inscription, *Jörg Selos Gofmick, 1513*. I saw also, upon the same battery, seven iron cannons, partly buried in the sand, and partly set upon broken carriages. These seven small cannons, with six others, near the gates, which are fired to announce the return of the different festivals, are all the artillery of the capital of Yemen.

CHAP. L. — *Of the Country around Sana.*

THE suburb of Bir el Afiab is nearly adjoining to the city upon the east side. The houses of this village are scattered through the gardens, along the bank of a small river. Two leagues northward from Sana is a plain, named Rodda, which is overspread with gardens, and watered by a number of rivulets. This place bears a great resemblance to the neighbourhood of Damascus. But Sana, which some ancient authors compare to Damascus, stands on a rising ground, with nothing like florid vegetation about it. After long rains, indeed, a small rivulet runs through the city; but all the ground is dry, through the rest of the year. However, by aqueducts from *meur Mikum*, the town and castle of Sana are, at all times, supplied with abundance of excellent fresh water.

Jews are not permitted to live in the city of Sana. They live by themselves in a village, named Kaa el Ihud, situate near Bir el Affab. Their number amounts to two thousand. But, in Yemen, they are treated even more contemptuously than in Turkey. Yet, the best artificers in Arabia are Jews; especially potters and goldsmiths, who come to the city, to work in their little shops by day, and in the evening retire to their village.

Those Jews carry on a considerable trade. One of the most eminent merchants among them, named Oræki, gained the favour of two successive Imam's, and was for thirteen years, in the reign of El Manfor, and for fifteen years under the present Imam, comptroller of the customs and of the royal buildings and gardens; one of the most honourable offices at the court of Sana. Two years before our arrival here, he had fallen into disgrace, and was not only imprisoned, but obliged to pay a fine of 50,000 crowns. Fifteen days before we arrived at Sana, the Imam had let him at liberty. He was a venerable old man, of great knowledge; and although he had received the Imam's permission, had never chosen to assume any other dress than that commonly worn among his countrymen. The young Jew, who had been our servant, was one of his relations, and had mentioned us so favourably to him, that he conceived a desire to see us. But we durst not hold frequent intercourse with a man so newly released out of prison.

The disgrace of Oræki had drawn a degree of persecution upon the rest of the Jews. At that period, the government ordered fourteen synagogues, which the Jews had at Sana, to be demolished. In their village are as handsome houses as the best in Sana. Of those houses likewise all above the height of fourteen fathoms was demolished, and the Jews were forbidden to raise any of their buildings above this height in future. All the stone pitchers in which the inhabitants of the village had used to keep their wines were broken. In short, the poor Jews suffered mortifications of all sorts.

The Banians, in Sana, are reckoned to be about 125. They pay 300 crowns a month for permission to live in the city: Whereas the populous village of Kaa el Ihud pays only 125 crowns a month. The heirs of a deceased Banian are obliged to pay from 40 to 50 crowns. And, if the defunct leaves no near relations in Yemen, his whole property devolves to the Imam. The Banians told us, that two men of their nation had been dragged to prison two months before, and before they could obtain their liberty, were forced to yield up 1500 crowns of an inheritance which had fallen to them in India, and of which they had touched no part in Arabia.

CHAP. II. — *The Pomp of the Imam's Return from the Mosque.*

IT is well known, that the Turkish Sultan goes every Friday to the mosque. The Imam observes the same pious custom with the same exactness, and goes and comes upon the occasion in a very pompous manner. We saw him only returning from the mosque, when his train is said to be swelled by all those who have performed their devotions at other mosques. The better to display his magnificence, he makes a long circuitous progress at his return.

The Imam, upon the occasion when we saw him, came out of the principal mosque, and passed out by one gate of the city, that he might come in by another, with some hundreds of soldiers, marching in procession before him.—Over him, and the privies of his numerous family, Mahal's six hundred porters were borne: a distinction peculiarly appropriated to the sovereign and the princes of the Hued royal. We were told, that in other parts of Yemen, all the independent nobility, such as the Sheriffs of Abu Arisch,

Arifch, the Schiechs of Jefe, and of Hafehid-u-Bekil, constantly display this mark of their independence.

Beside the princes of the blood, there were in this procession at least six hundred noblemen, ecclesiastics and officers, civil and military, all superbly mounted upon horses; and a vast crowd of people followed on foot. On each side of the Imam was borne a standard, having upon it a small silver box filled with amulets, whose efficacy was imagined to render him invincible. This procession was, in short, magnificent, but disorderly. The riders paced or galloped, at pleasure, and all went on in confusion.

Near a gate were stationed some pairs of camels bearing carriages, in which some of the Imam's wives often ride upon such occasions: but the carriages were at this time empty, and served only to fill up the procession. Behind the camels, which bore these, were twelve others, bearing nothing but some small flags, fixed, by way of ornament, to their saddles.

The soldiers fired a few rounds without the gate, but not less awkwardly than in the other cities of Yemen. In their evolutions before the palace, they shewed no greater dexterity than the provincial troops which we had seen perform their exercises under the Dolas. The city gates were shut during divine service.

CHAP. LII. — *Our Audience of taking Leave.*

THE favourable reception we had met with at Sana, which was above our expectations, might have tempted us to stay longer. Many of the principal men about the Imam's court urged us to spend another year in Yemen. But we had lost two of our companions, who could have availed themselves more than we of a continued stay in Arabia. Some instances, too, of the Imam's avarice, which had come to our knowledge, added to what we had experienced in those cases in which we had been embroiled with the Dolas, impressed us with a degree of distrust, and made us fear that our present good treatment might end in a very different manner. We had, besides, found the climate hurtful to our constitutions, and our health was much injured by the changing temperature of the atmosphere. We therefore began to think seriously of sailing for India with the English, that we might save our lives and papers.

We had permission to leave Sana whenever we should think proper; but it was required that we should take a formal leave of the Imam, and shew him the curiosities which the Vizier had seen; a circumstance which obliged us to defer our journey for some days.

We were sent for to Court on the 23d of July, and conducted into the same hall in which the Imam had received us at our former audience. Upon this second occasion, every thing passed very quietly. The Imam sat on the lowest bench beside the throne, upon a chair wrought of reeds. We kissed the hem of his robe, and both sides of his hand. Nobody was present but the Vizier, the secretary, by whom we had been conducted into the presence, and six or seven slaves or servants. None of our servants were permitted to accompany us; as the Vizier thought us qualified to express ourselves in the language of the country. All that we shewed the Imam seemed to please him highly; and both he and his minister put many questions to us concerning the manners, trade, and learning of the Europeans. A small chest of medicines, which the Imam had received from an Englishman, was then brought in. Mr. Cramer was asked to explain the virtues of those drugs; and the Imam caused what he said, concerning their nature, to be taken down in writing.

I had

I had been indisposed when I came out to wait on the Imam; and, in consequence of standing so long, I felt myself so weak that I was obliged to ask permission to retire. Before the door I found some of the first officers in the court, sitting on piles of stones along the wall.

The Great Chamberlain, Gheir Allah, with whom I had often had occasion to speak, immediately made me an offer of his seat, and gathered stones to make himself another. In this company I was again addressed with a number of questions concerning the manners and customs of Europe. Those Arabs strongly disapproved of our practice of drinking spirituous liquors. But when I assured them that the Christians were forbidden to indulge in drunkenness, and that no sensible European drank more wine than was good for his health, they allowed the custom to be rational. They even acknowledged that it was absurd to abstain entirely from the use of a liquor of which they had such abundance, and which, on many occasions, might prove salutary as a remedy.

I returned into the hall; and, after Mr. Cramer had finished his account of the drugs, and we had answered various other questions, we took our leave with the same ceremonies which we had observed at entering. In the afternoon we went to take leave of Vizier Fakih Achmed, and some other persons of distinction.

CHAP. LIII. — *Our Departure from Sana.*

WE had, indeed, good reasons to induce us to return to Mokha, by the same way by which we had come. It is better frequented; and upon it I should have had an opportunity of copying the inscriptions of which the Arabs had spoken to me: But I had been so often deceived already by stories of pretended antiquities, that to the uncertain hopes which those inscriptions held out to me, I preferred the certain advantage of surveying another part of Yemen, and of seeing the Tehama in the rainy season. We acquainted the Vizier, therefore, that we wished to travel by Mofhak to Beit el Fakih. He not only approved of our intention, but told us, that the Imam would supply us with camels and asses for our journey.

On the 25th of July, the Imam sent each of us a complete suit of clothes, with a letter to the Dola of Mokha, to pay us two hundred crowns, as a farewell present. We were at first afraid that this prince might suppose us to have come, like the Turks, to draw money from him, or that we had made our presents with interested views. But, after reflecting that we had been obliged to ransom ourselves, in a manner, at Mokha, we resolved to accept that letter of credit. When we afterwards presented it to the Dola he sent us to receive the money from his Saraf, or banker, who paid us by instalments, but never without an air of dissatisfaction.

We could hardly think the Vizier serious in his offer, when he told us that the Imam would furnish us with beasts of burthen. We were even afraid that this might be an arrangement to delay our journey, and would rather have hired camels at our own expence. We thereupon came to an explanation with the secretary, whose answers led us to suspect an interested understanding between him, and the Arabian camel-hirer, or post-master.

We therefore ventured to address the Vizier again. He shewed surprise at our perplexity; because he had delivered to the secretary a written order, signed by the Imam's own hand, in which he was directed to furnish us with camels and asses for our whole journey, and with a sheep for our provisions. The secretary, on account of our impatience to depart, had not had time to bargain for a share of the profits with.

with the camel-drivers, and was obliged to deliver up the written order, with some pieces of stuff which the Imam had sent us for clothes to our servants. He gave us also notice, that some other presents were intended us, which could not be ready till after a certain number of hours. We set out without them, and the secretary, probably, kept them to himself.

The dress which I received from the Imam was exactly like that worn by the Arabs of distinction through Yemen. They wear the shirt over wide drawers of cotton-cloth. The lambea, a sort of crooked cutlafs, hangs by a broad girdle; and a vest with short sleeves is covered by a flowing gown. The Arabs are strangers to the use of stockings. The only thing they wear on their feet is a sort of half-boots, or slippers.

The Turks appear to abuse the generous hospitality with which the Imam treats strangers travelling through his dominions. Poor pilgrims of that nation often come from Jidda, are entertained for months at Sana, and then ask money to defray the expences of their journey home. The Imam even orders a sum of money to be paid them in some of his sea-port towns, that they may return no more to be farther chargeable to so hospitable a people.

Within a short time after our arrival, a Turk, who had attended his master, an Egyptian nobleman, to Mecca, came by the way of Jidda and Hodeida to Sana, in hopes of obtaining instantly one of the first posts in the Imam's army: for the Turks have so high an idea of their military talents, that they suppose it would be too great a happiness to the Arabs to be able to engage a Turkish officer in their service. But the Imam, after entertaining this man some time at Sana, sent him to Hodeida, and ordered him a sum of money sufficient to carry him to Basra. On my return from India, I met with this same Turk, who had performed the voyage in a vessel belonging to Maskar, and had found it not more dangerous than the passage between Jidda and Hodeida.

OUR RETURN FROM SANA TO MOKHA.

CHAP. LIV. — *Route from Sana to Beit el Fakih.*

ON the 26th of July, the day of our departure from Sana, we made a short stage along a bad road among bare hills, with few villages interspersed over them. Next day the road was still worse, lying over rocky mountains. This was the most rugged road I saw in all Yemen. The hills were bleak and wild, and the deep vallies among them contained only a few wretched hamlets.

On the 28th of July, we proceeded down steep declivities. But the hills began now to display a small share of verdure: And we here met with several camels, loaded with very bad wood, for Sana. The towns were poor and thinly scattered. In the evening, we were attacked by legions of locusts: but these were soon driven away by a violent storm of wind, accompanied by heavy rain.

We travelled this day onward to Mofhak, a small town situate on the summit of a precipitous hill. The houses in which travellers lodge stand at the foot of the hill. We presented the Imam's written order to the Dola of this city, who accordingly furnished us with camels, provender, a good meal for our servants, a sheep for our own supper, and even paid for our lodging. The revenue of Mofhak, and the territory annexed to it, is enjoyed by one of the Imam's sons.

Our next day's journey was upon a still more disagreeable road. Nothing can be worse, indeed, than the roads between Mofhak and Sehan. Upon the hill we found

six large reservoirs, in which rain water is collected. It becomes putrid, after standing for some time, and is then very disagreeable. In this country the Arabs believe they have most to fear from the worm in the nerves. If it be so, the cause must lie in their drinking that putrid water.

Leaving Sehan on the 30th of July, we continued our journey upon somewhat better roads which winded round the hills. Upon Harras, one of those hills, we came to a defile so narrow that a single camel could hardly pass. On either side are steep rocks; and rain, which had fallen on the preceding day, had broken a gap eight feet deep, precisely in the narrowest part of this road, and made it absolutely impassable. There was no other passage; and all our Arabs were of opinion, that we should return straight to Sana, and take the road by Thon: but we were unwilling to turn so far about, and therefore resolved to fill up the gap with stones. Our Arabs laughed to hear us propose an undertaking which they supposed would give us work for several days. But we began to gather stones, and by promises prevailed with them to assist us. Three hours of hard work completed our causeway, and we passed safe over. The Arabs maintained, that, in such a case, the first Dola of Yemen would rather have returned to Sana, than have undertaken what we had accomplished. This gave no favourable impression of the spirit or industry of the nation.

On our way, we met with a wandering family, the first of this character that I saw in Yemen. They had no tents, but lived under trees with their asses, sheep, dogs, and fowls. I forgot to ask the name of this horde. But their mode of life is perfectly like that of our European gypsies. They are confined to no place, but go about the villages begging and stealing; and the poor peasants often give them something voluntarily, to remove them from their neighbourhood. A young girl of this company came to ask alms from us: Her face was uncovered.

At a small distance from the dangerous pass above mentioned, we saw the first plantation of coffee trees. We had seen none of these since our excursions in the month of May; but this production does not appear to enrich those by whom it is here cultivated. The villages in the coffee-country are declining into a state of wretched poverty: the houses consist of dry walls, covered with reeds, and resemble those of the hills about Beit el Fakih and Dsjobla. The river Sehan was so swollen that we had difficulty of passing it with our asses.

We spent the night at Samfur, a poor village, where I lost my compass. In the morning, we found ourselves obliged to pass more than a dozen of times in the space of a mile, over the river Sehan, which runs with a meandering course, among rocks, and with a very rapid current. This country being very poor, the roads are not exceedingly safe, and we were therefore obliged to travel slowly, without going before our baggage. We saw here many shrubs of the species which affords the balsam of Mecca; but the inhabitants of the country know not their value, and therefore neglect to cultivate them.

In the coffee-house of Til we met with several pilgrims returning from Mecca; among others an Arab from Doan, a city five-and-twenty days journey east from Sana, and twelve days journey from Kerchin; consequently, in a country entirely unknown to Europeans: I was vexed at the short time of our interview; and the great difference between the dialect which he spoke and that of Tehama, which disqualified me from obtaining from him more particular information concerning his country.

From this inn the country improves. It is covered with verdure. In the valley are a number of rivulets, which discharge themselves into the river Sehan; and a great many villages are scattered over the hills.

We saw a rivulet which loses itself under ground, and appears again at a considerable distance. After leaving the hills, it disappears entirely, and its waters are dispersed over the plains of the Tehama. The arable grounds among these hills are sown only with durra, a sort of coarse millet, of which the poorer people make their bread. The peasants cut out seats in the trees, and sit in these to watch their fields.

The rocks on the confines of the Tehama are basaltic, like those of the cone-country near Beit el Fakih. We came yet to another rivulet which loses itself in the fanks of the Tehama. At last we reached the plain, and arrived at Beit el Fakih in the evening of the 1st of August.

CHAP. LV.—*Route from Beit el Fakih to Mokha.*

THE greater part of this city having been burnt down in the month of April last, we had expected to find it desolate. We were, therefore, greatly surprised to see all the houses, or rather huts, rebuilt. Several edifices of stone, fitter to resist the force of fire, had likewise been raised.

We sent notice to the Dola of our arrival, and desired him to have camels in readiness, on which we might continue our journey. Our Arabian servants would have demanded provisions from him, that they might make merry, and shew the people in what an honourable manner they were received.

I shall now only mention some changes produced by the rains upon this part of the country. Indeed, as we had already seen the face of the country, we preferred travelling by night at this time, to avoid suffering from the torrid heats of the day.

Having set out from Beit el Fakih on the evening of the 2d of August, we met with two men, on our way to Zebid, who were leading asses loaded chiefly with silver, which had been received by the merchants from Egypt, for coffee, and which they were sending to Mokha, to purchase India goods. This mode of carrying money about, was a proof to us, that in this province there were no fears from robbers.

On the 3d of August, the Dola of Zebid was obliged to furnish us with provisions and camels. We had expected to find the river Zebid considerably swollen; but near the city its channel was entirely dry; the waters having been turned off, to overflow a great extent of the adjacent fields, which were surrounded by dykes. It should seem that the waters are not suffered to run in the channel of the river, till after they have been plentifully distributed over the country. The peasants construct their dykes in a very simple manner. After plowing up a field, they yoke a plank of wood to two oxen, lead these over the field, till the plank is loaded with earth, empty it upon the line where the dyke is to be drawn, and repeat this till it is formed. We stopped to rest for a few hours at Mauschid, and on the morning of the 5th of August arrived at Mokha.

We had been extremely earnest to return to this city, lest the English ship, in which we intended to sail for India, might be gone before our arrival. But several circumstances happened to detain that vessel some time longer at Mokha; and we soon felt that we had travelled too hastily in that sultry climate. I fell ill on the 8th of August; Mr. Baurenfeind was confined to his bed within a few days after; and in a short time Mr. Cramer likewise, and all our European servants. We fortunately found our friend, Mr. Scott still here, who kindly supplied us with European refreshments, which did us more service than we could have received from the use of the best medicines. But all his friendly cares could not remove the lurking distemper, which soon afterwards broke out with renewed violence, and deprived me of all my remaining fellow-travellers; as I shall relate in the proper place.

CHAP. LVI. — *Of the city of Mokha.*

THIS city stands in a very dry and barren situation. Its fortifications are the walls which surround it, some towers on the way to Mufa, which are dignified with the name of castles, and two other castles of the same sort, upon the two arms of the harbour. The greatest of these two castles is called Kalla Tejar, and the smallest, Kalla Abdurrah, from the names of two saints, buried in these two places. They are provided with some few pieces of cannon.

The houses in the city are built of stone; and some are handsome, in the style of those of the suburb of Sana. However, there are others, both within and without the walls, no better than the huts common through all the Tehama. In the environs of this city are abundance of date trees, and many agreeable gardens.

Mokha is not an ancient city. It was built about four centuries since. It, like many other cities in the Tehama, owes its origin to a saint, the celebrated Scheich Schædeli. This Scheich acquired at that period so great a reputation, that persons eagerly resorted from the most distant countries to receive his instructions. Some of his devout disciples built huts round his hermitage, which stood on the sea side. A small village arose on this spot, and was by degrees enlarged into a city. Hitherto its history resembles that of the other cities in the Tehama. But, the rise of Mokha was attended with many peculiar circumstances, which deserve to be mentioned, as they are related by the Arabs; whose accounts seem to be founded in truth although dashed with a little of the marvellous, in the usual taste of the Arabian nation.

A ship bound from India to Jidda, cast anchor, one day, about four hundred years since, in these latitudes. The crew observing a hut in the desert, had the curiosity to go and see it. The Scheich gave those strangers a kind reception, and regaled them with coffee, of which he was very fond himself, and to which he ascribed great virtues. The Indians, who were unacquainted with the use of coffee, thought that this hot liquid might cure the master of their ship, who was ill. Schædeli assured them, that, not only should he be cured by the efficacy of his prayers, and of the coffee, but that if they would land their cargo there, they might dispose of it to considerable advantage. Assuming at the same time the air and tone of a prophet, he told them that a city should one day be built upon that spot, which was to become an eminent mart of the Indian trade.

The merchant to whom the vessel belonged, being struck with this singular language, went on shore, to see and converse with this extraordinary man. He drank the coffee prescribed by the prophet, and found himself better. On the same day a great number of Arabs came to hear the preacher in his hermitage. Among them were several merchants, who purchased the whole cargo. The Indian returned home well pleased, and spread the fame of the holy Schædeli, so that the place was soon frequented by many of his countrymen.

An elegant mosque was raised upon the tomb of Scheich Schædeli, which stands without the walls of the present city. The well from which the common people draw water for drinking, and one of the city gates, bear his name. His descendants are held in honour, and enjoy the title of Scheich. The people swear by him. The name of Schædeli will be remembered as long as Mokha stands.

Besides, Schædeli is not only the patron of Mokha; but all the Mussulmans who drink coffee mention him every morning in their Pratha, or prayer, and esteem him also as their patron. They invoke him not, but thank God for having taught mankind the

use of coffee, through the mediation of Schædeli, and implore the favour of heaven on the Scheichs, his dependants.

A merchant of Mecca made an observation upon those faints, which I was surpris'd to hear from a Mahometan. The vulgar, said he, must always have a visible object to fear and honour. Thus, at Mecca, oaths, instead of being address'd to God, are pronounced in the name of Mahomet. At Mokha, I would not trust a man who should take God as witness the truth of any thing he happened to assert: but I might much more safely depend upon him who should swear by Scheich Schædeli, whose mosque and tomb are before their eyes.

Mokha was the last city in Yemen of which the Turks retained possession. It is said that the Arabs did not conquer, but buy it. Since the Turks were dispossessed, it has never had another master than the Imam.

A Dola having enriched himself in his government, had fortified the city, and drawn a trench round it, which is now fill'd up. He was suspected of an intention to make himself independent; but his views were frustrated, and himself cast into prison. From that time, a Dola has never been continued above three years in this lucrative government. After the monsoon season, the Dola of Mokha is every year obliged to give an account of his administration, and is then either confirm'd in his employment, or instantly recalled to Sana.

I know not whether the Christians of the East have ever settled at Mokha. A good many Jews live here, in a separate village, as in the other cities of Yemen. Here are nearly seven hundred Banians, Rajaputs, and other Indians, some of whom are merchants, and others earn their livelihood by exercising different mechanic arts. When they have made a small fortune, they commonly return home to India; and on this account are always looked upon as strangers.

CHAP. LVII. — *Bombardment of Mokha by the French.*

I COULD learn nothing of the history of this city, except one event, which happened five and twenty years since. I relate the circumstances of this transaction, as they were recounted to me by the Arabs; for they will serve to give an idea of the power and policy of the Imam.

The Dola of Mokha often purchases out of the ships from India, goods, of which the value amounts to more than the sum due for custom-house duties and other taxes. He takes those goods upon the Imam's account, and always promises to deduct the debt out of the duties which may become due next year. But he continues year after year to take new goods to account, and the debt is thus increased, and still remains unpaid. By dealing for some time in this manner, the French East India Company at length found the Imam 82,000 crowns in their debt.

This Company became at last anxious to obtain payment of so considerable a debt, without losing, however, their trade with Mokha; and therefore, in the year 1738, sent a man of war to escort their merchant ships. The captain, upon his arrival, acquainted the Dola, that they were come to sell their cargo, but would not land or send their goods on shore, till his debt to them should be discharged. The Dola strove to assuage them with fine speeches, and to persuade them to land their goods. But the French, to shew what they could do, rendered the castle unfit for defence, by a few discharges of their great guns, before the Arabs were aware that they intended real hostilities.

After:

After this exploit, the conferences were renewed. The Dola still excused himself, and said that he had no money, and no orders from the Imam to pay the debt, but asked fifteen days respite, till he should receive orders from Sana. Fifteen days expired, and no orders were received. The French then discharged a bomb upon the Dola's house, by which an Arab was killed. But this producing no decisive effects, some other bombs were thrown upon the mosque, upon a Friday, while the Dola was within, and by these were several persons killed.

The citizens, of whom a good number had by this time lost their life for their sovereign's debt, now lost patience, and obliged the governor to take measures to satisfy his creditors. A treaty was accordingly concluded; and the French landed their goods, and continued their trade as before. Of all their crew, they lost only one man, who had happened to fall asleep before the door of his lodging in the town. An Arabian soldier stabbed him in revenge for the death of a relation of his, who had been killed by a bomb-shot.

The Dola was unable to make farther resistance; and had undoubtedly done all that was in his power to serve his master. The Imam was, however, dissatisfied, recalled him, and confiscated his palace at Sana. A merchant of Mokha, who had advanced a large sum to satisfy the demands of the French, had not received payment, even at the time when we were there.

Several of the Arabs still recollect this little affair with pleasure, and remember, with a degree of gaiety, those pots of fire, as they called them to me, which pursued their Dola backwards and forwards, wherever he went. Since that time the Arabs have entertained a high opinion of the military talents of the Europeans. In any Turkish city, no Christians, of whatever nation, could have been safe from the fury of the populace during such hostilities. But, at Mokha, the English and Dutch remained in perfect security during this war with the French.

CHAP. LVIII. — *Of the Trade of Mokha.*

SEVERAL nations formerly traded to this port, which now frequent it no more. The Portuguese, who were, two centuries ago, very powerful on the Arabic Gulph, have long since ceased to send ships hither. The Dutch rarely appear here; and the French never in time of war, although they still continue to rent warehouses here. The English at present engross, almost exclusively, the trade of this place. Their East India Company, indeed, send only one vessel hither in two years, to take in a cargo of coffee. But the trade is so much the more advantageous to private merchants settled in India. In this year there had come five English ships from different ports in India, not to mention three others which proceeded straight to Jidda. Since the time when an English merchant resident at Mokha, was maltreated by the populace in the absence of the ships, the English have always returned with their vessels to India, and left the management of their affairs, during their absence, to a Benian.

Since the trade of Mokha is so considerable, the customs cannot but afford a large revenue to the Imam. The Turks, Arabs, and Indians, are obliged to carry their goods straight to the custom-house, to be there inspected, and to pay either one or ten per cent. upon their value, at the arbitrary estimation of the custom-house officers. All Europeans enjoy the privilege of having their goods landed in their own warehouses, and of paying only three per cent. upon their value. Since the English have become so powerful in Bengal, and have imported those goods which were formerly furnished by the Indians, they have been required to pay only three per cent. But the government
continue

continue to observe their treaties, and yet to maintain their ancient rights, by making the merchants in Mokha pay likewise five per cent. on all Indian goods which they purchase.

Besides the duties payable at the custom-house, ships pay another duty under the name of anchorage, which amounts to some hundreds of crowns, and is regulated not by the tonnage of the vessel, but by the number of its masts. On the other hand, a merchant, who lades a large European ship with coffee in this port, receives from the Dola a premium of four hundred crowns.

According to the observation of the Arabians, the monsoons are regular in these latitudes. The north wind blows for six months, and the south wind for other six months. It is not to be supposed, however, that these are the only winds known here. During the month of August, especially, the wind blows from all the points in the horizon. An English ship bound for Jidda was obliged to return to Mokha, and to wait there some months for a favourable wind.

The Arabs have scarcely any article for exportation, except coffee, of which the Indians are not very fond. The English ships must return empty to India, if they did not gain considerably by carrying money, with which the Arabian merchants entrust them. These merchants had freighted one English vessel from Jidda, with a million of crowns; and that on board which we sailed, had 250,000 crowns of theirs in specie.

These sums are almost always in European coins, Venetian ducats, or German coins. It may be supposed that other English and Indian vessels carry also considerable sums from Jidda and Mokha. The ships which sail from Basra to India, are in the same manner freighted with money which has passed from Europe through Turkey. When to this we add the quantity of specie carried directly to India and China by the nations of Europe, it appears that Europe must have been long since exhausted of gold and silver, were it not for the treasures imported from America.

When a foreign vessel arrives in the road of Mokha, it must not salute with guns, but only hoist a flag. The Dola then sends out a boat to examine it, and learn the purpose of its approach. If any difficulties are raised, the captain needs only say, that he will proceed to Hodeida or Loheia. The Dola, unwilling to lose the presents which he receives from every ship, is soon brought by this means to hear reason.

It would not be difficult for any other nation to obtain the same privileges which the English presently enjoy at Mokha. But the trade on the coasts of the Red Sea can be advantageous to no nation who have not settlements in India. The Arabians make no use of the productions of Europe. It would be necessary, therefore, to supply them with India goods, and to take coffee in return, which can be bought cheaper from ships which take it in merely to avoid returning empty. There is, indeed, a great quantity of iron sold in Arabia, which the English purchase chiefly from the Danes. It is, therefore, probable, that the latter nation might find their interest in a direct trade with the goods of Denmark, and our colonies between Tranquebar and Mokha.

It will not be amiss to add one slight observation concerning the brokers of different nations. A stranger cannot be too much on his guard against Mahometan brokers. He will find his account in addressing himself rather to the Banians, among whom are many considerable merchants, very honest men. Through all the countries in the East, Mahometan merchants have the knavery to seek to irritate the Christians, when, after having duped them, they fear their repentment: and then when any term of reproach is uttered by the strangers, in the heat of passion, the rascally Mussulmans make a great noise, under pretence that their religion is abused, and threaten to complain to the magistrates. Several Europeans have been obliged to pay considerable sums by these arts of knaves who had previously cheated them.

OF ARABIA IN GENERAL.

CHAP. LIX. — *Concerning the Description of Arabia.*

MAN, even in society, where civilization has been carried perhaps to excess, where art extinguishes or disguises the sentiments of nature, never forgets his original destination. He is still fond even of the very shadow of that liberty, independence, and simplicity, which he has lost by refinement, although they are so congenial to his existence. He is charmed to meet with these again, even in the illusions of pastoral poetry.

We are no less fond of tracing these native features of the human mind, where they are to be discovered in the records of remote ages, in which the natural manners of mankind appear undisguised by affectation, and not yet altered by the progress of arts or policy. Even without adverting to the causes of the pleasure which we feel, we are always pleased to find some faint traces even of our natural and primary rights, and of the happiness to which we were originally destined.

If any people in the world afford in their history an instance of high antiquity, and of great simplicity of manners, the Arabs surely do. Coming among them, one can hardly help fancying one's self suddenly carried backwards to the ages which succeeded immediately after the flood. We are here tempted to imagine ourselves among the old patriarchs, with whose adventures we have been so much amused in our infant days. The language, which has been spoken for time immemorial, and which so nearly resembles that which we have been accustomed to regard as of the most distant antiquity, completes the illusion which the analogy of manners began.

The country in which this nation inhabit, affords many objects of curiosity, no less singular and interesting. Intersected by sandy deserts, and vast ranges of mountains, it presents on one side nothing but desolation in its most frightful form, while the other is adorned with all the beauties of the most fertile regions. Such is its position, that it enjoys, at once, all the advantages of hot and of temperate climates. The peculiar productions of regions, the most distant from one another, are produced here in equal perfection. Having never been conquered, Arabia has scarcely known any changes, but those produced by the hand of nature; it bears none of the impressions of human fury, which appear in so many other places.

With all these circumstances, so naturally calculated to engage curiosity, Arabia has been hitherto but very little known. The ancients, who made their discoveries of countries, by conquering them, remained ignorant of the state and history of a region into which their arms could never penetrate. What Greek and Latin authors mention concerning Arabia, proves, by its obscurity, their ignorance of almost every thing respecting the Arabs. Prejudices relative to the inconveniences and dangers of travelling in Arabia, have hitherto kept the moderns in equal ignorance. I shall have occasion to remark, that our best books of geography abound with capital errors upon this head; as, for instance, concerning the subjection of the Arabs to the Turks and Persians.

For these reasons, I have resolved to give a more minute and circumstantial description of a country, and a people, which deserve to be better known than they are at present. In the course of the former part of my travels, I have mentioned in part what I saw myself. But, as during so short a stay in Arabia, I had time to travel over only a few of the provinces of that widely extended country, I sought information
concerning

concerning the rest, from different honest and intelligent Arabs. This information I was most successful in obtaining among the men of letters and the merchants; persons in public offices were more entirely engrossed with their own affairs, and generally of a more reserved character.

This mode of obtaining my information appeared to carry with it several peculiar advantages; and it will be of no less utility, that I distinguish in this manner between what I observed myself, and what I was informed of by others. The reader will thus be enabled to discern between what I mention barely upon the authority of my own observation, and what I relate upon the concurrent evidence of many of the most enlightened persons in the nation. I shall find many more favourable opportunities of introducing certain particulars which I could not otherwise have inserted in the account of my travels, without interrupting too frequently the progress of the narrative. The reader will also be better entertained, when presented with a sketch, exhibiting the features no less of the country, than of the people inhabiting it.

I should have wished to add a brief compend of the history of this singular nation; but this I found impossible. In the East there are no libraries, and no men of deep erudition, resources which a traveller might find with great facility in Europe. Yet there are ancient Arabic historians; but the copies of their works are very rare, as I learned at Kahira and Mokha. It would be of consequence, however, to examine those authors, who are still unknown in Europe. The search, I am persuaded, could hardly prove fruitless. Those works would throw new light on several epochs in the history of ancient nations.

CHAP. LX. — *Of the Extent and the Divisions of Arabia.*

ARABIA, properly so called, is that great peninsula formed by the Arabic Gulph, the Indian Ocean, and the Persian Gulph. The ancients appear to have comprehended under the name of Arabia, the whole tract lying between those seas, and a line drawn from the point of the Persian to that of the Arabic Gulph. This line, however, was not the real boundary of the country, but merely fancied such by ignorance.

Whatever may be thought of the limits assigned to this country by the ancients, a much wider extent must, at any rate, be allowed to present Arabia. In consequence of the conquests and settlements of the Arabs in Syria and Palestine, the deserts of these countries are now to be regarded as part of Arabia, which may thus be considered as being bounded on one side by the river Euphrates, and on the other by the isthmus of Suez.

Yet, we are not to consider all those countries in which this people have ever made conquests, or established colonies, as forming a part of Arabia. Of all nations,* the Arabs have spread farthest over the world; and in all their wanderings, they have, better than any other nation, preserved their language, manners, and peculiar customs. From east to west, from the banks of the Senegal to the Indus, are colonies of Arabs to be met with; and between north and south, they are scattered from Euphrates to the island of Madagascar. The Tartar hordes have not occupied so wide an extent of the globe.

The Senegal in Africa is known to separate the negroes from those people who are only distinguished by a dark complexion. On its bank are some tribes of wandering Arabs, who live in tents. The mountainous parts of Morocco, and the republics of Barbary, contain many other tribes of the same nation, who, it should seem, spread through Africa in the progress of the conquests of the Caliphs. Those tribes are all

governed by chiefs of their own ; they speak Arabic, and in their manners resemble the rest of the Arabian nation. They are to be regarded rather as allies than subjects of the governments of the different countries in which they have established themselves.

On the eastern coast of Africa, the Arabs have spread themselves as far as Mosambique. At least, the sovereigns of several kingdoms upon that coast were anciently Arabs. The same nation made themselves likewise masters of the isles of Comorra, and of part of the isle of Madagascar, in which Arab colonies still remain.

As I could learn nothing very particular concerning the Arab tribes, dispersed through Africa, I shall not pretend to speak of them ; nor do I need to say any thing more of the Egyptian Arabs, after what I have already mentioned concerning them, in the account of my travels in that country.

I shall likewise pass on, without noticing the pretended Arabian colonies in Habbesch, or examining the opinion, which represents the Abyssinians as originally sprung from the inhabitants of Arabia. This notion, which has been advanced by some learned men, depends on probabilities so slender and so uncertain, that to enter into a particular discussion of them, would be taking more pains about them than they are worth.

But I cannot pass, in equal silence, over the more considerable colonies, which, although they are also settled without the limits of Arabia, are, however, nearer to it. I mean the Arabs upon the southern coast of Persia, who are commonly in alliance with, and sometimes subject to, the neighbouring Schiechs. A variety of circumstances concur to indicate, that these tribes were settled along the Persian Gulph, before the conquests of the Caliphs, and have ever preserved their independence. It is ridiculous in our geographers, to represent a part of Arabia as subject to the Kings of Persia ; when, so far from this, the Persian monarchs have never been masters of the sea coast of their own dominions, but have patiently suffered it to remain in the possession of the Arabians.

In order to proceed upon the most natural plan in the geographical delineation of this country, I shall follow that division of Arabia which is in use among the inhabitants. They divide their country into six great provinces ; Hedjas, lying along the Arabic Gulph, between Mount Sinai and Yemen, and extending inland so far back as to the confines of Nedsjed ; Yemen, a province stretching from the border of Hedjas, along the Arabic Gulph and the Indian Ocean, to Hadramaut, and bounded on the north by Nedsjed ; Hadramaut, on the Indian Ocean, conterminous with Yemen on one side, and with Oman on the other, bounded northwards by Nedsjed ; Oman, lying also on the shore of the Indian Ocean, and encompassed by the provinces of Hadramaut, Lachsa, and Nedsjed ; Lachsa, or Hadzjar, extending along the Persian Gulph, and having Nedsjed for its interior boundary ; Nedsjed, comprehending all the interior country, and bounded by the other five provinces ; its northern limits are the territories occupied by the Arabs in the desert of Syria. These territories may indeed be reckoned a seventh province ; and to them may also be added the description of the Arabian establishments on the southern coast of Persia.

The two provinces of Yemen and Hadramaut were formerly known by the name of Arabia the Happy. But, as no such name is used among the Arabs, I have not thought of attending to this arbitrary division of the country.

CHAP. LXI. — *Of the Revolutions of Arabia.*

ALL that is known concerning the earliest period of the history of this country, is, that it was governed in those days by potent monarchs, called Tobba. This is thought to have been a title common to all those Princes, as the name of Pharaoh was to the ancient Sovereigns of Egypt.

There exists, however, a pretty distinct tradition among the learned Arabs, with respect to those ancient Kings, which deserves to be taken notice of. They pretend to know, from ancient monuments, that Tobba was the family name of those Sovereigns; that they came from the neighbourhood of Samarcand; were worshippers of fire; and conquered and civilized Arabia. This tradition accords with the plausible hypothesis of an ingenious writer, who derives the knowledge and civilization of the people of the south, from a nation who once flourished in that part of Tartary in which Samarcand is situate.

One thing I had occasion to observe myself, which seems to me to make in favour of the same hypothesis. A Dutch renegado, who had travelled several times over Arabia, shewed me, at Mokha, a copy of an inscription, in strange and unknown characters, which he had found in a province remote from the sea coast. I was then in ill health, and neglected to copy it. But the uncommon form of the characters, which consisted entirely of straight lines, made such an impression upon my memory, that, on my return, I distinguished the inscriptions at Persepolis to be in the same alphabet. A tradition prevails through Persia, that the conqueror who founded Persepolis was originally from the vicinity of Samarcand; so that both the Arabians and the Persians would appear to have had Sovereigns from the same nation, who spoke the same language, or at least employed the same characters in writing.

Whatever may have been the origin of those conquerors, many circumstances concur to prove, that, in remote times, the Arabians acted an important part on the theatre of human affairs; although the memory of the revolutions which took place among them has not been handed down to posterity. There can be no doubt of their having conquered Egypt at a time previous to the commencement of Grecian history. What Greek historians say of the shepherd-kings of Egypt, can be referred to none but the Arabs. The famous republic of robbers must undoubtedly have been a tribe of this nation, who, after the expulsion of their countrymen, maintained themselves for several ages in a district in Lower Egypt.

It is certain that most of the nations so frequently mentioned in the history of the Jews, must have been Arab tribes, who went often to war with those turbulent neighbours, and sometimes subdued them. It may even be conjectured, that the Jews themselves were originally Arabs, descended from some branch of those far spread tribes.

Those events, in the fate of this nation, which took place in the time of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Parthians, are all unknown to us; except some faint and unsuccessful attempts which these conquerors made to reduce the Arabians under subjection. They succeeded only against a few tribes, settled in the cities on the Arabic Gulf, or in the vicinity of Syria; and even here their power was extremely transient.

Arabia seems to have been a rich and powerful country in the time of the ancient Egyptians. The aversion of these last for the sea, left to the Arabs the whole commerce with India by the Arabic Gulf. That trade, when once brought within this channel, continued to flow through it, under the Ptolemies, the Romans, the Greek

Emperors,

Emperors, and the Caliphs of Egypt. But the discovery of a new line of communication with India, deprived Arabia of the advantages of this traffic, and produced the rapid decline of many flourishing cities.

It must have been during the more splendid ages of the existence of this nation, that the Hamjare Kings reigned over a great part of Arabia. The history of those Princes is so involved in obscurity, that we are ignorant even of their origin, and know not to what nation they properly belonged. But they were probably indigenous.

Neither do we know in what period to place the Abyssinian invasion, of which some authors speak. That people must have attacked the Arabs, on purpose to convert them to Christianity. It is even pretended that, after subduing a part of Arabia, they accomplished the purpose of their enterprise, and a great part of the Arabs became Christians. But the circumstances of this event are so vague, and have so fabulous an air, that we will be in the right to doubt if it ever took place; or at least, if it was produced by the causes to which it has been ascribed.

A revolution, of the reality of which we are more certain, and which involved in it more important consequences, was that which Mahomet effected in the religion and the political state of his country. This fortunate usurper, with the arms of his countrymen, spread his conquests over distant regions. His successors, for a while, prosecuted the career of conquest with the same success. But neither he, nor the Caliphs, could ever entirely subdue their own nation. Many chiefs in the interior parts of the country, still maintained their independence, without respecting the Caliph in any other light than as the head of their religion. The authority of the Caliphs was merely spiritual, except in their dominions over a part of the coast, where they were acknowledged as Sovereigns.

After the ruin of the power of the Caliphate by the Turks, Arabia shook off the yoke to which it had been in part subjected, and came to be governed, as formerly, by a number of chiefs, more or less powerful, descended from different indigenous families.

No neighbouring power ever attempted to subdue this country, till the Portuguese penetrated to India, and made their appearance in the Red Sea. Then, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Sultan El Gury, desirous to rid himself of those new comers, whom he viewed as dangerous, fitted out a fleet to expel the Portuguese. That fleet, availing themselves of the opportunity, seized almost all the sea-port towns of Arabia. But, when the dynasty of the Mamalukes was terminated by the Turks, these cities fell again into the hands of their natural Sovereigns.

The Turks continued the war with the Portuguese, in order to secure Egypt, their new conquest. Soliman Pacha, at the head of a powerful fleet, after the example of the last Sultan of the Mamalukes, seized all the towns upon the Arabic Gulf. His successors pushed their conquests still farther, and subdued great part of Yemen, penetrating backwards to the highlands; so that Arabia became almost entirely a province of the Sultan of Constantinople, and was governed by Pachas, like the other provinces of the Ottoman empire.

In the interior parts, however, there still were independent Princes and Schiechs, who had never been subdued, but continued to harass the Turks, and to drive them towards the coasts. After various reiterated efforts, a Prince of the family now reigning at Sana, at length succeeded, about the middle of the last century, and obliged the Turkish nation to evacuate all the places upon the Arabian coast, which they had occupied for more than a century. The Turks now possess nothing in this country but a precarious authority in the city of Jidda: And it is therefore absurd to reckon

Arabia among the Ottoman provinces, since it is properly to be considered as independent of all foreign powers.

A people, who like the Arabs, have so long detached themselves from the rest of the world, cannot undergo any very important revolutions, that may deserve to be commemorated in history. The events which take place among them, are only petty wars and trilling conquests, worthy of their poor chiefs, and narrow divisions of territory. I shall not notice them, therefore, unless when in the description of any province, some event comes into view, that is remarkable either for its singularity, or for its influence upon the affairs of other nations.

CHAP. LXII. — *Of the Government of the Arabs.*

THE most natural authority is that of a father over his family, as obedience is here founded upon the opinion of benevolence in the ruler. When the mournful survivors of the human race settled themselves anew, after the awful revolution by which the globe was for a time divested of its beauty, and depopulated; every family submitted readily to the guidance and direction of him to whom they owed their existence.

As those families multiplied, the younger branches still retained some respect for the eldest branch. Of all the progeny, it was esteemed the nearest to the parent stem. And, although the subdivisions became more and more numerous, they still regarded themselves as composing but one body, in remembrance of their common origin. Such an assemblage of families, all sprung from the same stock, forms what we call a tribe. It was, in this manner, easy for the representative of the eldest branch to retain somewhat of the primary paternal authority over the whole tribe to which he belonged.

Sometimes, when a family became too numerous, it divided from the rest with which it was connected, and formed a new tribe. Upon other occasions, when several tribes found themselves separately too weak to resist a common enemy, they would combine, and acknowledge one common chief. And sometimes it would happen, that a numerous tribe might force some others that were weaker, to unite themselves to, and become dependent upon it; but seldom has this dependence degenerated into slavish subjection.

This primitive form of government, which has ever subsisted without alteration among the Arabs, proves the antiquity of this people, and renders their present state more interesting than it would otherwise be. Among the Bedouins it is preserved in all its purity. In other parts of Arabia it has suffered some changes, but yet is not materially altered. I shall have occasion to take notice of these, such as they are, when I come to describe each particular province by itself. For the present, I shall content myself with making some general reflections upon the spirit of the Arabian government.

The Bedouins, or pastoral Arabs, who live in tents, have many Schiechs, each of whom governs his family with power almost absolute. All the Schiechs, however, who belong to the same tribe, acknowledge a common chief, who is called Schech es Scheuch, Schiech of Schiechs, or Schech el Kbir, and whose authority is limited by custom. The dignity of Grand Schiech is hereditary in a certain family; but the inferior Schiechs, upon the death of a Grand Schiech, choose the successor out of his family, without regard to age or lineal succession, or any other consideration, except superiority of abilities. This right of election, with their other privileges, obliges the Grand Schiech to treat the inferior Schiechs rather as associates than as subjects, sharing with them his sovereign authority. The spirit of liberty, with which this warlike nation are animated, renders them incapable of servitude.

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This spirit is less sensibly felt among those who live in towns, or are employed in husbandry. It was easier to reduce them under subjection. In the fertile districts of this country, there have always been monarchies, more or less extensive, formed, either by conquest, or by religious prejudices. Such are the present dominions of the Sheriffe of Mecca, of the Imams of Sana and Maskat, and of some princes in the province of Hadramaut. However, as these countries are intersected by large ranges of mountains, the mountains are occupied by independent Schiechs.

But, although so many independent chieftains have their domains interspersed through the territories of those several sovereigns, yet nothing of the feudal form of government appears here. The Schiechs possess no fiefs; they have only a sort of property in the persons of the people of their several tribes. Even those who seem to be tributary subjects to the princes within whose dominions they dwell, are not actually so. They remain independent; and the tribute which they pay is nothing but a title for the use of the land of which they are in some sort farmers. Such are the Schiechs settled in Syria, Egypt, and over all Mount Atlas.

A nation of this character cannot readily sink into a servile subjection to arbitrary power. Despotism would never have been known, even in the slightest degree, in Arabia, had it not been for theocracy, the usual source of it. The Imams being reputed successors of Mahomet, and his descendants, and being acknowledged both as temporal and spiritual heads within their dominions, have thus found means to abuse the simplicity of their subjects, and to enlarge their authority. Nevertheless, the genius of the people, their customs, and even their religion, are all inimical to the progress of despotism, and concur to check the Imams in the exercise of their power.

The idea of forming republican governments seems never to have occurred to the Arabians. This form is not a necessary consequence of the primitive condition of mankind. It must have originated among people whose patience was exhausted by the outrages of arbitrary power; or sometimes, perhaps, from the fortuitous concurrence of persons not connected by the ties of family relation. The united states of Hachida Bekil are not so much a federative republic, as an association of several petty princes, for the purpose of mutual defence against their common enemies. Their government resembles that of the German empire, not the States of Switzerland, or the United Provinces. Concerning the pretended republic of Brava, upon the eastern coast of Africa, little certain is known. There is ground for thinking that it likewise is merely a confederation among the Arabian Schiechs in that country.

The colony of Jews, who occupy a district in the province of Hedjas, are governed by a hereditary independent Schiech. Having been for ages divided from their countrymen, they have adopted that form of government which they saw prevalent among their immediate neighbours.

This multiplicity of petty sovereigns occasions several inconveniences to the people in general. Wars cannot but frequently arise among states whose territories are so intermingled together, and whose sovereigns have such a variety of jarring interests to manage. But, happily, these quarrels are scarcely ever productive of very fatal consequences. An army of a thousand Arabs will take to flight, and think themselves routed, if they lose but seven or eight of their number. Thus, are these contests terminated as easily as excited.

No doubt such a multitude of nobles and petty princes, whose numbers are continually increased by polygamy, must have an unfavourable influence upon the general happiness of the people. It strikes one with surprise, to see the Arabs, in a country so rich and
fertile,

fertile, uncomfortably lodged, indifferently fed, ill clothed, and destitute of almost all the conveniences of life. But the causes fully account for the effects.

The poverty of the wandering Arabs is plainly voluntary. They prefer liberty to wealth, pastoral simplicity to a life of constraint and toil, which might procure them a greater variety of gratifications. Those living in cities, or employed in the cultivation of the land, are kept in poverty, by the exorbitancy of the taxes exacted from them. The whole substance of the people is consumed in the support of their numerous princes and priests. The instance of the territory of Zebid, which I adduced in my account of that city, shews that the husbandman cannot bear such excessive imposts without being reduced to misery.

One general cause of the impoverishment of Arabia is, no doubt, its having ceased to be the channel of the trade with India, since the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. Yet, if the lands were better cultivated, this country might, without the aid of foreign trade, afford sufficient resources to supply all its inhabitants with abundance of the necessaries and common conveniences of life.

OF THE PROVINCE OF HEDJAS.

CHAP. LXIII. — *Of the general Appearance of this Province, and of some of the Towns in it.*

HEDJAS is bounded on the east side by Nejed ; on the north by the desert of Sinai ; on the south by Yemen ; and on the west by the Arabic Gulf. Its interior limits I cannot pretend to know distinctly, having seen only the sea coast : whatever I may mention concerning the other parts, is entirely from hearsay.

By what I have heard, this district bears an entire resemblance to Yemen. From the sea shore, a plain, varying in breadth, stretches backwards to the bottom of a chain of mountains, running in a direction parallel to the Red Sea. This plain, like Tehama, is entirely sandy and barren, with the exception only of the openings of the valleys, which may be watered by torrents from the mountains.

The highlands of Hedjas produce abundance of fruits, and other commodities of various kinds : Yet I have not heard coffee mentioned among their productions. Balm of Mecca comes from those lofty regions, and chiefly from the extensive mountain of Safra, which is a three days journey distant from the Arabic Gulf.

This barren plain cannot be populous. I have mentioned already, that I could see no towns or villages in my passage from Suez to Loheia. I have described Jambo, Jidda, and Ghunfude, the only towns or harbours on all this extensive coast. The other villages, that may be thinly scattered here and there, are too few and too paltry to merit notice.

In the interior parts of this country, I could discover no considerable city, except Taaif, situate upon a lofty mountain, in so agreeable a country, that the Arabs compare its environs to those of Damascus and Sana. This city supplies Jidda and Mecca with excellent fruits, particularly raisins, and carries on a considerable trade in almonds, which grow in great plenty in its territories.

There are some towns, of no great consequence, belonging to the Schiech of the tribe of Harb. I was also told of a charming valley, called Wadi Fatima, between Mecca and Medina, which Mahomet gave for dowry to his favourite daughter Fatima, and which is presently possessed by the Dani Barkad, a younger branch of the reigning family of Mecca, and consequently descendants from that prince.

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The curiosities of Mecca and Medina, the two capitals of Hedjas, are so numerous, that each of these cities must be considered in a chapter by itself.

CHAP. LXIV. — *Of the Power of the Turks in Hedjas.*

THE grand signior styles himself sovereign of Hedjas; and our geographers, upon the faith of that empty title, represent this part of Arabia as a province of the Turkish empire. But, the authority of the Sultan is here nothing but a mere shadow, which the Arabs would long since have annihilated, if they had not found their interest in preserving it.

Notwithstanding the lofty pretensions of the grand signior, his power in Arabia consists solely in a few slender prerogatives. He sends yearly caravans to Mecca, with troops to protect them, that are often obliged to make their way by force of arms. Like any other powerful sovereign, when he chooses to oppress a weak neighbour, he can depose the reigning Sheriffe, and exalt another, while his caravan lords it at Mecca. He sends a Pacha to Jidda, who shares the government of this city with the Sheriffe, but who dares neither go to the seat of his government, nor return from it, unless when he can be protected by the great caravan. Lastly, the Arabs suffer the Turkish sovereign to maintain, for the security of the pilgrims, and in order to guard the wells, a few janizaries, cooped up in some wretched towers.

The revenues which he draws from this pretended province are proportionate to his power in it. The Sultan divides with the Sheriffe the duties paid at the custom-house of Jidda. But, the revenue thus obtained, is not sufficient to defray the expences of the Pacha's household. A Turk, therefore, thinks himself disgraced when nominated to this fine government, and is unhappy till he be recalled.

If the Arabs did not receive, every year, large sums of money, and other advantages of all sorts from the Sultan, they would long since have expelled this handful of Turks from their country. The Sultan allows large pensions to all the Sheriffies, and to the principal nobility of Hedjas, as guardians of the sacred family. With these pensions, and the freight of four or five large vessels, which he sends every year to Jidda, laden with provisions, he supports almost all the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina. During the whole time, while the pilgrims remain in the city of Mecca, as much water as two thousand camels can bear is daily distributed gratis; not to speak of the vast number of presents with which he adorns the Kaba, and gratifies the descendants of Mahomet.

The principal Arabs likewise gain by the many pious foundations established by the Sultans, or by opulent private persons among the Turks, at different holy places. Through all the cities of the Ottoman empire are kans, baths, and houses belonging to the Kaba. Some persons, to secure their property, after their decease, from the rapacity of despotism, bequeath it, failing their own family, to the mosque at Mecca. The revenues of this mosque, and of the Kaba, are shared between the Sheriffe and the chief nobility of Hedjas. These Arabs would therefore endanger their income, if they offered to break off an apparent dependence, which flatters the Sultan's vanity, without affecting their liberty.

The Sultan no longer commands respect upon the Arabic Gulf. Possessing only a precarious authority over Egypt, and having but a poor navy, he cannot hinder the Arabs from plundering Turkish ships, whenever these approach so near to the shores as to fall into their hands, nor yet punish such acts of insolent piracy.

CHAP. LXV. — *Of the Sherriffe of Mecca.*

SHERRIFFE, as I have already had occasion to remark, is the title of the descendants of Mahomet by Hassan ibn Ali. Although this branch of the posterity of Mahomet have never attained to the dignities of Caliph or Imam, they, however, appear to have always enjoyed the sovereignty over most of the cities in Hedjas.

The descendants of Hassan ibn Ali are now divided into several branches, of which the family of Ali Bunemi, consisting at least of three hundred individuals, enjoy the sole right to the throne of Mecca. The Ali Bunemi are, again, subdivided into two subordinate branches, Darîi Sajid, and Darîi Barkad; of whom sometimes the one, sometimes the other, have given sovereigns to Mecca and Medina, when these were separate states.

Not only is the Turkish Sultan indifferent about the order of succession in his family, but he seems even to foment the dissensions which arise among them, and favours the strongest, merely that he may weaken them all. As the order of succession is not determinately fixed, and the Sherriffes may all aspire alike to the sovereign power, this uncertainty of right, aided by the intrigues of the Turkish officers, occasions frequent revolutions. The grand Sherriffe is seldom able to maintain himself on the throne; and it still seldomer happens that his reign is not disturbed by the revolt of his nearest relations. There have been instances of a nephew succeeding his uncle, an uncle succeeding his nephew; and sometimes of a person, from a remote branch, coming in the room of the reigning prince of the ancient house.

When I was in Arabia, in 1763, the reigning Sherriffe Mesad had sitten fourteen years on the throne, and during all that period, had been continually at war with the neighbouring Arabs, and with his own nearest relations sometimes. A few years before, the Pacha of Syria had deposed him, and raised his younger brother to the sovereign dignity in his stead. But, after the departure of the caravan, Jafar, the new Sherriffe, not being able to maintain himself on the throne, was obliged to resign the sovereignty again to Mesad. Achmet, the second brother of the Sherriffe, who was much beloved by the Arabs, threatened to attack Mecca while we were at Jidda. We were soon after informed of the termination of the quarrel, and of Achmet's return to Mecca, where he continued to live peaceably in a private character.

These examples shew, that the Mussulmans observe not the law which forbids them to bear arms against their holy places. An Egyptian Bey even presumed, a few years since, to plant some small cannons within the compass of the Kaba, upon a small tower, from which he fired over that sacred mansion, upon the palace of Sherriffe Mesad, with whom he was at variance.

The dominions of the Sherriffe comprehend the cities of Mecca, Medina, Jambo, Taaif, Sadie, Ghunfude, Hali, and thirteen others less considerable, all situate in Hedjas. Near Taaif is the lofty mountain of Gazvan, which, according to Arabian authors, is covered with snow and frost in the midst of summer. As these dominions are neither opulent nor extensive, the revenue of their Sovereign cannot be considerable.

He finds a rich resource, however, on the imposts levied on pilgrims, and in the gratuities offered him by Mussulman monarchs. Every pilgrim pays a tax of from ten to an hundred crowns, in proportion to his ability. The great Mogul remits annually sixty thousand roupees to the Sherriffe, by an assignment upon the government of Surat. Indeed, since the English made themselves masters of this city, and the territory belonging to it, the Nabob of Surat has no longer been able to pay the sum. The

Sherriffe once demanded it of the English, as the possessors of Surat; and, till they should satisfy him, forbade their captains to leave the port of Jidda. But the English disregarding this prohibition, the Sherriffe complained to the Ottoman Porte, and they communicated his complaints to the English ambassador. He at the same time opened a negociation with the nominal Nabob, who resides in Surat. But these steps proved all fruitless; and the Sovereign of Mecca seems not likely to be ever more benefited by the contribution from India.

The power of the Sherriffe extends not to spiritual matters. These are entirely managed by the heads of the clergy, of different sects, who are resident at Mecca. Rigid Mussulmans, such as the Turks, are not very favourable in their sentiments of the Sherriffes, but suspect their orthodoxy, and look upon them as secretly attached to the tolerant sect of the Zeidi.

CHAP. LXVI. — *Of the City of Mecca.*

THIS city is situate in a dry and barren tract of country, a full day's journey from Jidda. A few leagues beyond it, nearer the highlands, however, abundance of excellent fruits is to be found. In the summer months, the heat is excessive at Mecca; and to avoid and moderate it as much as possible, the inhabitants carefully shut their windows and water the streets. There have been instances of persons suffocated in the middle of the streets by the burning wind called Samoum or Samiel.

As a great part of the first nobility in Hedjas live at Mecca, the buildings are better here than in any other city in Arabia. Among its elegant edifices the most remarkable is the famous Kaba, or house of God, which was held in high veneration by the Arabians, even before the days of Mahomet.

My curiosity would have led me to see this sacred and singular structure; but no Christian dares enter Mecca. Not that there is any such express prohibition in the laws of Mahomet, or that liberal minded Mahometans could be offended; but the prejudices of the people in general, with respect to the sanctity of the place, make them think that it would be profaned by the feet of infidel Christians. They even persuade themselves, that Christians are restrained from approaching it by a supernatural power. They tell of an infidel, who audaciously advanced within sight of Mecca, but was there attacked by all the dogs of the city, and was so struck with the miracle, and with the august aspect of the Kaba, that he immediately became Mussulman.

There is therefore ground for the presumption, that all the Christians of Europe, who describe Mecca as eye witnesses, have been renegadoes who have escaped from Turkey. A recent example confirms this suspicion. Upon a promise of being suffered to adhere to his religion, a French surgeon was prevailed with to attend the Emir Hadgi to Mecca, in the quality of his physician. But he had not proceeded far, when he was forced to submit to circumcision, and then suffered to continue his journey.

Although the Mahometans permit not Europeans to visit Mecca, they make no difficulty of describing the Kaba to them. I even obtained at Kahira a drawing of that holy place, which I had afterwards an opportunity of correcting, from another draught by a Turkish painter. This painter gained his livelihood by making such draughts of the Kaba, and selling them to pilgrims.

To judge from those designs, and from the relations of many Mussulmans of sufficient veracity, the Kaba must be an awkward shapeless building; a sort of square tower it is, covered on the top with a piece of black gold embroidered silk stuff. This stuff

is wrought at Kahira, and changed every year at the expence of the Turkish Sultan. The gutters upon this building are of pure gold.

What seems to be most magnificent about this sacred edifice, is the arcades around the square in which the Kaba stands. They speak, in terms of high admiration, of a vast number of lamps and candle-sticks of gold and silver, with which those arcades are illuminated. However, even by these accounts, in which the truth is apparently exaggerated, the riches of the Kaba are far from equal in value to what is displayed in some Catholic churches in Europe.

In the Kaba is particularly one singular relic, which is regarded with extreme veneration. This is the famous black stone, said to have been brought by the angel Gabriel in order to the construction of that edifice. The stone, according to the account of the clergy, was at first, of a bright white colour, so as even to dazzle the eyes at the distance of four days journey; but it wept so long and so abundantly for the sins of mankind, that it became at length opaque, and at last absolutely black. This stone, of so compassionate a character, every Mussulman must kiss, or at least touch, every time he goes round the Kaba. Neither the stone of Abraham, nor that of Ismael, receives the same honours; pilgrims are not obliged either to visit or to kiss them.

The Arabs venerate the Kaba, as having been built by Abraham, and having been his house of prayer. Within the same inclosure is the well of Zemzem, valued for the excellence of its water, and no less for its miraculous origin. Hagar, when banished by her master, set little Ismael down here, while she should find some water to quench his thirst. Returning, after an unsuccessful search, she was surprised to see a spring bursting up from the ground between the child's legs. That spring is the present well of Zemzem.

Another ornament of the Kaba, is a row of metal pillars surrounding it. These pillars are joined by chains, on which hang a vast number of silver lamps. The porticos or arcades above mentioned are designed to protect the pilgrims from the torrid heat of the day. They answer likewise another purpose; for the merchants, of whom great numbers accompany the caravans, expose their wares for sale under those arcades.

The Mahometans have such high ideas of the sanctity of Mecca, that they suppose it to extend even to the environs of the city. Its territory is reputed sacred to a certain distance round, which is indicated by marks set for this purpose. Every caravan find one of those marks on their way, which warns the pilgrims to put on the modest garb which it becomes them to wear on that sacred ground.

CHAP. LXVII. — *Of the Pilgrimage of the Mussulmans.*

EVERY Mussulman, it is well known, is obliged, once in his life, to visit Mecca, and perform acts of devotion in the sacred places. If this law were strictly observed, the concourse of pilgrims would be immense; nor could the city contain such crowds from every country in which the Mahometan religion has been introduced. It may be presumed, therefore, that none but such as are more than ordinarily devout discharge this duty.

Those, indeed, whose circumstances do not admit of their undertaking so distant a journey, are allowed to hire a person to perform it for them. But a pilgrim, in this character, can act for no more than one person at the same time; and, to prevent imposture, he must bring back a formal attestation from an Imam in Mecca, bearing, that he has actually performed the appointed devotional exercises in the holy places,

in the name of such a person, living or dead ; for, even after the death of a man, who, during his life, neglected the fulfilling of this point of the law, the duty may still be discharged in his name, and for his benefit. I have sometimes met with pilgrims by profession, who had been ill paid by their employers, and were obliged to ask alms.

Few as the caravans are, in proportion to the numbers of the Mussulmans, even those few are composed, in great part, of persons who go upon other motives than devotion ; such as merchants, who think this the safest opportunity for the conveyance of their goods, and the most favourable for the sale of them ;—purveyors of all sorts, who furnish the pilgrims with necessaries ; and soldiers, paid by the caravan for escorting them. From this it happens, that many persons have seen Mecca several times, without ever visiting it upon any but views of interest.

The most considerable of these caravans is that of Syria, commanded by the Pacha of Damascus. At a certain distance from Mecca, it joins that from Egypt, which is the second in numbers, and is conducted by a Bey, who takes the title of Emir Hadgi. A third comes from Yemen ; and a fourth, still smaller in number, from the country of Lachsa. A few pilgrims come by the Red Sea, and from the Arabian settlements on the coast of Africa. The Persians join that which is from Bagdad, and is conducted by the Pacha. His post is lucrative ; for he squeezes large sums from the Persian heretics.

When giving an account of what I saw on board our vessel, in the passage between Suez and Jidda, I had occasion to speak of the Ihram, and of the place where pilgrims are obliged to assume that garb of humility. I may add, that they must proceed without delay to Mecca, as soon as they arrive on the border of the sacred territory. A Greek renegado, who had come in our company from Suez, was disposed to rest for some time at Jidda ; but the reproaches which he found thrown out upon him, for such an instance of indifference about the object of his journey, obliged him to set off for Mecca sooner than was favourable to the state of his business in Jidda.

Besides, it is truly advantageous to a pilgrim to haste forward to the holy places. If he has not been present from the commencement, at the celebration of all the ceremonies, and performed every appointed act of devotion, he cannot obtain the title of Hadgi ; an honour much coveted by the Turks, because it confers substantial privileges, and commands respect to those who bear it. The rarity of this title in Mahometan countries, is a proof how negligently the law enjoining pilgrimage is observed.

A similar custom prevails among the Christians in the east, who also make much ado about the title of Hadgi or Mokdasi, which they gave to pilgrims of their communion. In order to acquire this title, it is not enough for a person to go in pilgrimage to Jerusalem ; he must spend the season of the passover in that city, and assist at all the ceremonies in the holy weeks.

CHAP. LXVIII. — *Of the City of Medina.*

ABOUT a day's journey distant from the port of Jambo stands Medina, a city of moderate extent, surrounded with indifferent walls, and situate in a sandy plain. It belongs to the Sherriffe of Mecca, but has of late been governed by a sovereign of its own, of the family of Darii Barkad. At this present time, the Sherriffe rules it by a Vizir, who must be of the royal family.

Before the days of Mahomet, this city was called Jathreb. But it was called Medinet en Nebbi, the City of the Prophet ; from the period at which Mahomet, upon his expulsion out of Mecca by the Koreischites, took refuge here, and continued to make it the place of his residence for the rest of his life.

The tomb of Mahomet at Medina is held in respect by the Mussulmans ; but they are not obliged to visit it in order to the performance of any devotional exercises ; only, as the caravans from Syria necessarily pass near by Medina, in their return from Mecca, they turn aside to behold the Prophet's tomb.

I also obtained from a Turk a drawing of the mosque in which the tomb stands. It is situate in a corner of the great square ; whereas the Kaba is in the middle of the square at Mecca. For fear that the people might superstitiously offer worship to the ashes of the Prophet, the tomb is inclosed within iron rails, and is only to be seen by looking through these. It is of plain mason-work, in the form of a chest ; and this is all the monument. I could never learn the origin of the ridiculous story, which has been circulated in Europe, concerning vast magnets said to support the coffin of Mahomet in the air.

This tomb is placed between two other tombs, in which rest the ashes of the two first Caliphs. Although not more magnificent than the tombs of the founders of most other mosques, the building that covers it is hung with a piece of silk stuff embroidered with gold, which is renewed every seven years by the Pacha of Damascus.

This building is guarded by forty eunuchs, chiefly for the security of the treasure which is said to be kept in it. This treasure consists chiefly of precious stones, the offerings of rich Mussulmans. But there was evidently such a mixture of fable in the account I received of it, that I knew not what to think. Several respectable Mahometans seriously assured me, that the philosopher's stone, or a large quantity of powder for converting other metals into fine gold, was one of the most valuable articles of that treasure. An eminent Arabian merchant informed me, that the guard was posted for no other purpose but to keep off the populace, who had begun to throw dirt upon the tomb, which they afterwards scraped off, and preserved as a sort of relic.

CHAP. LXIX. — *Of the independent Schiechs, Arab and Jewish.*

THE highlands of Hedjas are possessed by a number of independent sovereign Schiechs. The most powerful of these is the Schiech of the tribe of Harb, who can bring two thousand men into the field. He resides in the city of Makfchous ; and his domains contain several cities, and a number of villages.

During the months favourable for pasturage, the most distinguished persons of this tribe live in tents ; in the rest of the year, they inhabit the towns and villages. The lower class live, commonly through the whole year, in huts thatched with grass. This principality is situate upon the mountains between Mecca and Medina.

I could not learn either the names or the situation of the territories of the other independent Schiechs in this province. What I know is, that they all live with their subjects in towns and villages, through the whole year, and have for their places of defence some castles built upon precipitous rocks. They sometimes join their neighbours to attack the Turkish caravans ; but these never pass through their dominions.

The chief of the tribe of Harb is the person who chiefly harasses the caravans, and lays them under contribution. Unless the Syrians and Egyptians pay the tribute he demands, for permission to pass through his territories, he musters up an army of his own subjects and his neighbours, all of whom are very willing to pillage a caravan.

The most remarkable, and the least known of those highland communities, is that which the Jews have formed upon the mountains lying to the north east of Medina. That tract of country is called Kheibar ; and the Jews inhabiting it are known in Arabia by the name of Beni Kheibar. They have independent Schiechs of their own, and are divided

divided into three tribes; Beni Missead, Beni Schahan, Beni Anaesse. So odious are they to the Mahometans, who accuse them of pillaging the caravans, that, in Syria, the greatest affront which can be offered a man is to call him Beni Kheibar. Those robberies seem, however, to be unjustly imputed to them. Some Mahometans, whom I could credit, assured me, that the Jews indeed furnished auxiliaries to the Arab army, which had lately pillaged the caravan from Damascus; but, that the authors of that enterprise were, the Schiech of the tribe of Harb in Hedjas, and he of the tribe of Anaesse in Nejed.

It does not appear that the Jews of Kheibar keep up any intercourse with their brethren who are dispersed over Asia. When I asked the Jews in Syria concerning them, they told me, that those false brethren durst not claim their fellowship, for that they did not observe the law. The Beni Kheibar must therefore be of the sect of the Karaites, who are not numerous, and are much dispersed; and, by the other Jews, who are in general attached to the sect of the Pharisees, are still more detested than the Christians or Mahometans.

The name of Anaesse is not unlike Hanassi, the name of a tribe of whom Benjamin de Tudela speaks as being his countrymen. It also has a considerable resemblance to Baruc Anzab, a race of Jews who gave much trouble to Mahomet and the first Caliphs. It should seem, therefore, that this branch of the Jews must have subsisted here for more than twelve centuries. Barthema was the first modern that made mention of this little state of independent Jews, in the neighbourhood of Medina.

The circumstances of this settlement have, perhaps, given rise to the fable of the Sabbathical River. These Jews cannot accompany a caravan, because their religion permits them not to travel on the Sabbath. Yet the country which they inhabit is surrounded by such vast and sandy deserts, that, unless with a caravan, so sequestered a tract cannot be safely either entered or left.

OF YEMEN IN GENERAL.

CHAP. LXX. — *Of the Boundaries and Subdivisions of Yemen.*

THIS great province, comprehending the finest and most fertile part of Arabia, is surrounded by the Arabic Gulph, and by the provinces of Hadramaut, Nejed, and Hedjas.

Yemen is naturally divided into two parts, differing greatly in soil and climate. That bordering on the Arabic Gulph is a dry and sandy plain, nearly two days journey in breadth, and is scorched by the most torrid heats. The other, extending immediately beyond this, is a high-lying country, full of precipitous, yet fertile hills, and enjoying a much more temperate air. But, these circumstances will fall properly within the natural history of Arabia; and I am here speaking only of its political divisions.

Yemen is, like the rest of Arabia, parcelled out among a number of different sovereigns in unequal portions. Some of them are princes of considerable power; but many are petty Schiechs, who are, however, perfectly independent.

The most considerable of those princes is the Imam, who resides at Sana. Having travelled through a part of his dominions, and by consequence acquired particular knowledge of them, I shall describe them in a separate article, and the rather, as they extend through the greater part of Yemen. At present, I proceed to give an abstract of what I could learn concerning the rest of this province.

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The independent states of Yemen, beside the dominions of the Imam, are, as I learned from persons who were the most likely to be accurately informed,

1. The territory of Aden, which has been for some time governed by a particular prince ;
2. The principality of Kaukeban, possessed by a Sejid ;
3. Kobail, or Hafchid-u-Bekil, in which are many Schiechs, united in a sort of confederation ;
4. The principality of Abu Arifsch, belonging to a Sherriffe ;
5. A large district between Abu Arifsch and Hedjas, inhabited by free Bedouins ;
6. The territory of Khaulan, under the dominion of its own Schiech ;
7. The territory of Sahan, comprehending the principality of Saade, which belongs to a Sejid, with the domains of some independent Schiechs ;
8. Nedsjeran ;
9. Katchtan ;
10. Nehhm ;
11. East Khaulan, consisting of four small sovereignties, under the government of as many independent Schiechs ;
12. The vast country of Dsjof or Mareb, governed by a Sherriffe, and some independent Schiechs ;
13. The territory of Jafa, in which are at least three independent Schiechs.

There are possibly several other sovereign states in Yemen, which might be too small to come to my knowledge. A traveller, who should only stop a short time on his way, could not readily learn the names of all the petty German baronies. What I know certainly, however, as having witnessed striking enough instances of it, is, that those endless subdivisions of territory, among such a multitude of petty sovereigns, are, in a great measure, the cause of the state of decline in which Arabia at present appears : such a collection of jarring interests is naturally fatal to trade and industry.

CHAP. LXXI. — *Of the Principality of Aden.*

THIS small state is bounded on the south by the Indian Ocean ; on the west and north by the dominions of the Imam ; and on the east by the country of Jafa. It formerly belonged to the Imam ; but, in 1730, the inhabitants expelled the Imam's governor, and elected a Schiech, who is perfectly independent.

Aden, an ancient and celebrated city, gives its name to this principality. It has still a good harbour, although much declined from what it once was. Its trade is now trifling ; for the sovereign is never at peace with his neighbours. Coffee from Jafa is the only article for export which this city affords.

Among a number of cities, and a good many castles of no great strength, belonging to this small state, the only place that is still in any degree considerable, is Lahadsje, the seat of the present Schiech Abd ul Kerim el Foddeli. This town was besieged by the famous Abd Urrab, from whom it suffered considerably. Foddeli is a narrow district, containing a city and several villages, known from its having been the original seat of the reigning family.

CHAP. LXXII. — *Of the Principality of Kaukeban.*

THE country bearing this name, is surrounded almost on all hands by the dominions of the Imam of Sana ; only, on one side, meeting the territory of the confederated Schiechs of Hafchid-u-Bekil. The reigning family are descendants from Mahomer, by Hadi,
Imam

Imam of Saade. They, for several ages, possessed considerable dominions in Yemen; and retained the title of Imam, even during the usurpation of the Turks. But when this nation was driven out of Yemen by Khalîm el Kebir, that illustrious family were obliged to yield up their title of Imam to the new Arabian conqueror, and to content themselves with that of Sidi or Sejid. However, they still retain sovereign authority over a considerable territory.

A series of those sovereigns was communicated to me; but I could not find means to satisfy myself of its authenticity. The reigning prince, in 1763, was Sejid Achmet. He had several sons and brothers, and a good many nephews.

He resides at Kaukeban, a small unfortified town, but situate on the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain. The aunt of the reigning prince has made a causeway be formed, by which loaded camels can now advance up to the city.

In the different districts into which this country is divided, are a good many towns and villages, most of which have castles or citadels upon adjoining hills. These are not unnecessary precautions for the defence of those petty princes, against so powerful a neighbour as the Imam of Sana.

Wadi Laa is a valley fertile in coffee, which belongs to Sejid Ibrahim, brother to the reigning Imam. In its neighbourhood are some hot mineral springs.

CHAP. LXXIII. — *Of the allied Princes of Hafchid-u-Bekil.*

THE extensive country of Hafchid-u-Bekil, possessed by a number of confederated Schiechs, is properly named Bellad el Kobail, the country of the highlanders: but the other, expressive of the confederacy, is the name by which it is more commonly known. It extends northward as far as to the Desert of Amosia; on the south and the east, it is bounded by the dominions of the Imam, and the principality of Kaukeban; westward, it meets the sovereign state of Abu Arifsch. The republican spirit prevails so little through Asia, that these states may be regarded as a singular political phenomenon in the east.

This highland country contains many Schiechs, descended from very ancient noble families, each of whom rules within his own domains as a sovereign prince. These Schiechs, finding themselves unable to make separately any successful resistance to a powerful neighbour, have combined, in order to defend themselves by the common force.

It is not easy, even in Europe, to obtain a thorough knowledge of the principles of any political constitution; but among the mistrustful, suspicious inhabitants of the east, such a thing is almost impossible. I could not learn upon what laws and conditions the confederation of Hafchid-u-Bekil is maintained. All I know is, that they choose a certain number of chiefs, and, in war, so many generals, to command their united forces.

These allied princes, and their subjects, are much better foldiers, and more inclined to war, than the rest of the Arabians. The Imam of Sana, and the Sherriffe of Mecca, entertain each several regiments of those highlanders, and pay them better than their other troops. They must have officers of their own nation; and the Schiechs usually both raise the regiments, and nominate the officers. For this reason, the Imam fears to quarrel with the confederates. When they go to war with the Sovereign of Sana, their countrymen in his service desert and join them.

A tradition which subsists concerning their common origin, may have been the cause which first gave rise to the confederation among those Schiechs, and which has disposed them to maintain it hitherto. Hafchid and Bekil, whose names the confederates have assumed,

affirmed, were, by this tradition, brothers, sons of one Babroscham, by a princess called Nedsjema. Babroscham, who was born of honourable parents in Nardolia, after some romantic adventures, carried off that princess, who was daughter to the King of Bithynia, and sought refuge upon these mountains of Yemen; where, through his sons, Hafchid and Bekil, he became the ancestor of all the Shiechs of Bellad el Kobail; and they accordingly look all up to him as their common parent.

It is certain, however, that in this country are Shiechs, whose families can be traced farther back than the date of this tale. In the district of Kheivan, and in the city of Beit il Toba, resides the chief of the family of Toba, a descendant from the ancient Arabian monarchs of this name.

I was told of fifty of these independent Schiechs, some of whom possess domains in the midst of the Imam's territories. It is needless to put down their names.

The country inhabited by these confederates is of various degrees of fertility. Some valleys, which produce fruits in great abundance, are interspersed among the hills; and even the higher grounds are cultivated and fertile.

A number of castles are scattered upon the heights; but few considerable villages are to be seen. The town of Kheivan, in the district of the same name, is remarkable for having been the seat, first of the Hamjare Monarchs, and afterwards of the Imams. Ruins of a very ancient palace are still to be seen there.

In some other small villages are several monuments, from which it appears, that before the Turkish conquest, a great part of Bellad el Kobail was under the dominion of the ancient Imams.

CHAP. LXXIV. — *Of the Principality of Abu Arifsch, and the neighbouring Bedouins.*

THE principality of Abu Arifsch, which is also named after its capital, is properly a part of Tehama. It stretches along the Arabic Gulph, northward from Loheya, for the space of two degrees. Like the rest of the Tehama, it is every where dry and barren, except only where watered by the rivers from the mountainous parts of Yemen.

This country was, not long since, within the Imam's dominions. The sovereigns of Sana usually entrust the government of their provinces to none but persons of mean birth; often to slaves, who may be less likely than the Arab nobles to aspire at independence. But a late Imam imprudently appointed a Sherriffe, named Achmed, to the government of Abu Arifsch. The consequence was, that this Sherriffe revolted against his sovereign; thus justifying the saying among the Arabs, that the posterity of Mahomet have all a thirst for sovereign power.

His son Mahommed, the reigning Sherriffe of Abu Arifsch, has hitherto withstood all the efforts of the Imam to reduce him to his obedience. The confederates of Hafchid-u-Bekil have been repeatedly excited, by presents from the Imam, to attack the Sherriffe; but their attacks have been made without any regular concerted plan of conquest. Shiech Mecrami of Nedsjeran likewise penetrated into this country, with a small army, in two successive winters. To expel this enemy, the Sherriffe levied six hundred men in the country of Hafchid-u-Bekil, and gave him battle in January 1763. The Sherriffe was defeated, with the loss of six or seven men, upon which he shut himself up in despair, in his palace. But Schiech Mecrami did not avail himself of his victory; for learning that the Shiech of Kachtan had entered Nedsjeran in his absence, he hastened home to the defence of his own dominions.

The remarkable places in the principality of Abu Arifsch, are the capital, known by the same name, which is encompassed with walls, and is the seat of the Sherriffe; and

the town and harbour of Gezan, a day's journey from Abu Arifsch. This province of Gezan, situate upon the Arabic Gulph, and in a fertile country, carries on a considerable trade in fenna; great plenty of which grows in the circumjacent territory; and in coffee, which is brought hither from the mountains of Haschid-u-Bekil. It has a trade likewise with the ports on the opposite side of the Arabic Gulph; but has no intercourse with the subjects of the Imam. A few towns, and several large villages, form the rest of this principality.

The plain extended along the Arabic Gulph, for the space of a degree, from the borders of Abu Arifsch to Hedjas, is occupied by a tribe of free Arabs, called Beni Halal. These Bedouins live in tents, under the government of Shiechs. They are poor, and addicted to robbery, as I have already observed in the account of our journey from Jidda to Loheia. But they value themselves on their courage, and glory in bearing pain without shrinking.

These Bedouins, when asked what religion they are of, call themselves Mussulmans. But their neighbours, not crediting this account, call them infidels, and accuse them of professing a peculiar religion, the followers of which are called Mafaliks. It appears, indeed, that they depart widely, in several points, from pure Mahometism: their circumcision at least is totally different. It may be thought, that these wandering Arabs, having never been subdued, by either Mahomet or his successors, have retained some part of their ancient religion. The Mussulmans consider the Bedouins, in general, as scarcely orthodox, and reproach them as not being true believers.

These Arabs of Beni Halal inhabit a barren territory. They are poor, and live upon the scanty produce of their flocks.

CHAP. LXXV. — *Of the Territories of Saban and Khaulan.*

THE Arabs call the mountainous tract between Haschid-u-Bekil and Hedjas, Sahau. This tract of country is of considerable extent, and produces abundance of excellent fruits of all kinds, but especially grapes. Iron mines have also been discovered in it, but for want of wood have not been wrought. From this circumstance, the iron in Yemen is both dear and bad.

The inhabitants of this country, especially the highlanders, who have little intercourse with strangers, are said to speak the best Arabic, corresponding more entirely than that spoken any where else with the language of the Alcoran; although at the same time, they are almost absolutely strangers to the book.

These people differ essentially in their manners from the Arabs in the cities of Yemen. They seldom take more than one wife each. Their women are not permitted to marry till they have completed their fifteenth year; whereas in the dominions of the Imam, girls are married at the age of nine or ten. They live upon meat, honey, milk, and some vegetables. Their country affords plenty of these articles. By this simple mode of living, they commonly attain to a very advanced age, retaining the perfect use of their sight to the last. They are very hospitable, and yet rob with no less rapacity, when they meet with travellers not embodied in a caravan, than the Bedouins of the desert.

In this country are many independent lordships. The principal of these is Saade, in the possession of Prince Khassem, a descendant from Imam Hadi, of the same stock as the present royal families of Kaukeban and Sana. This Prince takes also the title of Imam; but his principality is so small, that he can hardly defend himself against the Schiechs of the neighbouring mountains.

At Saade, his capital, and the place of his residence, is a custom house, which brings him a considerable revenue. All goods from the dominions of the Imam must pass this way to Nedsjeran, Kachtan, or Mecca; and high duties are exacted. In the neighbourhood of this city is a high hill, famous as being the post upon which a prince of this state sustained a seven years siege by the Turks.

A part of the great desert of Amasia lies between Saade and Hafschid-u-Bekil. In the middle of that desert is Birket Soidan, the only place where travellers can halt for refreshment.

The small district of Khaulan, which comes to be here taken notice of, and which is to be carefully distinguished from that of the same name near Sana, lies among the mountains westward from Saade, upon the road from Sana to Mecca, four days journey from Hali, the extreme city upon that side of the Sherriße's territory. It has likewise an independent Schiech. This is all that I could learn concerning it.

CHAP. LXXVI. — *Of the Principalities of Nedsjeran and Kachtan.*

NEDSJERAN is situate in a pleasant and well watered country, three days journey north-east from Saade. This narrow territory is fertile in corn and fruits, especially in dates. It affords excellent pasturage; and its horses and camels are in high request through all Arabia.

Its present Schiech, whose name is Mecrami, has gained a very high reputation. He is said not to be of the stock of the ancient nobility. In his youth, he travelled through all Arabia, Persia, and India. After his return, the Imam of Saade intrusted him with the government of the province of Nedsjeran. But scarce had Mecrami been invested in this office, when he threw off his allegiance.

The new Schiech of Nedsjeran has made himself formidable by his genius and valour, not merely to his neighbours, but even to distant princes. Not long since, he introduced his troops, by small detachments, into the territory of Hafschid-u-Bekil; penetrated into the dominions of the Imam; and made himself master of the province of Safan. In January 1763, as has already been mentioned, he defeated the Sherriße of Abu Arisch. In the end of the same year, he had traversed all Arabia with his army, and entered the province of Lachfa. In Europe, it would be impossible to conduct an army, in so short a time, through such an extent of strange and desert countries. But an army of Arabs are not incumbered with artillery, tents, or ammunition. The scanty provisions which they need are borne by camels; and the soldiers, being light armed, and almost naked, fear no fatigue.

Schiech Mecrami enjoys through Arabia the reputation, no less of a profound theologian, than of a valiant warrior. His religious opinions differ essentially from those of the standing sects among the Mussulmans. He honours Mahomet as the Prophet of God, but looks with little respect on his successors and commentators. Some of the more sensible Arabs say, that this Schiech has found means to avail himself of heaven, even in this life; for, to use their expressions, he sells paradise by the yard; and assigns more or less honourable places in that mansion, according to the sums paid him. Simple superstitious persons actually purchase assignments upon heaven, from him and his procurators, and hope to profit by them. A Persian, of the province of Kirman too, has lately begun to issue similar bills upon heaven, and has gained considerably by the traffic. The people of the east appear to approach daily nearer to the ingenious invention of the Europeans in these matters.

The knowledge of many secrets, and, among others, of one for obtaining rain when he pleases, is likewise ascribed to this Schiech. When the country suffers by drought, he appoints a fast, and after it a public procession, in which all must assist, with an air of familiarity, without their turbans, and in a garb suitably mean. Some Arabs of distinction assured me, that this never fails to procure an immediate fall of rain.

The capital of this small kingdom is Nedsjeran, an ancient city, famous in Arabian history. The other towns in it are places of little consequence.

The small district of Kachtan lies among the mountains, three days journey northward from Nedsjeran. At Loheia, I saw a person of distinction from that country, who had been at Sana with horses for the Imam. He became suspicious of my intentions, when I put some questions to him respecting his country, and would give me no information. All that I could learn concerning Kachtan was, that it is governed by a peculiar Schiech.

CHAP. LXXVII. — *Of the Principalities of Nehhm and Khaulan.*

NEHHM is a small district between Dsjof and Hafchid-u-Bekil. The present Schiech, who is of a warlike character, and often troublesome to the Imam, is an independent prince. He possesses a few small inconsiderable towns, with a fertile mountain, on which are many villages. The inhabitants of Deiban are free; but they always join the Schiech of Nehhm in his wars with the Imam.

The small district of Khaulan, which is different from that of the same name of which some account has already been given, lies a few leagues south-east from Sana. It is governed by an independent Schiech, the representative of a very ancient family. Schiech Rajech Khaulani, who reigned in 1763, dwelled at Sana, being general of the Imam's troops. His ordinary place of residence is at Beit Rodsje, a small town in his own dominions.

In this principality is the small city of Tanaiem, famous among the Jews of Arabia, who had anciently their chief seat, with many spacious synagogues in it. At present it is almost desolate; and few Jews are among its inhabitants. Beit el Kibsi is a village inhabited solely by Sheriffs, one of whom must always be at the head of the caravan which goes annually from Sana to Mecca. This caravan consists of about three thousand persons, and is forty-five days upon the road, although the whole length of the journey be not more than an hundred German miles, at least if it could be travelled in a straight line.

Several places, which once pertained to the prince of Khaulan, have been by degrees annexed to the dominions of the Imam.

CHAP. LXXVIII. — *Of the Country of Dsjof.*

THIS great province of Yemen extends southward from Nedsjeran to Hadramaut, and eastward from Hafchid-u-Bekil to the Desert, by which Yemen is separated from Oman. It is full of sandy and desert plains. In several places, however, the inhabitants want neither cheese nor durra, nor any other of the necessaries of life. The horses and camels of Dsjof are greatly in request in the Imam's dominions.

The country of Dsjof is divided into Bellad el Bedoui, that district which is occupied by wandering Arabs; Bellad es Saladin, the highland district, governed by independent chiefs, who take the title of Sultan; and Bellad es Scherat, the district in which the supreme power is possessed by Sheriffs.

The wandering Arabs in this country are of a martial character. In their military expeditions they ride upon horses or camels. Their arms are a lance, a sabre, and sometimes a match-firelock. Sometimes they put on coats of mail, a piece of defensive armour which the other Arabs have ceased to wear. They are not a little troublesome to their neighbours, who are settled in villages,—plundering them, and often carrying off their young women. But neither these, nor any other of the Bedouins, are ferociously cruel; they only rob strangers, but never kill them. These Bedouins of Dsjof are said to have uncommon talents for poetry, and to excel all the other Arabs in this elegant art.

In the district of Bellad es Saladin are many petty sovereigns. Of these, none was named to me but the Sultan of Baham. The title of Sultan is no where used in Arabia, except in Dsjof and Jafa. It seems to be applied to distinguish the Schiechs of the Highlanders from those of the Bedouins.

The most considerable princes in the district of Bellad es Scheraf, are the three Sheriffs of Mareb, Harib, and Rachvan. But the first, although chief of the descendants of Mahomet in this country, possesses only the town of Mareb, with some adjacent villages.

Mareb, though consisting only of about three hundred poor houses, is the capital of the province. It is situate sixteen leagues north-east from Sana. It was known to the ancients as the capital of the Sabæans, by the name of Mariaba. It is not certain whether it was ever called Saba. In its neighbourhood are some ruins, which are pretended to be the remains of the palace of Queen Balkis. But there is no inscription to confirm or refute this assertion.

The Sabæans had a reservoir or basin for water, which was anciently famous, and which I often heard talked of in Arabia; but nobody could give me an exact description of it, except one man of rank, who had been born at Mareb, and had always lived there. He told me, that the famous reservoir, called by the Arabs Sitte Mareb, was a narrow valley between two ranges of hills, and a day's journey in length. Six or seven small rivers meet in that valley, holding their course south and south-west, and advancing from the territories of the Imam. Some of these rivers contain fishes, and their waters flow through the whole year; others are dry, except in the rainy season. The two ranges of hills which confine this valley, approach so near to each other upon the eastern end, that the intermediate space may be crossed in five or six minutes. To confine the waters in the rainy season, the entrance into the valley was here shut up by a high and thick wall; and, as outlets, through which the water thus collected might be conveyed, in the season of drought, to water the neighbouring fields,—three large flood-gates were formed in the wall, one above another. The wall was fifty feet high, and built of large hewn stones. Its ruins are still to be seen. But the waters, which it used formerly to confine, are now lost among the sands, after running only a short way.

Thus, was there nothing incredibly wonderful in the true account of the Sabæan reservoir. Similar, although much smaller reservoirs, are formed at the roots of the mountains in many places through Yemen. Near Constantinople is a vale, the entrance into which is likewise shut up by a wall to confine the water, which is conveyed thence in aqueducts into the capital of the Ottoman empire.

The tradition, that the city of Mareb was destroyed by a deluge, occasioned by the sudden bursting of the wall, has entirely the air of a popular fable. It seems more probable, that the wall, being neglected, fell gradually into disrepair, when the kingdom of the Sabæans declined. But the ruin of the wall proved fatal to the city in a

different way. The neighbouring fields, when no longer watered from the reservoir, became waste and barren; and the city was thus left without means of subsistence. Besides, Mareb is not so situate that it could suffer an inundation in consequence of the demolition of the wall. It stands upon a small eminence, at a league's distance from it, upon the water side.

The fertility of the district might be renewed by the reparation of this work. But such undertakings can be executed only by opulent sovereigns. Mariaba was the seat of a powerful prince, who reigned over Yemen and Hadramaut. Mareb is but the abode of a poor Sheriffe, who can scarcely withstand the encroachments of feeble neighbours.

The only other place in the country of Dsjof, that I heard of as remarkable, is Kasser el Nat, a citadel which stands upon a lofty hill, and was built by the Hamjare Princes.

CHAP. LXXIX. — *Of the Country of Jafa.*

THIS territory is surrounded by Aden, some part of the Imam's dominions, and the extensive province of Hadramaut. It is fertile, and abounds particularly in coffee and cattle.

It was formerly under the dominion of the Imam; but, in the end of the last century, the inhabitants revolted, and made themselves independent. They are governed at present by three sovereign princes, who have conquered also a part of the province of Hadramaut. Those princes are, 1. The Sultan of Reffes, who resides at Medsjeba; 2. The Sultan of Mofaka, who takes his title from the place of his residence; 3. The Sultan of Kara, who resides in a castle upon the mountain of Kara.

One of these Sultans of Jafa likewise possesses Schæhhr, a sea port town, from which incense, but inferior in quality to that of India, is exported. Nobody could inform me concerning the interior parts of this district of Schæhhr.

Bellad Schafel, and Ed Dahla, are the dominions of two petty Schiechs. Medina el Asfal, is a city famous for the tombs of various saints. The inhabitants are consequently Sunnites.

OF THE DOMINIONS OF THE IMAM OF SANA.

CHAP. LXXX. — *Of the Extent and Division of the Imam's Dominions.*

SPEAKING of Yemen in general, I unavoidably gave some account of that part of this province which is subject to the Imam. The same intermixture of fertile and barren territory, and the same productions, appear every where through the whole province. The Imam, however, seems to be master of the richest, the most agreeable, and the most interesting part of this tract of country.

It would not be easy to explain distinctly the extent and limits of this sovereign's territories, as they are so intersected by the domains of a number of petty princes. On the north side they meet the territory of Hasehid-u-Bekit; westward they are bounded by the principality of Abu Arifch and the Arabic Gulph; to the south by the principality of Aden; and on the east by the territories of Dsjof and Jafa.

The general division of Yemen into Tehama, the Lowlands, and Djebel, the Highlands, obtains in the Imam's dominions, as well as elsewhere. Upon this grand division depends the subdivision of the kingdom of Sana into thirty governments

or

or countries. Tehama contains six of these governments, and the highland country twenty-four.

These small governments are not all alike populous or remarkable. It would be a tedious and superfluous labour, therefore, to enumerate the names of all the towns and villages contained in them. I shall content myself with taking notice of the principal of those, after I have given some general account of the sovereign of these dominions, and of the nature of his government.

As there are, in the territory of the Imam, many Schiechs dispersed among the mountains, who acknowledge not his authority, and are but in a very slight degree dependent upon him, I shall be more careful to take notice of these independent lords, than of the petty towns and villages. The reader will be more entertained by an account of the political constitution under which this singular people are united, than he could possibly be by a list of Arabic names.

CHAP. LXXXI. — *Origin and History of the Imams.*

IN the abstract of the revolutions of Arabia, I have briefly mentioned that by which the expulsion of the Turks was accomplished. This event took place in 1635; and, from this period, are we to date the elevation of the present royal family of Sona. Their great ancestor is Khassem Abu Mahomed, who was the chief author of that revolution.

Khassem was descended from Mahomet by Imam Hadi, who is buried at Saade, where his posterity still reign. From him are sprung both the Imams of Saade, and the princes of Kaukeban, whom the Turks could never subdue. Khassem lived as a private person, upon the revenue of an estate which had been left him by his ancestors, upon the mountain of Schæhara, north east from Loheia. Although but a private individual, he enjoyed the friendship of the independent Schiechs in the highlands; and, seeing the Turks to be odious to his countrymen, he, with the aid of those Schiechs, attacked the Pachas, and, by degrees, expelled them out of the cities of Yemen. Thus attaining the dignity of a Sovereign Prince, and assuming the title of Sejid Khassem, he still continued, however, to reside upon the mountains of Schæhara, and died there, after a reign of nine years. The gratitude of the nation honoured him with the epithet Great; and he has accordingly been denominated Khassem el Kebir, or Khassem the Great.

After this revolution, the ancient royal family of Kaukeban, being obliged to yield its prerogatives to the family of Khassem, the eldest son of Khassem assumed the title of Imam, and the name of Metwokkel Allah. The Imam is properly the clergyman who says public prayers in the mosques. The royal successors of Mahomet have continued the practice of performing these religious services, in proof that they enjoy spiritual, no less than temporal, power. Various Arabian Princes, who dare not assume the title of Caliph, content themselves with that of Imam, or Emir el Mumenim, Prince of the Faithful. All those sovereigns, thus invested with spiritual authority, whether Caliphs or Imams, observe the ancient custom of changing their name, like the Popes in Christendom, when they mount the throne. This change seems to indicate, that the whole character of the man is entirely altered, upon his being invested with an employment, which impresses a degree of sanctity upon the character.

Imam Metwokkel Allah proceeded to deliver his country from the Turks, who do not appear to have made any very vigorous efforts to maintain themselves in so remote a conquest, by which they were rather losers than gainers. The Arabs honour that Imam as a saint: To spare the public revenue, he, like many other Mahometan monarchs,

narchs, earned his livelihood by his labour, employing himself in making caps. He had only one wife, and she contented herself with one household servant. Metwokkel Allah resided at Doran, and reigned thirty years.

His son Mejid Billah succeeded him; was no less scrupulous than his father with respect to the revenues of the state; and reigned seven years.

His successor was his cousin Mahadi Achmet, who, after reigning likewise seven years, notwithstanding his devout turn of mind, extending by his conquests the limits of the kingdom, was succeeded by

His nephew Mejid Billah. He was proclaimed Imam by the name of Mahadi Hadi. This prince had reigned only two years, when Mahadi Mahomed, son of Imam Mahadi Achmet, dethroned him, and assumed his place.

This Imam Mahadi Mahomed resided at Mouahheb, and reigned thirty years. The French visited his court in 1787: an account of the circumstances of which visit has been published by La Roque. Hamilton speaks also of this prince, and says, that he was eighty years of age in the year 1714. Mahadi Mahomed was continually at war with the confederates of Hafschiid-u-Bekil. In the beginning of this contest, he put his nephew Khassim at the head of his army, and he proved victorious; but the Imam ungratefully shut up the successful general in the citadel of Damar. At a subsequent period, the Imam's son being defeated by the confederates, that prince was obliged to release Khassim, and intrust him again with the command of his forces. Khassim was again victorious; but, before he could return to his uncle's court, another person, of the same family, from Schachara, had possessed himself of the throne, assuming the name of El Nafer. How ever, the usurper had scarcely enjoyed the supreme power two years, when Khassim expelled him, and ascended the throne under the name of El Metwokkel.

Imam El Metwokkel chose Sana for the place of his residence, and there reigned in tranquillity for ten years.

After his death, El Manfor, his son, ascended the throne. But hardly was he seated upon it, when a nephew of Mahadi Mahomed, with the assistance of the prince of Kaukeban, made himself master of all the country except Sana. El Manfor, however, found means to seize the persons of the usurper and his protector, and cast them both into confinement. He, with the same good fortune repressed the rebellion of another of his cousins, and of one of his brothers; and shut these also up for the rest of life. He reigned one and twenty years.

CHAP. LXXXII. — *Of El Mahadi, the reigning Imam.*

IMAM El Manfor left several sons, the eldest of whom, Ali, had naturally the best right to succeed him. His mother was the first wife that his father had married, and daughter to the prince of Kaukeban: consequently he was lineally descended from Mahomed, both by father and mother. But, the princess, who was living at Sana in 1763, had not influence or address enough to secure the succession to her son, although it was the general wish of the country that he should be sovereign.

A son, who was named Abbas, had been born to El Manfor by a negro's slave. This woman artfully concealed her master's death, till the Kadi Jachja, one of El Manfor's principal ministers, had time to secure the troops, and the governors of the provinces, in the interest of her son Abbas, whom she then made to be proclaimed Imam, by the name of El Mahadi. Prince Ali was thrown into confinement, in which he died in the year 1759.

In the beginning of El Mahadi's reign, the prince of Kaukeban repeatedly disputed with him the title of Imam. But, being twice defeated, and his beard being burnt in the second engagement by the accidental explosion of his magazine of powder, he renounced his pretensions to the character of Imam, and made peace with the Monarch of Sana.

In the year 1750, an army of three thousand Arabs from Nehlm and Deiban advanced nearly to Sana; but they were routed and dispersed by the Imam. Seven years after, the confederates of Hafschiid-u-Bekil attacked the Imam, and routed his forces. But in the year following, 1758, the Imam's general surprised and routed the allies.

Imam El Mahadi Abbas was five and forty years of age, and had reigned seventeen years, in 1763. He was of a dark complexion, like his ancestors by the mother's side, and did not at all resemble the other descendants of Mahomet. Had it not been for some negro traits, his countenance might have been thought a good one. He had twenty brothers, of whom some that I saw were black as ebony, flat-nosed, and thick-lipped, like the Caffres of the south of Africa. He had married the daughter of a relation, one of the pretenders to the crown of Taces; and, beside her, several other free women; but he kept fewer female slaves than his father had. El Manfor had more than two hundred of these in his haram.

The reigning Imam had a number of sons; but only four of them were so much grown up as to be permitted to appear in public. His relations, who are numerous, live all at Sana; and some of them are very well provided for. He has several uncles; but he leaves all his relations in private stations, employing none of them in any public office.

On his accession to the throne, he continued Kadi Jachja, to whom he owed his advancement, for some time in the post of Prime Minister. But finding that his subjects were discontented with the administration of Jachja, and still regretted Ali, who, before his death, had written an affecting letter to his brother; the Imam sacrificed his minister to the public hatred, deposing him, confiscating his effects, and throwing him and his confidential servant into prison. The degraded minister was restored to liberty soon after our arrival at Sana. But instead of restoring his effects, the Imam only allowed him a small pension, which was scarcely enough to make him live.

CHAP. LXXXIII. — *History of Schiech Abd Urrab.*

OF the enemies of whom Imam El Mahadi had to contend, the most formidable, both by genius and courage, was Schiech Abd Urrab of Hodsjerie. When speaking of the siege of Taces, I mentioned by the way something of the adventures of this Schiech, who is regarded as a hero among his countrymen. I found his history interesting, and shall now enter into it more at length, because it involves several particulars illustrative of the principles of the Imam's government, and of the general manners of the Arabs.

Abd Urrab, son to a Nakib or General, who was governor of a small province, succeeded his father in the government. The Imam, pleased with his services, conferred on him the government of Kataba, which was more considerable; and at the same time intrusted him with a commission to demolish the castles of some neighbouring lords. The zeal with which he carried this order into execution, raised him many enemies among the nobility; the most bitter of whom was a Nakib, of the ancient family of Wadei, who, among others, had lost his castle.

This Nakib preposessed the Imam against Abd Urrab, by accusing him of rebellion; and obtained three thousand men to reduce him to obedience. With this army, he besieged the pretended rebel for eleven months in Kataba, the capital of the district under this government. When Abd Urrab could no longer hold out, he sallied forth with six hundred men, made his way through the midst of the enemy, and retired to the district of Hodsjerie, where his friends opened to him the gates of their fortresses, and acknowledged him their Schiech. Another army, sent by the Imam to besiege him here, was as unsuccessful as the first.

As yet, the new Schiech had only stood upon the defensive; but, beginning now to feel his strength, he attacked the dominions of the Imam, made himself master of various places, and levied heavy contributions. The Imam, unable to reduce him to obedience, entered into an alliance against him with the prince of Aden. Abd Urrab upon this entered Aden, besieged the sovereign in his capital, and forced a large sum of money from him. The Imam on this occasion entirely abandoned his ally.

In the account of the siege of Taëz, I have already related in what manner the Imam concluded a peace with the Schiech, and how the latter took that city. The conditions, I may here add, were, that the Imam should treat the Schiech as a friend, acknowledge him Schiech of Hodsjerie, and renounce all his own pretensions to the sovereignty of that province. This engagement the Imam not only confirmed with seven oaths; but, according to a prevalent custom in the East, sent to the Schiech the copy of the Koran upon which he had sworn, and the rosary which he used at prayers, as pledges of his sincerity. Moreover, his two generals, El Mas, and Achmed el Hamer, also bound themselves that the Imam should abide by his promise.

Trusting to so many oaths, to those pledges of faith, and to the assurances of the two generals, Abd Urrab yielded to the pressing invitations of the Imam, and repaired to his court. By the way he was treated with the highest marks of respect. The inhabitants of Sana went out to meet, and gaze upon him, as a hero. His valour, his address, his noble exploits, were generally talked of with passionate admiration.

It is not known whether the Imam had any previous intention of destroying him, or became jealous of those praises, and began to fear that a party might be formed, even in his own capital, in behalf of the rebel. However it might be, the Schiech, soon after his arrival, was seized, bedaubed on the face and hands with red paint, and, in this condition, placed on a camel, with his face to the tail, and conducted through the streets. His sister, who was at this time in Sana, seeing her brother thus maltreated, sprang from the roof of a house, and fell dead at his feet. After being led about in this plight, and still farther abused with blows, the Schiech was thrown upon a dunghill, and at the end of three days beheaded.

This perfidious act of the Imam moved the indignation of his subjects. The two generals, who had pledged themselves for the safety of Abd Urrab, were particularly enraged. The first, Nakib El Mas, was commander of the national troops; the other, Nakib Achmed el Hamer, commanded the mercenaries from Hachid-u-Bekil, and his brother Khassim was general of the confederates. These two confederate persons thought that it became them to shew their resentment.

El Hamer, therefore, reproached the Imam for his perfidious cruelty, but was immediately cast into prison. El Mas, now more enraged than ever, formed a party to dethrone the Imam; but the prince preventing him, made coffee to be given him, upon a friendly visit; by the effects of which the Nakib died before he could leave the palace.

As soon as Khassem received notice of the imprisonment of his brother El Hamer, he attacked the Imam's dominions with the forces of the confederates; but happening to lose his son in a skirmish, he retreated home. The Imam, fearing new movements on the part of the allies of Hatchid-u-Bekil, set Nakib El Hamer at liberty, by beheading him in prison. Since that time, the allies have never ceased avenging his death, by inroads upon the dominions of the Imam; in which they burnt several cities, soon after our arrival in Arabia.

The conduct of the Imam, in respect to this unfortunate Schiech of Hodsjerie, has rendered him odious to his neighbours and subjects, and may probably occasion his deposition from the throne, and premature death.

CHAP. LXXXIV. — *Of the Constitution and Government of the Dominions of Sana.*

THE throne of Yemen is hereditary. If generally approved of by the subjects, the eldest legitimate son of an Imam is his rightful successor. But, the revolutions which I have briefly narrated, shew, that this order of succession is often violated. In the despotic governments of the East, indeed, no order can be closely observed, because there are no fundamental laws. The practice of polygamy has also a tendency to confound the order of succession in Asia, as it often happens, that brothers, by different mothers, found their pretensions to succeed their father upon grounds equally false, or equally specious. The blind preference of a father, sunk into dotage, or the intrigues of a favourite, in such cases, determine the difference.

The Imam is an absolute prince, and the more so for uniting in his own person supreme authority, both spiritual and temporal over his subjects. His jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, however, extends not over the dominions of other sovereigns of the same sect. These states have each a Mufti or Kadi for its spiritual use.

Although the Imam be absolute, he is checked in the exercise of his authority by the supreme tribunal of Sana, of which he is only president. This tribunal, consisting of a certain number of Kadis, possesses the sole power of life and death. The Imam may not order any of his subjects for execution, but such as have been condemned in consequence of a criminal prosecution before this Court. The Kadis are generally esteemed to be persons of incorruptible integrity, of blameless lives, and devoted to the faithful discharge of their duties. They are not changed here so often as in Turkey, but hold their offices usually for life.

Yet, when one of these Monarchs is disposed to abuse his authority, he can break through any restraints imposed upon him by this tribunal. The assessors are nominated by the Imam, and removeable at his pleasure. He has it thus in his power to extort their suffrages by threatening them with disgrace. But the sovereigns of Sana have never found their advantage in having recourse to violent measures. Acts of tyranny have commonly ended in the deposition of the Prince who hazarded them. This fate seems to await the present Imam, whose cruelty and extortion have nearly wearied out the patience of his subjects.

At the Imam's court, public offices are many, and titles of honour few. The first minister has no other title but Fakih; an appellation so vague, that his secretaries, and men of learning who think themselves in any degree above the vulgar, assume it as well as the minister. The other ministers, the secretary of state, the superintendent of pious establishments, the surveyor-general of public buildings, the inspector of the camels, and, by consequence, all those who occupy the first employments, are, in the same manner, only Fakih, without any other title of honour to distinguish them.

Every petty district in the dominions of the Imam has its governor. If not a prince, or one of the higher nobility, this governor is called Wali and Dola; or sometimes Emir, when he happens to be a person of low birth. I have already remarked, that the sovereigns of Sana find it generally the best policy to confer those governments upon men who have risen merely by personal merit, rather than upon their nobles.

A Dola in Yemen is much such another as a Pacha in Turkey, only acting upon a narrower stage. He commands the forces stationed in his province, regulates the police, and collects the taxes. From lucrative governments, the Dolas are recalled every two or three years, to prevent their accumulating too much wealth. When the Imam continues a Dola in his office, he sends him a horse, a sabre, and robes. All are obliged to render an account, from time to time, of their administration; and, when guilty of high misdemeanors, or convicted of malversations in office, they are punished by imprisonment, or by confiscation of their property, but seldom capitally. Sometimes a Dola, who has been thus disgraced, is raised from prison to an office of greater consequence than that of which he was divested. This custom marks the character of despotism, where honour, and degradation by punishment, of consequence, are utterly unknown.

In every little town, a Sub-dola, with a small garrison, consisting sometimes of only five or six soldiers, reside, to maintain order. The chief of a large village is a Schiech; he of a small one, a Hakim.

The Dolas of considerable governments are attended by a Baskateb or comptroller, whose business is to keep a strict eye upon their conduct, and to inform the Imam of what is going forward. This spy often succeeds the Governor who has been removed upon his representation; but another Baskateb is, at the same time, sent to do for him what he did for his predecessor.

Every city in which a Dola resides has also a Kadi, dependent on the chief Kadi of Sana. The Kadi is sole judge in civil and ecclesiastical affairs; nor may the Dola interfere to contradict his sentences, or render them inefficacious. The Kadis in the provinces, no less than in the capital, are in high reputation for wisdom and integrity.

In the sea port towns, the Emir Bahrr, who is inspector of the port, enjoys the chief authority under the Dola. In other towns, the chief magistrate is denominated Schiech el Belled. He it is who levies the taxes, and determines what each individual must pay. The Emir es Souk regulates sales and markets. In Yemen the post of keeper of the prison is honourable, and an object of ambition.

CHAP. LXXXV. — *Of the Revenues of the Imam.*

IT is no doubt difficult for a traveller to gain any tolerably accurate knowledge of the public revenue of a state in which he spends only a short time. In Arabia it is peculiarly difficult; as he must here be very cautious in putting questions, that he may not render himself suspected among a nation of whom so few have any knowledge of public affairs.

I, however, had the advantage of consulting upon this head a man who had held employments, in which he could not avoid making himself acquainted with the state of the Imam's finances. This person was Oræki, the Jew, surveyor general of the buildings, who had been the favourite of two successive Imams, and of whose adventures I have given some account in the narrative of our journey to Sana.

By this Jew's calculation, the revenues of Imam El Mahadi Mahomed amounted to 830,000 crowns in the month. But the reigning family having lost a number of pro-

vinces, Kataba, Aden, Abu Arifsch, and Taes, with part of Bellad Anes, and Harras, and having bestowed the districts of Ofab and Mechader in fief, El Manfor's monthly income was thus reduced to 300,000 crowns. The present Imam had recovered some of the dismembered territories, and had acquired others which had never before belonged to the empire. His revenue might therefore be nearly 500,000 crowns a month.

But from this I cannot make an estimate of the Imam's wealth; for Oræki, the Jew, could give me no information concerning his expenditure. In the provinces, I was told, every Dola pays the troops belonging to his government; defrays the charges of the police; and, after deducting all that the public expences require, remits the surplus to the Imam.

This revenue arises from a land and a poll tax of long standing, and from duties payable upon articles of merchandise. Coffee affords a very considerable tax. Before it can be put a board a ship for exportation, the Imam must receive a fourth part of the price for which it was sold. It is remarkable, that Pliny even mentions it as an old custom, for the Arabs to grant their princes a fourth of the value of their productions.

CHAP. LXXXVI. — *Of the Military Force of Sana.*

THE Imam keeps up a body of regular troops; but their precise number I could not learn. According to common opinion, it consists ordinarily of four thousand infantry, raised chiefly in Hafchid-u-Bekil, and of one thousand cavalry.

The principal commanding officers of this army were the four Schiechs of Hamdan, Wada, Sefian, and Khaulan. Beside these four general officers of high birth, many Nakibs or officers of inferior descent, some of whom had even been slaves in their youth, were also in the army. Nakib is the highest title that the Imam can confer. Schiech is a title that can only come by descent, and is peculiar to sovereign princes and independent lords.

In time of peace, a soldier serving in the cavalry has nothing to do but to take care of his horse, and attend the Imam or Dola to the mosque, according as he happens to be quartered at Sana, or in one of the provinces. The Arabs are extremely attentive to the breeding and management of their horses. Each horse is under the care of a particular groom. Their heads are left at liberty; but, to hinder them from kicking, they are confined almost close to the ground by the legs. After conducting their master home from the mosque, the cavalry perform their exercise, which consists merely in riding after one another at full gallop with their lances couched. As the nights are very cold in Yemen, cloths are always put upon the horses, except when they are ridden.

Most of those who serve in the cavalry have likewise civil employments, in which they occupy themselves in time of peace. Their arms are lances and sabres. Some carry pistols in the holsters of the saddle. They know nothing of the use of uniforms; every one dresses after his own fancy.

The infantry in the garrisons are equally unemployed; they never stand as sentinels but at the gates of cities. The Dola is attended by foot guards likewise to the mosque; they march in rank and file. Four men in arms leap before them with antic gestures. On his return from the mosque, they salute him with some irregular discharges of musquetry. This too is all the exercise used by the infantry.

They are still more suitably clothed than the cavalry. The greater part wear nothing but a piece of linen about their loins, and a handkerchief upon their heads. Some are a little better dressed, with a blue cap of linen and a shirt.

The Arabs have a singular way of displaying their courage in engagements, not unlike the devotement to the infernal gods among the ancients. A soldier, willing to signalize his attachment to his master, binds his leg to his thigh, and continues to fire away upon the enemy, till either they be routed, or he himself be slain upon the field of battle. I could take this only for a fable when it was first told me; but I was afterwards convinced of its truth, by a late instance in the case of a Schiech of Hafchid-ubekil, in the Imam's service, who devoted himself in this manner, in a battle against his own countrymen. Six slaves charged muskets for him, which he continued to fire upon the enemy, till being at last deserted by the Imam's troops, and even by his own servants, he was cut in pieces.

Those armies use no artillery. The Arabs know not how to manage cannons. In some towns they have renegadoes or vagabond Turks for gunners, little less ignorant than themselves.

The Imam, as he has no dread of enemies or corsairs upon the Arabic Gulph, needs not to keep up a naval force. His subjects are in general unskilled in navigation, as I have had occasion to remark. The fishermen only discover some degree of courage and dexterity, venturing far out at sea in small canoes, scarcely furnished with oars.

CHAP. LXXXVII. — *Of the Arts and Commerce of Yemen.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the natural abilities of the Arabs, the arts receive no encouragement, and are totally neglected in the the Imam's dominions, and no less throughout the neighbouring countries. Books are scarce in Arabia, because the Arabs have a dislike of printed characters. Their intricate alphabetical writing is best performed with the hand; they can hardly read books from our presses. It was for this reason, that the attempt of Ibrahim Effendi to introduce printing at Constantinople failed of success, and the renegado was ruined by the project. The Hebrew characters, indeed, are much easier cast, and therefore the Jewish presses at Constantinople, Smyrna, and Salonica, may possibly maintain their ground.

The devotees among the Mussulmans, and chiefly the sect of the Sunnites, have a strong abhorrence against images; in consequence of which there is neither painter nor sculptor in Yemen; but a great many inscriptions are engraven.

The Turks have some musicians; but the Arabs never apply to music as a separate art. In Yemen, I never heard any musical instrument but the drum and the pipe.

Much gold and silver work is prepared here; but the workers in these precious metals are all Jews and Banians. All the current coin too is struck by Jews.

All Arabian workmen sit while they work; a habit not consistent with very great activity. In walking, they have their feet always bare; as the wearing of their sandals would be troublesome. Many work with their feet, with little less dexterity than with their hands.

The mills in Yemen are of a very simple construction. But I saw in Tehama an oil-press wrought by an ox; and it is surprising, that the same mode of operation has never yet been employed in the corn mills.

The manufactures of a people of so little industry cannot but be very trifling. No fabres are manufactured in Yemen, nor any edged weapon, except a sort of crooked knives called Jambea. The making of match-firelocks has been attempted here within these few years; it succeeds but indifferently. It is only of late that glass works have
been

been established at Mokha. Some coarse cloth is manufactured here; but not so much as is required for the use of the country. Broad cloths are neither made nor worn here. The English brought some goods of this sort to Mokha, but were obliged to carry them back to India unfold.

A country which affords so few articles for sale, cannot have a great trade. Coffee is almost the sole article exported from Yemen; a valuable commodity, in exchange for which many of those things which this country needs from abroad may well be obtained.

I have mentioned the imports in my account of the trade of Mokha. All the commerce of Yemen is carried on by this port, except only that some small quantities of coffee are exported by Loheia and Hodeida. What has been said, therefore, of the trade of Mokha, may be considered as relating to the trade of all Yemen.

CHAP. LXXXVIII. — *Of the Principal Towns in the Imam's Dominions.*

IN the travels of our whole party, and in my own separate excursions, I traversed a great part of the Imam's dominions, which I have occasionally described in the course of my narrative. I am now, therefore, only to speak of some places more remote from the coast, which I had not occasion to visit myself, and which yet seem to deserve notice. I shall mention nothing but what I learned from persons who had full access to certain information.

I have already given a general description of Tehama, that vast plain through which I travelled from one end of it to the other. I have, therefore, nothing to add to what has been said concerning the governments of Mokha, Hæs, Jebid, Beit el Fakih, Hodeida, and Loheia.

In the highlands I saw and have described the governments of Sana, Damar, Jerim, Mechader, Dsjobla, Taæ, Bellad Aklan, Udden, Harras, and Mofhak. The following are the other towns and districts, which I know only by hearsay.

Doran, in which several Imams reside, is a very ancient city, situate on the declivity of a mountain, not far from the roads between Sana and Damar. The district is under the government of a particular Schiech, as is also Dsjebbel Scherki, a great mountain in its vicinity.

Kataba is a city governed by a Dola, and defended by a strong citadel, lying in a fertile country, through which passes a fine river, whose waters are discharged into the sea at Aden. In this district is a range of wild and lofty mountains, bordering on the territories of the Imam.

Hodsjerie was originally a district and government belonging to Sana; became afterwards the domain of the famous Schiech Abd Urrab; but is now reunited to the dominions of the Imam. It contains Dimlu, a strong city, upon a mountain, which Abulfeda calls the King's Treasury; and Mukatera, a fortress said to be impregnable, which stands upon a lofty and precipitous hill, accessible only by one narrow path, which is shut up by a gate; but fertile on the summit in corn, and plentifully supplied with water.

Ofab is a district held in fief from the Imam by one of his relations. In it are a small village, and three strong castles, upon hills.

Kufma is a small town, standing upon a high hill. Its confines I had occasion to see, where it meets Tehama. The mountains in it produce coffee, and extend far through the interior country. They are free Arabs who inhabit them. Dsjebi, a town, with a district of considerable extent, in which are a number of independent Schiechs,

Schiechs, lies farther northward. These two districts form together the country of Rema; the merchants of which are often mentioned in ancient history. It is a fertile tract of country, abounding chiefly in grapes and coffee.

Homran is an ancient city, with a ruinous citadel. In a hill, in its vicinity, there are said to be three hundred and sixty reservoirs for water cut in the rock. The district in which it lies, approaches near to the road between Sana and Beit el Fakih. Burra, a large and fertile mountain, is comprehended in it.

In the province of Hofæsch, extended over the mountains of Melhan, stands Sefekin, a town of considerable size.

Manacha is also a considerable town, and famous for its fairs. It is the seat of the Dola of Harras. In the heart of his government lies the district of Safan, in which Schiech Mecrami has an almost impregnable castle, which he took, some years since, by surprise.

North west from Sana is a mountainous and extensive tract of country, which is considered as belonging to the Imam. But many Schiechs are in it, who acknowledge not this Prince for their Sovereign. He possesses, however, a number of towns in it, and governs these by Dolas, whose authority is commonly confined within the walls of the places of their residence. Such are the following:

Tulla, a strong town, with a citadel, in which a Dola resides, whose jurisdiction extends over another small town with a citadel. The rest of the environs belongs to Schiechs. In this district is Schhæhhava, a large mountain, on which are more than three hundred villages, under the dominion of various Schiechs; famous, too, as having been the seat of Khassem, the founder of the reigning family.

Khamir, a fortified town, situate in the middle of the territories of the confederates of Haschid-u-Bekil.—It cost the Imam no small trouble to retain possession of this town.

Medem, the capital of Hamdan, in which the Schiech has a palace. This principality is two days journey in length, and one in breadth. It is reckoned among the dominions of Sana, because the reigning chief has been made to acknowledge himself the Imam's vassal.

Amran, a town with a citadel in a fertile country, which once belonged to the allies of Haschid-u-Bekil. Saad el Khammel, one of the most ancient and famous kings of Yemen, is interred in this district.

CHAP. LXXXIX. — *Of the Princes and Schiechs within the Dominions of the Imam.*

ONE of the most singular and curious facts in the history of Arabia, is, its having always been, even from the most remote antiquity, parcelled out among such a number of petty princes and independent lords. The history of Arabia exhibits, through its whole course, nearly the same political arrangements which appear to have prevailed in Europe, for some centuries, in the middle age; with this difference only, that the Schiechs have seldom been in a state of vassalage, and never knew the feudal government.

The nature and local circumstances of Arabia are favourable to the spirit of independence, which distinguishes its inhabitants from other nations. Their deserts and mountains have always secured them from the encroachments of conquest. Those inhabiting the plains have indeed been subdued; but their servitude has been only temporary; and the only foreign powers to whose arms they have yielded, have been those bordering on the two gulphs between which this country lies.

Independent

Independent Schiechs are therefore to be found among the Bedouins, or wandering Arabs, who escape oppression in consequence of the barrenness of their lands, and of the facility with which they retire into the deserts, whither no armies can follow them; and among the Kobails, or Arabian Highlanders, who inhabit wild and lofty chains of mountains, yet of sufficient fertility to afford subsistence to a frugal race, blocked up by their enemies in this retreat.

Of the latter are the Schiechs established within the Imam's dominions. The hills which they occupy are high and precipitous, yet cultivated up to their loftiest peaks, and abounding in productions of various sorts. These hills are very difficult of access; and the passes through the valleys are usually barred, either by fortifications, or by castles upon insulated rocks. A circumstance, to shew with what ease the Schiechs defend themselves, is, that the Imams, although they had little difficulty in expelling the Turks from the low country, have never been able, with all their efforts, to reduce those Highlanders, except only a small number who have been brought to recognize their territorial superiority.

I could not learn the names, either of all those Schiechs, or of their dominions. From the few, however, that came to my knowledge, one may conceive how numerous they are; since the domains of so many are intermixed through territories of no greater extent than those of the Imam of Sana.

There is not one independent Schiech in the Tehama. But not far from the royal residence, in the province of Sana, is a tribe of Bedouins, denominated Beni Dabbean.

In the government of Bellad Anes are two Schiechs of eminence, the Schiech of Bellad Anes, and of the mountains of Scherki.

The lofty and extensive mountain of Sumara belongs in part to Schiech Wadey, and partly to the Schiech of Beni Haffan: these are both vassals to the Imam. But the town of Hofæch, in the vicinity of this mountain, is ruled by an independent Schiech.

The famous hill of Sabbar, which I mentioned in my account of Taces, is said to be parcelled out among more than a hundred free and hereditary Schiechs, perfectly independent of the Imam, although surrounded on all hands by his territories. This fertile mountain consists of a chain of hills of various heights.

In the government of Hodsjerie are the Schiechs of Manfora and Afæs. The district of Beni Jusof, and the hill of Habbefchi, contain also a good number of hereditary independent lords.

I have already spoken of the prince of Beni Aklan, who resides at Dorebat, and of the independent Schiechs who possess mount Kamara, lying within this principality. In giving an account of my excursion through the highlands of Yemen, in company with Mr. Forkal, I at the same time mentioned the prince of Udden, and his dominions. In nobility of family, and dignity of rank, these two princes are inferior to none in Arabia.

The prince of Ofab is of the Imam's family, and a vassal to that prince; his principality being a territory that has been detached from the dominions of Sana.

In no district are there a greater number of considerable Schiechs than in Kufma, the most western range of the coffee mountains. This district, consisting entirely of precipitous hills, planted with coffee trees to the very summits, is naturally populous, in consequence of affording so profitable a produce as coffee, in such abundance. Hence it is, that those gentry are here so rich and numerous. I was told of more than thirty, who draw large revenues from the markets within their dominions, at which an astonishing

ing quantity of coffee is sold. These Schiechs are all independent, and reside in fortified castles upon the mountains.

The government of Dsjebi being, with respect to external appearance, soil, and productions, precisely of the same character as Kufma, is, like it, full of Schiechs of eminence. I learned the names of a dozen of them. They live in the same style as the others.

On Mount Harras, a large hill, fertile in vines, are likewise some castles, belonging to independent lords. This, among other districts, was seized by Schiech Mecrami.

In the territories which have been conquered by the Imams from the allies of Hafchid-u-Bekil, are still many free domains. About ten or a dozen of the most eminent Schiechs, are the Schiechs Beni Afchiab, Shemsan, and Marani. Near Tulla, is also Sejid Maclien of Hadsje, a principality anciently held under the reigning family.

The mountain Schachara, with its three hundred villages, is shared out among a great many Schiechs, most of whom were related to the royal family before its elevation to the throne of Sana.

The prince of Hamdan is distinguished for his power, and the antiquity of his family; he being descended from the tribe of Hamdan, which was known long before the days of Mahomet. Yet, with these advantages, he has been reduced to a state of vassalage, probably because his country was too plain and too narrow for defence against an enemy. In this principality is Muakeb, a city of a singular construction; its houses are all cut out in the natural rock.

From this detail, it appears, that the state of Yemen is not unlike to that of Germany. The Arabs want only a head; they have princes, a body of nobility, and an aristocratic league. But their constitution is not of recent origin; nor did it take its rise in the forests. It is as ancient as society itself, and will probably last while the country endures in which nature has established it.

OF THE PROVINCE OF HADRAMAUT.

CHAP. XC. — *Of the general Character, and of the Commerce of this Province.*

HADRAMAUT is bounded on the west by Yemen, on the south-east by the ocean, on the north-east by Oman, and on the north by a great desert. It comprehends a wide extent of country, especially if, with the Arabians, we include in it the district of Mahhra. Mahhra seems to be like Tehama, a sandy plain, extending in breadth, from the shores of the ocean backward to where the hill country commences. These plains have probably been once covered by the sea.

Such being the state of the coast, and of the Highlands, Hadramaut, like Yemen, exhibits great diversities of soil and surface. Some parts of it are dry and desert; but the hills are extremely fertile, and are intersected by well watered vales.

The inhabitants of this province, too, are divided, like those of Yemen, into Arabs settled in towns, wandering Bedouins, and Kobails or Highlanders. A native of Hadramaut, with whom I had opportunities of conversing, described his country as the seat of science and religion. The other Arabs are less favourable in their accounts, and not without reason, if one may judge from the coarseness of the dialect spoken in this province. It differs so considerably from that of Yemen, that I needed an interpreter to assist me in conversing with the person who entertained me with the above pompous eulogium of his country. The religion of his countrymen must be a tissue of fantastic pieces of superstition; for the Sunnites are the prevalent sect among them.

Arabia the Happy, comprehending, as I have above remarked, the two provinces of Yemen and Hadramaut, enjoyed, in the remoter times, a very extensive commerce. Its exports consisted not only in its own productions, but in those of India likewise, which were brought into its harbours, upon the shores of the ocean, by vessels from India. As the navigation of the Arabic Gulf was always reckoned dangerous, those articles of merchandize were conveyed by land into Egypt and Syria. The caravans were a source of wealth to the whole nation: the inhabitants of the towns gained by purchases and sales, and the Bedouins by hiring out their camels. There is, therefore, the greatest truth in the accounts of the ancients, which describes so pompously the opulence of the Happy Arabia, although its present state be far from flourishing.

Since the Europeans have discovered a different route to India, the trade of South Arabia has necessarily declined. To Yemen the loss is made up by the exportation of such immense quantities of coffee; a traffic begun two centuries ago, and still increasing: but Hadramaut, producing little coffee, has no such resource, and is therefore not likely to recover suddenly from the disadvantages which it has suffered by the loss of its Indian trade.

Yet this province still carries on some trade in its native productions; for these, ships from Maskat visit its harbours upon the ocean. The little coffee which it affords, incense, gum Arabic, dragon's blood, myrrh, and aloes, are the articles of this trade. The incense of Arabia is not of the very best quality; but the aloes of Soccatra, an isle belonging to the princes of Hadramaut, has been always in the very highest estimation.

The inhabitants of Hadramaut have likewise some trivial manufactures. Yemen is furnished from this province with coarse cloths, carpets, and the knives called Jambea, which are hung from the girdle. But the inhabitants of Hadramaut being averse to a maritime life, the trade from their sea ports is all carried on in foreign bottoms.

CHAP. XCI. — *Of the Principal Towns in Hadramaut.*

THERE are in Hadramaut a good many considerable towns, which were known to the ancients, perhaps better than they are at present. Notwithstanding the pains which I took, I could learn the names only of a few of these places. What I know of the rest, I had from some persons not very well acquainted with the present state of Hadramaut. I shall repeat what was told me concerning some of these cities.

Schibam, a large city, and the seat of a powerful prince, is eight days journey distant from Sana, and ten from Mareb. An Arabian from Mareb informed me, that he had not found a single village in Dsjof, on his way from his native city; but that, as he travelled through Hadramaut, he had been in several considerable towns. Schibam seems to be the Saba of the ancients, from which the Sabæans were denominated. This people occupied the southern parts of Arabia, before Mareb became the capital of their empire.

Dean, in which a Schiech resides, is five and twenty days journey eastward from Sana, and eleven from Kischim. An inhabitant of Dean, whom I met with in Yemen, told me, that it was a larger and more elegant city than Sana.

Dafir is a well known sea port town, from which incense, called in Arabia Oliban or Liban, is exported. This incense is not nearly so good as that of India. The Arabians are blamed for selling both their incense and their gum without purifying them. This neglect

neglect occasions a deterioration in the quality, and a reduction in the price. A Schiech likewise resides in Dafar.

Keschim is a sea port town, and the seat of a sovereign prince. Its inhabitants are said to be highly civilized, and to receive all strangers hospitably. The English sometimes visit this harbour.

Merbat and Hasek are two cities, known only for the traffic which their inhabitants carry on in incense produced in that neighbourhood. The quantity of this incense is not so considerable as that which comes from Dafar; but it is better in quality than that from Schæhr. The great consumption of incense in the Indian temples, and even in private houses, through some countries in the East, is what chiefly occasions the demand for this article. It is not used in the mosques.

Ainad is a considerable town, thirteen days journey from Keschim, and seven from Schæhr. An inhabitant of this town, whom I saw in Maskat, told me, what divers other Arabians confirmed, that the tomb of the ancient prophet Kachtan or Jaktan, mentioned in the Koran, stands within a day's journey of Ainad. Even before the days of Mahomet, pilgrims used to visit this tomb. The inhabitants of Hadramaut still assemble at a certain time to perform their devotions there. A famous fair is held at it. It is remarked, that all pilgrimages to one place, for so many centuries, owe their continued existence to commerce.

This same Arab from Ainad named to me more than a score of cities, in the interior parts of the province, which he had visited. As I know nothing of them but their names, I shall not set down the bare list.

There are also several sea ports, concerning which I could obtain no particular information. What was particularly striking in the lists of names mentioned to me, was the remarkable resemblance of the names of many of the present cities in Hadramaut, to those of the cities of Arabia spoken of by the most ancient historians. Many of these establishments, in this province, must have existed in the same state from the most remote antiquity.

These observations lead me to think, that a journey through this province might prove at least no less interesting than our journey through Yemen. The difficulties attending such an expedition, could not be greater than those which we had to struggle with. I was acquainted with a Turk, who related to me with what ease and safety he had visited the several sea port towns in South Arabia. The inhabitants of that coast, remembering the wealth which strangers used to bring thither in former times, and long accustomed to receive them well, would undoubtedly give Europeans a favourable reception at present.

CHAP. XCII. — *Of the Sovereign Princes in Hadramaut.*

THE Bedouins, and inhabitants of the hills, have here, as well as through the rest of Arabia, a number of independent Schiechs; but, not knowing particulars, I can say nothing of them.

The coasts, and the adjacent country, are shared among sovereigns of higher dignity, whom travellers have called Kings, although they take only the title of Schiech or Sultan. The Schiech of Schibara I have already mentioned as one of the most powerful.

Doan belongs to a Schiech, whom I believe to be a descendant of Mahomet, and of the family of the Imams; for he who reigned in 1763 was called Sejid Issa el Amudi. In a neighbouring city, are the tombs of all the princes of the illustrious house of Amudi.

The Schiech of Daffr is also a Sovereign Prince; but I know not either his name, or the extent of his power.

He of Ketchim, called by some travellers, King of Fartak, is the most powerful. His dominions comprehend a considerable number of cities, among which is that of Fartak; and hence the fabled Kingdom of Fartak, represented in various maps. One of the princes of Ketchim may have, some time or other, resided in that city, and may thus have given rise to the idea of a Sovereign of Fartak. Beside his possessions on the continent, the Schiech of Ketchim is likewise Lord of the island of Soccatra, or Seccaton, famous for its clove. The presumptive heir to the reigning Schiech is always governor of this island, which seems to have belonged to these Arabian Princes from time immemorial. Azim relates that, in the period concerning which he writes, it was subject to the Sovereigns of the inland country. The first Portuguese who visited Arabia found the Prince of Ketchim still in the undisturbed possession of this part of the ancient dominions of his family.

The principality of Ainad must be extensive, if the account may be credited, which I received from a native of a city of the same name. But I have reason to suspect, that the Sovereign of Ainad is one of those Sultans of Jafa who have conquered some territories in Hadramaut.

There are probably still other sovereign states in this widely extended province. But I had not opportunities of acquiring farther knowledge of a country, which, for many reasons, deserves to be better known.

OF THE PROVINCE OF OMAN.

CHAP. XCIII. — *Of Oman in general.*

THE province of Oman is bounded on the east by the ocean; on the north by the Persian Gulph; on the west and the south by extensive deserts. I visited no part of it, but the environs of Maskat; and, therefore, do not speak concerning it from personal observation.

It is possessed by a number of petty Sovereigns, the most considerable of whom is the Imam of Oman or Maskat. The Princes of Dsjau, Gabria, Gafar, Rank, Gabbi, Dahhara, Makaniat, and Seer, have the title of Schiech.

The whole western side of Oman is one sandy plain, a day's journey in length, and extending from the village of Sib to the town of Sohar. The Imam's territories are mountainous to the very brink of the shore. The rivers continue to flow throughout the year, all, except that near which Sohar stands, which, traversing an arid plain, loses itself among the sands, and reaches the sea only in the rainy season.

The country affords plenty of cheese, barley, lentiles, with several different sorts of grapes. Of dates such abundance is here produced, as to yield an annual exportation of several ships lading; and there is variety of other fruits, and of pulse. Here are also lead and copper mines. Fishes are so plentiful upon the coast, and so easily caught, as to be used not only for feeding cows, asses, and other domestic animals, but even as manure to the fields.

The inhabitants are of different sects in religion, and mutually regard one another as heretics. The subjects of the Imam follow one Mussulman doctor; those of the Schiechs another.

CHAP. XCIV. — *Of the Territories of the Imam of Oman, or Maskat.*

THE territory possessed by the Imam of Oman is pretty extensive, and contains a good many towns, most of which are but little known. I shall mention only some few particulars, which I learned concerning the more remarkable among them.

Rostak, a city at some distance from the sea, is the seat of the Sovereign. In its neighbourhood is Dsjebbel Akdar, the highest and largest mountain in Oman, and distinguished for its fertility in fruits, especially grapes. Sohar is an ancient and celebrated city, but greatly decayed.

South from Rostak, stands Kalbat, an ancient city, which was once in a flourishing condition.

The Imam of Oman possesses also Kilon and Sinsjibar, upon the eastern coast of Africa, which were, not long since, conquered by one of his ancestors.

The most important and best known city in the dominions of this Imam is Maskat; in consequence of which, he is, by many travellers, called King of Maskat. It stands at one end of a beautiful plain, beside a small gulph, encompassed with steep rocks, forming an excellent harbour, in which the largest vessels may find shelter. This harbour is likewise protected by forts; and the city thus fortified both by art and nature.

Arrian calls it Mosca, and speaks of it as being, even then, a great emporium of the trade of Arabia, Persia, and India. Maskat has ever enjoyed this advantage, and even at present possesses a considerable trade. The Portuguese made themselves masters of it in 1508. Two churches, one of which is now a magazine, and the other the house of the Wali or Governor, still remain to shew that they were once established here. An hundred and fifty years after their conquest of Maskat, the Portuguese were driven hence by the Arabs, through the treacherous aid of a Banian, who had been robbed of his daughter by the Portuguese governor.

In no other Mahometan city are the Banians so numerous as in Maskat; their number in this city amounts to no fewer than twelve hundred. They are permitted to live agreeably to their own laws, to bring their wives hither, to set up idols in their chambers, and to burn their dead. If a Banian intrigues here with a Mussulman woman, government does not treat him with the same severity as he would meet with elsewhere.

With respect to the Imam's revenue, I could learn nothing, but that the duties levied upon merchant goods amount to about 100,000 rupees. At Maskat, Europeans pay five per cent. upon imports; Mahometans six and a half; and Jews and Banians seven per cent. The Imam's natural subjects pay six per cent. in kind, upon dates exported; which are the principal article that the country affords.

CHAP. XCV. — *Of the Revolutions of Oman.*

THERE are in Oman three very ancient and illustrious families; those of Gafari, Hamani, and Arrabi. The latter pretends to be descended from the Koritch of Mecca, who were famous before the days of Mahomet. However this may be, the family of Arrabi have long reigned at Maskat, but are not at present in possession of the supreme power. The events which degraded them from the throne are connected with the history of Nadir Schah, the last Monarch of Persia. In order to convey
distinct

distinct ideas of them, it will be necessary to go back to some things that happened in the last century.

Imam Malek, of the house of Arrabi, was master of all Oman, and added to his dominions, by conquest, Kunk, Kischme, Ilormus, and Baharein. His son still extended these conquests, making himself master of Kiloa and Sinsjibar, in Africa. But, in the reign of his grandson Ben Seif, the new Monarch of Persia, Schah Nadir sent an army to conquer Oman. The Persians lost many of their number among the hills, and were repulsed. Ben Seif accordingly continued to occupy the throne till his death.

Upon his decease, Mohammed Gafari, prince of Gabrin, made himself master of the greater part of Oman, and assumed the title of Imam. His son Il Naser proved unable to maintain the conquests of his father. Seif el Afidi, son to the last Imam of the family of Arrabi, made himself be proclaimed Imam, and forced Naser to content himself with his patrimony, the principality of Gabrin.

Imam Seif el Afidi was an indolent voluptuous prince. Not content with a numerous Haram, he would occasionally attempt the chastity of his subjects daughters. He addicted himself to the use of wine and strong liquors. He neglected his affairs; and, not paying his soldiers, who were Cassre slaves, suffered them to harass and pillage his subjects. This conduct rendered him so odious, that Sultan Murshed, one of his relations, easily procured himself to be proclaimed Imam, and took possession of almost all Oman.

Maskat still remained in allegiance to Imam Seif; and he maintained himself in it, by means of four ships of war, and of the profits of its trade. But, becoming yet more odious to the few subjects who still obeyed him, by perseverance in his imprudent conduct, he soon found it impossible to stand out longer. In this extremity, he resolved rather to yield up his dominions to the Persians, than to his relation Imam Murshed.

Sailing to Persia, with some vessels which still remained to him, he obtained from Nadir Schah a fleet, under the command of Mirza Tœki Khan, Governor of Schiraz. The Persian Admiral, upon arriving at Oman, made Imam Seif drunk, and seized Maskat, with its citadels. Seif not knowing well what to do, pursued his rival Murshed with the Persian forces, till Murshed, reduced to despair by the loss of his friends, died by a voluntary death. Imam Seif died himself soon after, at Rostak, oppressed with the mortification of finding himself duped by the Persians.

Tœki Khan, on his return to Schiraz, revolted against Nadir Schah, and sought to establish himself in the sovereignty of Farsistan. It is well known, how that the Persian Monarch quashed this rebellion, and punished its author. But these disturbances withdrew the attention of the Persians from the affairs of Arabia, and made them neglect to keep up the garrison in Maskat.

CHAP. XCVI. — *Of the reigning Imam.*

AT the period of Tœki Khan's expedition into Oman, there was at Sohar a governor of the name of Achmed ben Sajid, a native of a small town within the Imam's dominions. This Achmed, being a man of ability and enterprise, and seeing that, after the death of the two Imams, he should be under a necessity of submitting to such potent enemies as the Persians, made his peace with the invaders, and managed matters so well, that Tœki Khan confirmed him in his government.

During the civil wars in Persia, a prince of Rank, of the house of Arrabi, the prince of Seer, and a nobleman named Bel Arrab, had shared among themselves the spoils of the last Imam. Bel Arrab had even assumed the title.

Achmed, seizing the Persian officers in Maskat by surprise, forced the garrison to surrender, and made himself master of the city, without any effusion of blood. Gaining to his interest the first Kadi, who officiates as Mufti in Oman, he obtained from him a decision, that he, as the deliverer of his country, deserved to be raised to the dignity of its Sovereign. In virtue of this decision, Achmed was proclaimed at Maskat, Imam of Oman.

As soon as Imam Bel Arrab heard this news, he prepared to attack his rival with an army of four or five thousand men. Achmed, too weak for resistance, retired into a fortress among the hills, in which he was invested by his enemy, and would have been obliged to surrender himself, had he not happily escaped in the disguise of a camel driver. Being beloved in his former government, he found means to assemble some hundreds of men, and with these marched against Bel Arrab, whose army was still encamped among the hills. He divided his little troop into detachments, who seized the passes of the valleys, and sounded their trumpets. Bel Arrab, supposing himself to be circumvented by a strong army, was struck with a panic, fled, and was slain in his flight by a son of Achmed.

After the defeat and death of Bel Arrab, no person gave Imam Achmed ben Sajid any further disturbance in the possession of the throne of Oman, except a son of Imam Murshed, who has made some unsuccessful efforts to deprive him of the sovereign authority. Notwithstanding these attempts, the reigning Imam has yielded up to his rival the town of Nahel, with the territory belonging to it. A brother and two sons of the last Imam, of the ancient family, are still living, in a private station indeed, but in circumstances so opulent, that they maintain three or four hundred slaves. The reigning Imam has married the daughter of one of those princes; thus connecting his own family with the most illustrious persons in his dominions. It may be presumed, therefore, that the reigning family, although but newly royal, may continue to keep possession of the throne.

In 1765, Imam Achmed had reigned sixteen years, to the full satisfaction of his subjects. He saw justice promptly and uprightly administered, without partiality to rank or religion. Theft was scarce ever heard of. At Maskat goods remained safely in the streets by night; and few were at the pains to bolt their doors. The reigning Imam's troops consist chiefly of Caffre slaves, who are well paid, armed with match-firelocks, and strictly disciplined. Imam Seif's slaves and soldiers were very thievish; strangers had most to fear from them who were guardians of the public security.

To eke out his scanty revenue, the Prince does not disdain to deal himself in trade. He keeps four ships of war, and a number of small vessels, which, in time of peace, he employs in the conveyance of goods, chiefly to and from the eastern coast of Africa, where he possesses still Kiloa and Sinjibar. Some other ships are kept to guard the coast; but this they do so negligently, or fearfully, that pirates venture into the very road of Maskat.

The inhabitants of Oman, although not fond of sea fights, are nevertheless the best mariners in all Arabia. They have several good harbours, and employ many small vessels in the navigation between Jidda and Batra. To this last town there come annually fifty such vessels, called *Tzaniki*; the structure of which I described in the account of our passage from Jidda to Loheia. They are stowed together without nails, the planks being bound with cords.

Two numerous tribes of Arabs are chiefly employed in carrying coffee by sea. One of these tribes once dwelled on the shores of the Persian Gulf; but, being harassed

by turbulent neighbours, at length sought refuge in the dominions of the Unam of Oman.

CHAP. XCVII. — *Of the Principality of Seer.*

THIS petty sovereignty extends from Cape Mussendom along the Persian Gulph. The Persians call it the country of Dsjulfar, another cape near Mussendom. The Europeans also have thus learned to call these people the Arabs of Dsjulfar.

The other Arabs call it Seer, from the town of the same name, which has a good harbour, and is the seat of the Schiech. He formerly possessed, and indeed still retains, the isle of Scharedsje, with some considerable places upon the opposite side of the Gulph, among which are Kunk and Lundsje.

This country not long since acknowledged the sovereign authority of the Imam ; but it has withdrawn itself from this condition of dependence ; and the Schiech often goes to war with his old masters. Yet he is not strong enough to defend himself without assistance ; and therefore takes care to live in a good understanding with the other independent Schiechs, especially with the Schiech of Dsjau, whose dominions lie westward from Oman.

The prince of Seer makes some figure among the maritime powers in these parts. His navy is one of the most considerable in the Persian Gulph. His subjects are much employed in navigation, and carry on a pretty extensive trade.

OF THE PROVINCES OF LACHSA AND NEDSJED.

CHAP. XCVIII. — *Of Lachsa in particular.*

THIS country is bounded towards the east by the Persian Gulph, towards the south by Oman, westward by the province of Nedsjed, and northward by the territories of the wandering Arabs in the neighbourhood of Basra.

It is also denominated Hadsjar, and sometimes Bahhreïn. The latter of these names, in strict propriety, belongs only to the island of Aual, and the small isles depending upon it.

Lachsa affords no great variety of productions. Its asses and camels are esteemed to be of an excellent breed ; and, of the latter, some thousands are annually sold into Syria. In the interior parts of this province, the inhabitants live much upon dates : Upon the coasts, pearl-fishing is followed with advantage ; and there is a considerable trade in foreign commodities.

With respect to religion, the inhabitants of Lachsa are divided. Those living in the towns are Shiïtes ; but the peasants are, like the Bedouins, Sunnites. Here are also Jews, and a great many Sabæans, or Christians of St. John.

This country was once a province of the Ottoman empire. The Arabs have long since, however, shaken off the Ottoman yoke. Many Turks, descended from the ancient Pachas, still remain in the province, and enjoy considerable estates, but have no share in the government.

The province of Lachsa belongs in sovereignty at present to the Schiech of the Arabian tribe of Beni Khaled. The reigning Schiech, in 1765, was Arar. The tribe of Beni Khaled is one of the most powerful in Arabia. They are so far spread through the desert, as often to harass the caravans passing between Bagdad and Kaleb. The greater part of Lachsa is inhabited by Bedouins, and other petty tribes ; but these all acknowledge the dominion of the Schiech of Beni Khaled.

could

I could learn nothing concerning the cities in the interior parts of this province. Lachfa, the seat of the reigning Schiech, is probably a large city, containing considerable buildings.

Kaif, a town of some magnitude, stands upon the coast, at the distance of about five German miles from the isle of Bahrein. The inhabitants earn their subsistence by the pearl fishery. When any are too poor to fish at their own risk and expence, they hire their labour to stranger adventurers, who resort hither in the hotter months of the year, the season for the fishing. The air of this country is, however, believed to be very insalutary in summer. The ruins of an old Portuguese fortress are still to be seen near this place.

Koueit or Græn, as it is called by the Persians and Europeans, is a sea port town, three days journey from Zobejer, or old Basra. The inhabitants live by the fishery of pearls and of fishes. They are said to employ in this species of naval industry more than eight hundred boats. In the favourable season of the year, this town is left almost desolate, every body going out either to the fishing, or upon some trading adventure. Græn is governed by a particular Schiech, of the tribe of Othema, who is a vassal to the Schiech of Lachfa, but sometimes aspires at independence. In such cases, when the Schiech of Lachfa advances with his army, the citizens of Græn retreat, with their effects, into the little island of Feludsje. Near Græn are the remains of another Portuguese fortress.

Between the territories of the Schiech of Lachfa, and the dominions of the sovereign of Oman, are a numerous tribe, denominated Al Musillim, and possessing several considerable towns, the names of which are unknown to me.

CHAP. XCIX. — *Of the Province of Nedsjed.*

THIS province is of vast extent. It comprehends all the interior parts of Arabia, lying between the provinces which I have above briefly described, and the desert of Syria. The soil is various; among the hills fertile, and bearing abundance of fruits, especially dates; but, being bounded by arid tracts of country, its rivers are only short streams, which, after passing through the valleys, have their waters absorbed in the sandy plains, before they can reach the ocean. Upon this account, the inhabitants are, in many places, obliged to dig deep wells; and cultivation is there difficult, or almost impossible.

The Bedouins inhabit a great part of this province. The remainder is mountainous, full of cities and villages, and parcelled out among so many petty sovereigns, that almost every little town has its own Schiech. Formerly when the power of the Sheriffs was at its height, many of these Schiechs, who were situate in the vicinity of Hedjas, were obliged to pay tribute to the Sheriffs of Mecca. At present they pay nothing.

The inhabitants of this vast country resemble the other Arabs in their moral qualities; they are at once robbers and hospitable. As those petty sovereigns are so numerous in Nedsjed, it is impossible for any traveller to pass safely through this country; the first Schiech whose territory he enters, will be sure to rob him, if it were only to prevent a neighbour with whom he is at war from profiting by this act of rapacity, if he himself should abstain from it. The caravan, indeed, travels safe between Oman and Mecca, because it consists of leaders from whom nothing is to be gained. But the Schiechs of Nedsjed levy a contribution upon the caravan from Bagdad, on its way to Mecca, in the same manner as the Schiechs of Hedjas levy contributions upon those from Syria

and Egypt. I have, however, learned that the inhabitants of Nedsjed carry on a considerable trade among themselves, and with their immediate neighbours; and it is therefore not improbable that an European might travel in safety, even through this remote part of Arabia.

The people appear to be of a very warlike character, and are almost constantly in arms. It is said that none of their young men is suffered to marry till after he has performed some gallant action.

Nedsjed is divided into two wide districts; El Arad, which joins Oman; and El Kherdsje, stretching to the confines of Yemen. Several of the towns in El Arad were named to me; among others, El Aijæne, the birth place of the new prophet Abd ul Wahheb, of whom I shall shortly speak.

In the district of El Kherdsje, extending northward from Hedjas to the desert, is the city of Inam, famous, even before the days of Mahomet, for being the native city of Moseilama, who set himself up for a prophet. This district contains also many other cities.

North from Nedsjed, and about ten days journey from Bagdad, is the famous mountain of Schamer, of considerable extent and fertility. Between this mountain and Syria is a hilly tract of country, denominated Dsjof al Sirhan, populous and cultivated.

CHAP. C. — *Of the new Religion of a Part of Nedsjed.*

IN this province are Sabæans, or Christians of St. John, and a few Jews. Its other inhabitants are all Mahometans, and were once rigid Sunnites. Some time since, a new religion sprang up in the district of El Ared. It has already produced a revolution in the government of Arabia, and will probably hereafter influence the state of this country still farther.

The founder of this religion was one Abd ul Wahheb, a native of Aijæne, a town in the district of El Ared. This man, in his youth, first studied at home those sciences which are chiefly cultivated in Arabia; he afterwards spent some time at Basra, and made several journeys to Bagdad, and through Persia.

After his return to his native place, he began to propagate his opinions among his countrymen, and succeeded in converting several independent Schiechs, whose subjects consequently became followers of this new prophet.

These Schiechs, who had hitherto been almost constantly at war among themselves, were now reconciled by the mediation of Abd ul Wahheb, and agreed to undertake nothing in future without consulting their apostle. By this association, the balance of power in Nedsjed was destroyed: Those petty Schiechs, who could maintain their independence against any of the members of the league separately, were unable to resist the whole acting together. Wars also became, from the same causes, more keen and frequent, religion now intermingling itself with other grounds of dispute.

Abd ul Wahheb having thus reduced great part of El Ared, the Schiechs who were worsted, called in to their assistance Arar, Schiech of Lachsa. That prince, from motives as well of policy as of religion, complied with their request, and sent an army into El Ared. This army being defeated by Abd ul Wahheb, Schiech Arar marched thither himself, at the head of four thousand men, with a train of artillery, consisting of three old pieces of cannon and a mortar. He laid siege to a fortress standing on a hill; but as he could make no use of his artillery, he was compelled, after suffering some losses, to return to Lachsa.

I have already given some account of the adventures of Schiech Mecrami of Nedsjeran; and I at the same time mentioned that he was in some sort the head of a particular sect. An Arabian of Lachfa told me, that there was a great similarity between the principles of Abd ul Wahheb, and those of Schiech Mecrami. It seems to be so. At least those two innovators in religion must have been good friends; otherwise Schiech Mecrami could not have passed through Nedsjed with a small army, to attack the potent chief of Lachfa, as he did in 1764. It should seem, that he had joined Abd ul Wahheb, or rather his son Mahomet, who had by this time succeeded his father, in order to reduce the Sunnite Schiechs. I was even told, that these two acting in concert, had subdued many of their neighbours. The rest wrote to all the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Basra, during the time of my stay in that city, begging their assistance.

After the death of Abd ul Wahheb, his son retained the same authority, and continued to prosecute his views. He sustains the supreme ecclesiastical character in El Ared. The hereditary Schiechs of the small states in that country, which were once independent, do indeed still retain a nominal authority; but Mahommed is, in fact, sovereign of the whole. He exacts a tribute, under the name of Sikka, or aid, for the purpose of carrying on the war against the infidels.

The Sunnites complain of his persecution. But, more probably, this bigotted and superstitious sect hate and calumniate Mahomet for his innovations in religion. However the matter be, certain it is, that such of the inhabitants of Nedsjed as are unwilling to embrace the new religion are retiring to other parts of the country. Zobejer, the ancient Basra, which had decayed to little better than a hamlet, has been peopled by these refugees, and is now a large town.

As I had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with any of the disciples of this new religion, I can say nothing positive with respect to its tenets. I had a conversation upon this head, indeed, with an Arabian Schiech, who had been accustomed from his youth to travel with merchants through all Arabia, and had visited the principal cities in Nedsjed. This Bedouin Schiech, who appeared to be an intelligent man, gave me the following account of the religion in question.

Abd ul Wahheb taught, that God is the only proper object of worship and invocation, as the creator and governor of the world. He forbade the invocation of saints, and the very mentioning of Mahomet, or any other prophet, in prayer, as practices favouring of idolatry. He considered Mahomet, Jesus Christ, Moses, and many others, respected by the Sunnites in the character of prophets, as merely great men, whose history might be read with improvement; denying, that any book had ever been written by divine inspiration, or brought down from heaven by the angel Gabriel. He forbade, as a crime against Providence, the making of vows, in the manner of the Sunnites, to obtain deliverance from danger.

This account of the Schiech does not entirely accord with what was told me by some Sunnites, of the doctrines of Abd ul Wahheb. But, upon this head, it would be unfair to give credit to the disciples of a superstitious sect, whose false opinions are all combated by the new religion.

The Mussulman religion, as professed by the Sunnites, is surely far different from what it was instituted by Mahomet. This sect follow the authority of some commentators, who explain the Alcoran by their own whimsies, and exalt their private opinions into doctrines of the Mahometan system. It acknowledges a long train of saints, who are invoked in cases of necessity, and to whom many absurd miracles are ascribed, and these said to have been wrought in favour of persons who addressed themselves to the

faints, in preference to God. It gives faith to the virtues of amulets, and the efficacy of foolish vows. In short, it has gradually adopted many pieces of superstition, which are condemned in the Alcoran, and justified only by the strained interpretations of the doctors. Other sects, such for instance, as that of the Zeidites, have corrupted the religion of Mahomet less; although even among them it is far from remaining in its original purity.

The new religion of Abd ul Wahheb deserves therefore to be regarded as a reformation of Mahometism, reducing it back to its original simplicity. He has gone farther perhaps, than some other reformers; but an Arab can hardly be expected to act in such matters with a delicate hand. Experience will here shew, whether a religion, so stripped of every thing that might serve to strike the senses, can maintain its ground among so rude and ignorant a people as the Arabs.

The imposture of Schiech Mecrami is nowise inconsistent with the spirit of reformation. The Schiech, taking advantage of the rudeness of his countrymen, has impressed them with a fanatical idea of the efficacy of his prayers, giving out, that he obtains in this way whatever he asks from God. This confidence in the power of prayer is not inconsistent with simplicity of doctrine. We have among ourselves instances, that are apt to seize upon the mind, in an age illuminated by science, and professing the purest of religions.

OF THE INDEPENDENT ARABIAN STATES UPON THE SEA-COAST OF PERSIA.

CHAP. CI. — *Of the Arabs inhabiting around the Persian Gulph.*

OUR geographers are wrong, as I have elsewhere remarked, in representing a part of Arabia as subject to the monarchs of Persia. So far is it from being so, that, on the contrary, the Arabs possess all the sea-coast of the Persian empire, from the mouths of the Euphrates, nearly to those of the Indus.

These settlements upon the coast of Persia belong not, indeed, to Arabia properly so called. But, since they are independent of Persia, and use the same language, and exhibit the same manners, as the native inhabitants of Arabia, I shall here subjoin a brief account of them.

It is impossible to ascertain the period at which the Arabians formed their settlements upon this coast. Tradition affirms, that they have been established here for many centuries. From a variety of hints in ancient history, it may be presumed, that the Arabian colonies occupied their present situation in the time of the first kings of Persia. There is a striking analogy between the manners ascribed to the ancient Ichthyophagi, and those of these Arabs.

They live nearly in the same manner, leading a seafaring-life, and employing themselves in fishing, and in gathering pearls. They use little other food but fish and dates; and they feed also their cattle upon fish.

They prize liberty as highly as do their brethren in the desert. Almost every different town has its own Schiech, who receives hardly any revenue from his subjects; but, if he has no private fortune, must, like his subjects, support himself by his industry, either in carrying goods, or in fishing. If the principal inhabitants happen to be dissatisfied with the reigning Schiech, they depose him, and choose another out of the same family.

Their arms are a match-firelock, a sabre, and a buckler. All their fishing boats serve occasionally as ships of war. But a fleet like this, that must frequently stop to
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take fish for food, when they should pursue the enemy, can never perform any very great exploits. Their wars are mere skirmishes and inroads, never ending in any decisive action, but producing lasting quarrels, and a state of continual hostility.

Their dwellings are so paltry, that an enemy would not take the pains to demolish them. And as from this circumstance, these people have nothing to lose upon the continent, they always betake themselves to their boats at the approach of an enemy, and lie concealed in some isle in the Gulph till he have retreated. They are convinced that the Persians will never think of settling on a barren shore, where they would be infested by all the Arabs who frequent the adjacent seas.

These Arabs are Sunnites. They regard the Persians, who are Shiites, with abhorrence, and shun all alliance with them. The mutual hatred of the two sects, was even one cause of the failure of Nadir Schah's attempt to subdue these Arabs. In the prosecution of this object, the usurper had, at immense expence, equipped a fleet of twenty-five large ships upon the Persian Gulph. But as he had no Persian sailors, he was obliged to take Indians, who were Sunnites. These refusing to fight against their brethren of the same orthodox faith, massacred their Shiite officers, and carried off the ships. Towards the end of his life, Nadir Schah was meditating to seize these Arabs, to transport them to the shores of the Caspian Sea, and settle a colony of Persians in their room. His tragical death prevented the execution of this project; and the disturbances in Persia have ever since prevented all encroachments from that quarter upon the liberty of these Arabs.

Their government and present political situation seem to me to bear a great resemblance to those of ancient Greece. Hostile engagements are continually a fighting, and important revolutions happening upon the Persian Gulph; but the Arabs have no historian to spread their fame beyond their own narrow confines.

CHAP. CII. — *Of Places subject to the Dominion of Persia.*

THE Kings of Persia, although not masters of these coasts, yet retained some places upon them. In later times, the Persian governors of these places have shaken off their allegiance, and have, in some measure, erected them into independent sovereignties. The chief of these are Gambron and Hormus.

Gambron, a sea-port town in the province of Laristan, belonged anciently to the Persian monarch. After the death of Nadir Schah, a Persian named Naser Khan, made himself master of the province, and by consequence, of the city. He acknowledges himself vassal to Vakeel Kerim Khan of Schiraz, yet pays no tribute, and respects not the Vakeel's authority, unless when he comes with his army to compel him.

The city of Gambron, which has been also called Bender Abbas, was famous through all the last century, and in the beginning of the present, as the port of Schiraz, and of all the south of Persia. Its trade was, at that time, very extensive. At present it is very low; nor is there a single European counting-house in the city. This decline has been occasioned by the domestic disturbances in Persia, and the wars and disputes between the French and the English. The Dutch for a while continued to carry on a petty trade here. But since they formed a settlement in the isle of Kerek, they have entirely deserted Gambron.

The isle of Ormus, so celebrated of old, now retains nothing of its ancient splendour. It belongs at present to Mulla Ali Schah, a Persian, who made himself master of it immediately after the death of Nadir Schah, whose admiral he had been. This prince

prince of Ormus possesses likewise a part of the isle of Kishme, the other part being subject to the prince of Seer.

South from Laristan is Minau, a considerable inland town, six leagues distant from the sea shore. The inhabitants of the district in which it lies are Shines, and are chiefly employed in agriculture; from these circumstances, they are sometimes induced to acknowledge the authority of the Khan of Laristan.

A tribe of Arabs, denominated Belludge, inhabit between Minau and Cape Jaske. They are masters of a good many vessels, and carry on a considerable trade with Basra, upon the Arabic Gulph, and even venture as far as to the coasts of India. These Arabs are Sunnites; and unity of religious sentiments has occasioned their joining the party of the Afghans in the late revolutions of Persia.

Some geographers represent these Belludge as inhabiting all along the Persian coast, to the mouths of the Indus, and have described them as a warlike people, addicted to piracy. I know not whether they are to be considered as independent, or as tributary to Persia. More probably, they acknowledge no sovereign authority but that of their own Schiechs. Some narratives of travels, performed in the last century, relate the extraordinary adventures of a Prince of Jaske, who withstood the power of Schah Abbas, till he was, at length taken off by treachery. His widow continued to resist the Persian king, and performed deeds worthy of the heroines in the ages of chivalry. But, it is to a Schiech of the Belludge that the story is properly to be referred.

The country from Bender Abbas, northward to Delam, resembles the Tehama in Arabia; it is an arid plain, and is called by the Persians Kermesir, or the hot country. In this district I know no place but Khamir, a castle situate upon a precipitous rock, which, with a small tract adjoining, is the property of a particular Schiech. Ships come hither for cargoes of sulphur, of which there is abundance in the neighbourhood.

CHAP. CIII. — *Of the Territories of the Tribe of Houle.*

THIS numerous tribe are masters of all the coast from Bender Abbas to Cape Berdistan, and possess all the ports in this extent of coast. One part of the tract is parched and barren; but a range of hills, like Dahr Asban, extend nearly to the sea, and afford wood, which is cut down and exported by the inhabitants.

Notwithstanding these natural advantages, the Arabs of Houle do not cultivate their lands, but live by hunting and fishing. They are Sunnites; and are esteemed among their neighbours for valour. If their forces could be brought to act in combination, they might easily conquer all the cities upon the Persian Gulph; but almost every city is subject to a particular Schiech; and, although these Schiechs are all descendants from the same family, they choose rather to remain petty and poor, than to raise themselves to a more opulent and respectable condition, by submitting to act in concert, under the direction of one Grand Schiech.

The following are the Schiechs or Princes of the tribe of Houle:

The Schiech of Seer, whom I mentioned in the description of Oman; but who, being originally from this country, and of the tribe of Houle, possesses, in the neighbourhood of Gambron, the cities of Kunk, Lundsje, and Ras Heti. His subjects export wood for fuel and charcoal.

The Schiechs of Mogho and Tsjærack. The inhabitants of the latter of these districts also export wood; and are said to be the bravest of all the tribe of Houle.

Lastly, the Schiechs of Nachelo, Nabend, Aaloe, Tæhhrie, Schilu, and Konkoun. The inhabitants of Nachelo are esteemed to be very skilful divers. In the city of Konkoun, the inhabitants of which are of a more pacific character than the other branches of the tribe of Houle, both Jews and Banians reside.

Persians, who have no ships, but live by husbandry, occupy the tract between the principality of Abu Schærr and Cape Berdistan.

CHAP. CIV. — *Of the Principalities of Abu Schæhhr and Bender Rigk.*

ABU Schæhhr, the capital of the independent state of the same name, possesses a commodious harbour, in which ships can come up close to the houses. This circumstance induced Nadir Schah to station a fleet here, of which some remains are to be still seen. Since that time, this city has been better known, and more considerable. It is at present the sea-port town of Schiraz; and the English, the only European nation who continue to trade with Persia, have a factory here.

The Arabs inhabiting the district of Abu Schæhhr are not of the tribe of Houle. There are among them three eminent families; the two first of which have been, from time immemorial, settled in this country. The third, named Matarisch, came lately from Oman, where they were employed in fishing, entered into alliance with the other two, and found means to usurp the sovereign authority, which they have now held for several years.

The present Schiech, Nafer, of the family of Matarisch, possesses likewise the isle of Bahhreïn, upon the coast of Arabia, by which he is enabled to keep on foot some shipping. He also has considerable domains in Kermesir, which he holds from Kerim Khan, with whom Nafer's children are placed as hostages for their father's fidelity. It is a happy circumstance for Schiraz, that the Prince of Abu Schæhhr can thus be retained in the interests of Persia by means of his possessions in Kermesir.

Schiech Nafer was a Sunnite; but in hopes of being appointed admiral of the Persian fleet, he became a Shiite, and married a Persian lady. These two steps have proved very injurious to him and his family. He is odious to his subjects and neighbours; and his children are no longer counted among the Arabian nobility.

Bender Rigk, the seat of the prince of this name, is a city encompassed with walls in an indifferent state, and lies north from Abu Schæhhr. The petty state, of which this is the capital city, comprehends several other places in Kermesir, which render its sovereign in some measure dependent upon Kerim Khan. The Arabs of this principality are chiefly addicted to a sea-faring life; the Persians inhabiting its back parts are husbandmen.

The reigning family of Bender Rigk are of the Arabian tribe of Beni Saab, and are originally from Oman; but the grandfather of the present prince, having become a Shiite, and married a Persian lady, this family are no longer counted by the Arabs among their genuine nobility.

The reigning Prince of Bender Rigk, Mir Mahenna, is distinguished through this country for his vices and cruelties, as one of the most execrable tyrants that ever existed. He made servants murder his father in his own presence, because the old man had a predilection for his eldest son. He killed his mother, because she reproached him for his crimes. He caused his brother, and sixteen of his other relations, to be assassinated, that he might establish himself in unquestioned possession of the throne. He drowned two of his sisters, because a neighbouring prince had asked one of them
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in marriage. He exposes all the female children that happen to be born to him. In 1765, this detestable monster was under the age of thirty years.

Mir Mahenna had fallen twice into the hands of Kerim Khan. From his first captivity he made his escape, upon a defeat which the governor of Persia suffered. He obtained his liberty the second time, by the good offices of his sister, who was married to a Persian officer. Upon returning into his own dominions, he immediately began to pillage the caravans which travelled between Schiraz and Abu Schahr, and to practise piracy. Kerim Khan prepared to chastise him, and besieged his capital, but without success.

In the year 1765, the same Kerim Khan sent to demand payment of the tribute due for his possessions in Kermesir; but Mir Mahenna maltreated the officer who was sent on the errand, and caused his beard to be shaven. Kerim Khan then sent a strong army against him, which conquered Bender Rigg, and all his territories. Mir Mahenna had, however, prudently retired, before it was too late, with his troops, and a part of his subjects, into a desert isle called Khoueri, where he waited till the Persian army should retire from his country. After they were gone, he returned out of the island, expelled the garrison from Bender Rigg, and recovered possession of his dominions.

The tyrant had abandoned himself to drunkenness; and had begun to exercise his cruelties upon his troops to such excess, as to cut off the noses and ears of some of the principal officers; yet his soldiers were still so steadily attached to him, that, even in the period of his exile, he took the isle of Karek from the Dutch. A band of robbers never abandon their chief, while he continues to share the plunder among them.

CHAP. CV. — *Of the Tribe of Kiab, and their Schiech Soliman.*

THE Arabian tribe of Kiab, or as the Persians pronounce it, Tsjab, inhabit the farthest point upon the side of the Persian Gulph. They were in small consideration before the reign of their present Schiech Soliman, whose fame hath even reached Europe, in consequence of a quarrel he had with the English, in which he took some of their ships.

This Schiech took advantage of the troubles of Persia, and of the defects in the government of Basra. He began with subduing his petty independent neighbours; after which he made himself master of several large districts in Persia, and promised tribute to the Khans who were contending for the throne of that distracted empire. None of them ever attempted to exact tribute but Kerim, and he contented him'self with a small sum. Soliman then extended his conquests towards Basra. He cultivated the friendship of the Ajals, the chief people of that country; and at last made himself master of all the isles between the mouths of the Euphrates, commonly called the country of Schat el Arrab.

Having pushed his conquests to the navigable rivers, he endeavoured to form a naval force. He built his first vessel in 1758; and in 1765 he had ten large, and seven small ships.

In the same year, 1765, Kerim Khan sent a force against him, too powerful for him to resist. He then transported his treasures and troops from isle to isle, till he had carried them to the west of Schat el Arrab. The Persians could not pursue him for want of ships, and were therefore obliged to retire. The Pacha of Bagdad then ordered his forces to attack Soliman; but he retreated among the isles, and escaped the Turks now, as he had before avoided the Persians.

The territory of the tribe of Kiab extends from the desert of Arabia to the country of Hindian, and northward to the principality of Havifa. It is watered by several rivers, large and small. It abounds in dates, rice, grain, and pasture. Its principal cities are Damek, lying within Persia, Hafar, and Ghoban, the seat of a Schiech, near one of the mouths of the Euphrates.

CHAP. CVI. — *Of some other independent States.*

HINDIAN, north from Bender Rigk, and bordering on the possessions of the tribe of Kiab, is a small district, subject to a particular sovereign. The Arabs who inhabit it live upon the produce of their lands and their cattle.

Havifa, a city and district in the back parts of the country bordering on the Persian Gulph, belongs to a descendant from Mahomet. This prince is named Maula, and enjoys the privilege of coining money.

Upon the eastern coast of the Persian Gulph are many isles, and most of them inhabited. Except Ormus, none of them constitutes an independent state. The different princes on the continent possess the isles adjoining to their respective dominions.

On the western side of the Gulph is an isle, or rather a cluster of isles, known to the Europeans by the name of Bahhrein. The Arabs call the largest of these isles Aval; and each of the smaller has its particular name. As this isle is famous for the pearl fishery, and has undergone many revolutions, and often changed its master, I must say a few words of it.

Bahhrein is a fortified city, upon the isle, known either by the same name, or by the name of Aval. In this isle were once three hundred and sixty towns and villages. At present it contains, beside the capital, only sixty wretched villages. A long series of wars have ruined the others.

This isle produces great abundance of dates. But its chief dependence is upon the pearl fishery, as the best pearls are found here in great abundance. The duties upon the two articles of dates and pearls affords its Sovereign a lack of rupees, or 300,000 French livres. Out of this revenue he is obliged to maintain a garrison in the city.

Bahhrein belonged once to the Portuguese. When they were driven out of the Persian Gulph, it fell into the hands of the Schiech of Lachsa, but was taken from him by the Persians. The Imam of Oman then made himself master of it, but gave it up again to the Persian monarch for a sum of money. After some time, during the inroad of the Afghans, the Persian governor gave it up to the Schiech of Nabend, of the tribe of Houle. Another Houlite, the Schiech of Tæhhrie, expelled him of Nabend. Nadir Schah's admiral then seized it; but, after his departure, the Schiech of Tæhhrie recovered it. During the late troubles in Persia, the Schiech of Asloe made himself master of this isle, but was immediately dispossessed by the princes of Abu Schæhhr and Bender Rigk, who conquered it together. The first of these princes drove out the second, and was in his turn expelled by the Beni Houle. In 1765, it had returned again into the possession of the Schiech of Abu Schæhhr, and he was then sole monarch of the isle of Bahhrein.

From this narrative, the reader may form an idea of the continual revolutions which take place among this multitude of petty princes. At Basra I learned some particulars concerning their complicated quarrels, which I could not well comprehend: I was told, that every Arab prince was always at open war with two or three others of his own nation.

The navigation is continually disturbed and interrupted by these strong quarrels. On board any Arabian vessel, passengers are always in danger of falling into the hands of one enemy or another. It is only on board an European ship, which the Arabian small craft dare not attack, that one can perform this voyage in safety.

CHAP. CVII. — *Of the Isle of Karek.*

THIS isle, which lies on the east coast of the Persian Gulph, between Abu Schelahr and Bender Rigk, contains only a single village; but the aqueducts cut in the rocks, which still remain, shew it to have been once more populous in proportion to its extent, which is about five leagues in circumference.

Karek has become famous, in consequence of the settlement lately formed upon it by the Dutch, and since given up by them. As this event has made some noise in the world, I shall give a brief account of it.

The Dutch carried on a great trade to Basra, and had for the principal director of their factory there a Baron Kniphausen, who was much respected in that city. This German having embroiled himself with the Governor, in consequence of some affair of gallantry, was cast in prison, and might have lost his head, had he not paid a large sum of money for his liberty. Before he sailed for Batavia, he obtained from the factory at Basra a written attestation of the innocence of his conduct; and the Dutch East India Company approved of all he had done.

In consequence of his difference with the Governor of Basra, Mr. Kniphausen had agreed with Mir Naser, prince of Bender Rigk, to whom Karek belonged, that the Dutch should, for a certain annual rent, be allowed to seat their factory there. The government at Batavia relished the project, which was, in fact, a very wise one, and sent the Baron, with two great ships, to carry it into execution.

Upon arriving at Karek, he seized some ships from Basra, and detained them, till he received restitution of the sum which he had paid for his liberty. He built a large square magazine upon the island, and raised, by degrees, four towers at its corners, each of which he furnished with six cannons. Mir Naser, dissatisfied at the erection of these fortifications, attacked the Dutch, who attacked him in his turn, but could not follow him into his fastnesses. This petty war proved, however, very expensive to the Company.

Baron Kniphausen, after governing Karek with sovereign authority for five years, was succeeded by Mr. Vanderhulst, who having been previously employed at Basra, and knowing the Arabs, thought it his duty to prosecute, with Mir Mahenna, the new prince of Bender Rigk, the war which had been waged against his father. Mir Mahenna, by a stratagem, seized two armed vessels belonging to the Dutch, and unsuccessfully attempted a descent upon the island. Mr. Vanderhulst then enlarged his fortifications, and formed the plan of a town, which was soon peopled with Persians and Arabs.

This settlement might be lucrative to the officers employed about it; but the expenses of the war and the garrisons consumed the Company's profits, and they determined to abandon it; but the prospect of an advantageous trade with Persia induced them to hold it some time longer. The new governor, Mr. Buschmann, therefore, concluded a peace with Mir Mahenna; after which the trade met with no interruption.

His successor, Mr. Van Houting, although in other respects a man of merit, did not conduct himself so prudently, being a stranger to the genius and temper of the Arabs, and having no experienced officers under him. He was not careful to observe a neu-

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trality in the quarrels between the prince of Abu Schæhhr and Mir Mahenna; but, in concert with the former, attacked the latter in his retreat in the island of Khoueri. Mir Mahenna allowed his enemies to approach; and, when he saw them in security, fell upon them with his cavalry, and entirely discomfited the troops of the Dutch, and of Abu Schæhhr.

Emboldened by this success, Mir Mahenna made a descent upon the isle of Karek, and besieged the town. Mr. Van Houting suffered himself to be outwitted by a Persian, by whom he was persuaded to permit Mir Mahenna to enter the fort with a small retinue, in order to agree upon terms for an accommodation. The Arab then made the Dutch garrison prisoners, and sent them to Batavia. This event happened in the end of December 1765.

It is not probable that the Dutch East India Company will put themselves to the trouble of expelling the conqueror, and renewing their establishment on the isle of Karek.

OF THE BEDOUINS, OR WANDERING ARABS.

CHAP. CVIII. — *Peculiarities in the Manners of the Bedouins.*

THE Arabs settled in cities, and especially those in the sea port towns, have lost somewhat of their distinctive national manners, by their intercourse with strangers; but the Bedouins, who live in tents, and in separate tribes, have still retained the customs and manners of their earliest ancestors. They are the genuine Arabs, and exhibit, in the aggregate, all those characteristics which are distributed respectively among the other branches of their nation.

I have repeatedly noticed the different acceptations in which the word Schech or Schiech is used. Among the Bedouins it belongs to every noble, whether of the highest or the lowest order. Their nobles are very numerous, and compose in a manner the whole nation; the plebeians are invariably actuated and guided by the Schiechs, who superintend and direct in every transaction.

The Schiechs, and their subjects, are born to the life of shepherds and soldiers. The greater tribes rear many camels, which they either sell to their neighbours, or employ them in the carriage of goods, or in military expeditions. The petty tribes keep flocks of sheep. Among those tribes which apply to agriculture, the Schiechs at least live always in tents, and leave the culture of their grounds to their subjects, whose dwellings are wretched huts.

It is the difference in their ways of living that constitutes the great distinctions which characterise the different tribes. The genuine Arabs disdain husbandry, as an employment by which they would be degraded. They maintain no domestic animals but sheep and camels, except perhaps horses. Those tribes which are of a pure Arab race live on the flesh of their buffaloes, cows, and horses, and on the produce of some little ploughing. The former tribes, distinguished as noble by their possession of camels, are denominated Abu el Abaar; and the second Moædan. The latter are esteemed a middle class, between genuine Arabs and peasants. I have heard some tribes mentioned contemptuously, because they kept buffaloes and cows. The Moædan transport their dwellings from one country to another, according as pasturage suits them; so that a village often arises suddenly in a situation where, on the day before, not a hut was to be seen.

The genuine Bedouins, living always in the open air, have a very acute smell. They dislike cities, on account of the fetid exhalations produced about them. They cannot

cannot conceive how people, who regard cleanliness, can bear to breathe so impure air. I have been assured, by persons of undoubted veracity, that some Bedouins, if carried to the spot from which a camel has wandered astray, will follow the animal by smelling its track, and distinguish the marks of its footsteps, by the same means, from those of any other beasts that may have travelled the same way. These Arabs, who wander in the desert, will live five days without drinking, and discover a pit of water by examining the soil and plants in its environs. They are said to be addicted to robbery; and the accusation is not entirely unfounded; but may be laid equally to the charge of all nations that lead an erratic life. The Schiechs ride continually about on their horses or dromedaries, inspecting the conduct of their subjects, visiting their friends, or hunting. Traversing the desert, where the horizon is wide as on the ocean, they perceive travellers at a distance. As travellers are seldom to be met with in those wild tracts, they naturally draw nigh to those whom they discover, and are tempted to pillage the strangers when they find their own party the strongest. Besides, travellers passing through these deserts go generally in caravans; and a single person, or a small party, has a singular and suspicious appearance, which is a temptation to the Bedouins.

In Arabia, as in all other thinly inhabited countries, robbery is practised; but the Arabian robbers are not cruel, and do not murder those whom they rob, unless when travellers stand upon the defensive, and happen to kill a Bedouin, whose death the others are eager to revenge. Upon all other occasions they act in a manner consistent with their natural hospitality. Upon this head I have heard some anecdotes, which it may not be amiss to introduce here.

A Mufti of Bagdad, returning from Mecca, was robbed in Nedsjed. He entered into a written agreement with the robbers, who engaged to conduct him safe and sound to Bagdad for a certain sum, payable at his own house. They delivered him to the next tribe, those to a third; and he was thus conveyed from tribe to tribe, till he arrived safe at home.

An European, belonging to a caravan which was plundered, had been infected with the plague upon his journey. The Arabs, seeing him too weak to follow his companions, took him with themselves, lodged him without their camp, attended him till he was cured, and then sent him to Basra.

An Englishman, who was travelling express to India, and could not wait for the departure of a caravan, hired two Arabs at Bagdad, who were to accompany him to Basra. By the way he was attacked by some Schiechs, against whom he at first defended himself with his pistols; but, being hard pressed by their lances, was forced to surrender. The Arabs, upon whom he had fired, beat him till he could not walk. They then carried him to their camp, entertained him for some time, and at last conducted him safe to Basra. When Mr. Fortkal was robbed by the Arabs in Egypt, a peasant, who accompanied him, was beaten by the robbers, because he had pistols, although he had made no attempt to defend himself with them.

The pillaging of the caravans is not always owing merely to the propensity which the Arabians have to robbery. Their pillaging expeditions are commonly considered by themselves as lawful hostilities against enemies who would defraud the nation of their dues, or against rival tribes, who have undertaken to protect those illegal traders.

In one of those expeditions, a few years since, undertaken against the Pacha of Damascus, who was conductor of the Syrian caravan to Mecca, the tribe of Anæse, which gained the victory, shewed instances of their ignorance, and of the simplicity of their manners. Those who happened to take goods of value knew not their

their worth, but exchanged them for trifles. One of those Arabs having obtained for his share a bag of pearls, thought them rice, which he had heard to be good food, and gave them to his wife to boil, who, when she found that no boiling could soften them, threw them away as useless.

CHAP. CIX. — *Of the political Constitution of the wandering Arabs.*

TREATING of the government of the Arabs in general, I said a few words occasionally concerning that of the Bedouins. To avoid unnecessary repetition, I shall add here only a few particulars concerning chiefly their political interests, in respect to the neighbouring nations.

The dignity of Schiech is hereditary, but is not confined to the order of primogeniture. The petty Schiechs, who form the hereditary nobility, choose the grand Schiech out of the reigning family, without regarding whether he be more nearly or more distantly related to his predecessor.

Little or no revenue is paid to the grand Schiech; and the other Schiechs are rather his equals than his subjects. If dissatisfied with his government, they depose him, or go away with their cattle, and join another tribe. These emigrations, which happen pretty frequently, have reduced some tribes, which were once potent, to a low and inconsiderable state; and have greatly augmented the numbers and power of some petty tribes.

Personal slavery is established among the Bedouins; but none of them are *ascripti glebæ*. A peasant, when dissatisfied with his master, may quit his service, and remove any where else.

The Bedouins, who live in tents in the desert, have never been subdued by any conqueror; but such of them as have been enticed, by the prospect of an easier way of life, to settle near towns, and in fertile provinces, are now, in some measure, dependent on the Sovereigns of those provinces.

Such are the Arabs in the different parts of the Ottoman Empire. Some of them pay a rent or tribute for the towns or pasturages which they occupy. Others frequent the banks of the Euphrates, only in one season of the year; and, in winter, return to the desert. These last acknowledge no dependence on the Porte.

Neither are, properly speaking, subject to the Turks; to whom, on the contrary, they would be dangerous neighbours, if the Pachas did not find means to sow dissensions among the tribes and great families, when there are more than one pretender to the dignity of Schiech of Schiechs.

The policy of the Turks occasions frequent wars among the Bedouins; but these are neither long nor bloody.

Whenever the Turks interfere in their quarrels, all the tribes combine to repulse the common enemy of the whole nation.

Every Grand Schiech justly considers himself as absolute lord of his whole territories; and accordingly exacts the same duties upon goods carried through his dominions as are levied by other princes. The Europeans are wrong in supposing the sums paid by travellers to the Grand Schiech to be merely a ransom to redeem them from pillage.

The Turks, who send caravans through the desert to Mecca, have submitted to the payment of these duties. They pay a certain sum annually to the tribes who live near the road to Mecca; in return for which, the Arabs keep the wells open, permit the passage of merchandise, and escort the caravans.

If the Bedouins sometimes pillage those caravans, the haughty perfidious conduct of the Turkish officers is always the first cause of such hostilities. Those insolent Turks look upon all the Arabs as rebels; that is, in the modern signification of this word, as a people who, although weak, have the audacity to withstand the oppression of their stronger neighbours. In consequence of this selfish reasoning, they violate their engagements; and the Arabs take their revenge by pillaging the caravans.

The famous Ali Bey, when he conducted the Egyptian caravan to Mecca, would not pay all the duties on his way to Mecca, but promised to pay the rest on his return, and forgot his promise. On the year following, the Arabs assembled in greater numbers, and obliged the captain of the caravan to pay for himself and Ali Bey both. The Turks exclaimed against this as an act of robbery; yet the Arabs had only done themselves justice.

The conduct of Abdalla, Pacha of Damascus, who commanded the Syrian caravan in 1756, was still more odious. When the Schiechs of the tribe of Harb came to meet him, to receive the stipulated toll, he gave them a friendly invitation to visit him; but, instead of paying the toll, cut off their heads, and sent them to Constantinople, as a proof of his victory over the rebel Arabs. The stroke which those suffered by the death of their chiefs hindered them from attempting any thing in revenge, on either that or the following year: the caravans travelled in triumph to Mecca; and the Turks boasted of the valour and prudence of Abdalla Pacha. But, in the third year, the Arabs avenged the slaughtered Schiechs, and, with an army of eighty thousand men, raised out of all the tribes, routed the Turks, and pillaged the caravan. The tribe of Anafé, under the command of their Schiech, distinguished themselves particularly in this expedition.

There is a certain subordination among the tribes. The petty tribes, being unable to defend themselves, place themselves under the protection of the greater, and are governed by their laws. Thus are powerful tribes formed by the union of several small tribes.

The Arabian nation are much more numerous, and wider spread, than they are generally supposed to be. They occupy countries, once cultivated and populous, whose ancient inhabitants have disappeared. The period at which these Arabian settlements were formed, cannot now be ascertained; nor is it known whether they may not have been anterior to the reign of the Caliphs. The ancients did not distinguish accurately between different nations. The kings of Palmyra, who have been supposed to be Jews, were more probably Arabs.

CHAP. CX. — *Of the Bedouins on the Confines of the Desert.*

THE most ancient and powerful tribes of this people are those which easily retire into the desert when attacked by a foreign enemy. These too have preserved the rational character in its greatest purity, and have maintained their liberty unimpaired. Of this number are the following tribes, of whom I shall mention such particulars as have come to my knowledge.

The Beni Khaled are one of the most powerful tribes in all Arabia, on account of their conquests, their wealth, and the number of other tribes subject to them. From the desert of Nedsjed, they have advanced to the sea, and have conquered the country of Lachfa, as I mentioned in the proper place. The Schiech of this tribe does not live always in the city of Lachfa, but sometimes in tents in the desert.

The tribe of Kiab, who inhabit north from the Persian Gulph, and of whom I have already spoken, rarely encamp; they have possessions in the province of Susistan, in Persia.

In this province of Susistan, near the principality of Havisa, and in the neighbourhood of the city of Schuster, are five different considerable tribes of independent Bedouins. From the existence of these establishments, I should judge the authority of the Persians in this country to be precarious, and Susistan to be interspersed with deserts.

Beri Lam, are a great tribe between Korne and Bagdad, upon the banks of the Tigris, the Arabic name of which river, in constant use among the inhabitants of the country, is Didsjele. They receive duties upon goods carried between Basra and Bagdad. These Arabs sometimes pillage caravans. The Pacha of Bagdad then sends troops against them, and sometimes chastises them by beheading their chiefs. But the successors of the Schiechs, who have been beheaded, are always as great enemies to the Turks, and as zealous to maintain their liberty as their predecessors have been.

Montefidji, or Montefik, are the most powerful tribe north from the desert, whether in respect to the extent of their territories, or the great number of the subaltern tribes who acknowledge their authority. They possess all the country upon both sides of the Euphrates, from Korne to Ardje.

In summer, when the grass in the desert is in a manner burnt up, the reigning Schiech resides at Nahhr el Antar, a town upon the banks of the Euphrates. In winter, they drive their cattle to feed in the desert, and encamp in tents. The inhabitants of the villages, who apply to agriculture, and are for this reason held in contempt by the Bedouins, pay a tribute. They are poor as must naturally be the condition of the subjects of those Schiechs who live comfortably themselves, but are not disposed to suffer their peasantry to grow rich.

The Arabs of this tribe often plunder travellers going between Helle and Basra. The Pacha of Bagdad commonly chastises them; sometimes even deposes the reigning Schiech, and advances another prince of the same family in his room. These Arabs submit to this slight degree of dependence on the Turks, because they are unwilling to lose their establishments on the fertile banks of the Euphrates. In the late troubles of these provinces of the Ottoman empire, frequent notice was taken of this tribe, and they acted no unimportant part.

The tribe derive their name from one Montefik, who came from Hedjas, and was descended from a family who were illustrious before the days of Mahomet. One thing certain is, that the descendants of this Montefik have been sovereigns in this country from time immemorial. They are divided into many branches; and in my time the reigning family consisted of one hundred and fifty persons, all of whom might aspire to the supreme power.

In 1765, the reigning Schiech, who was not of the eldest branch, was named Abdallah. The other princes of his family enjoyed, at the same time, a certain share of authority; each having his own subjects, with whom, in time of war, they all join the troops of the Schiech of Schiechs; in some districts they levy taxes and customs upon their own account.

There were named to me more than a score of inferior tribes, who live all in subjection to that of Montefik, which, of itself is not extremely numerous. Among these subordinate tribes, are some who have others again still less considerable, dependent upon them. The Arabs call those dependent tribes El Araye.

All these tribes upon the confines of the desert, whose names I have mentioned, are genuine Arabs, who breed sheep and camels, and live in tents. But this description is, with more peculiar propriety, applicable to the reigning tribes; for, I believe, that some of the inferior tribes have lost their nobility, by intermixing the practice of agriculture with the habits of pastoral life.

CHAP. CXI. — *Of the Bedouins of Mesopotamia.*

THE rich plains of Mesopotamia and Assyria, which were once cultivated by a populous nation, and watered by surprising efforts of human industry, are now inhabited, or rather ravaged, by wandering Arabs. As long as these fertile provinces shall remain under the government, or rather anarchy of the Turks, they must continue deserts, in which nature dies for want of the fostering care of man. A hereditary sovereign, seated at Bagdad, and none else, might restore this country to its once flourishing state.

The Pachas not knowing how to improve the value of these depopulated districts, and not being able to drive away the Arabs, permit them, for an annual rent, to cultivate those lands, or feed their flocks upon them. But that people are passionately fond of liberty, and shew by their conduct, that they consider not themselves as subject to the Turkish yoke. The frequent wars, in which several of the tribes are engaged with the Pacha of Bagdad, although viewed as rebellion by the Ottoman officers, are proofs of the independence of the Arabs.

So rich a tract of country, naturally invites its inhabitants to cultivate it. The lands between the Tigris and the Euphrates are intersected by numerous canals, and are inhabited only by tribes practising agriculture, or Moædan. Such are the

Beni Hæhkem, a tribe situate eastward from the Euphrates, whose present Schiech is named Fontil, and who rules several petty tribes of husbandmen.

Khafaal, a powerful tribe of husbandmen, likewise on the east side of the Euphrates. They have a great many petty tribes of Arabs, who live in villages, subject to them. One of these petty tribes comprehends five and twenty inferior tribes, and two others forty each. The tribes which practise husbandry appear therefore to be less numerous than the Bedouins, who often unite into very large bodies. The tribe of Khafaal can muster two thousand cavalry, and a proportionate number of infantry. The Pacha of Bagdad has lately made war on these people, with various success. These Arabs are Shûtes; and this is one motive more to set them at variance with the Turks. The reigning Schiech is named Hamoud, and levies customs from vessels coming up the Euphrates.

All the Arabs within the territories of the government of Bagdad are not husbandmen. South from that city are some Bedouins, who breed camels. Of these are the tribes of Beni Temim, and Dafasa, as well as some other tribes between Bagdad and Mosul. The tribe of Al Tobad have become very considerable, through the favour of the Pacha of Bagdad, one of whose principal officers was a near relation to the reigning Schiech. All that tract of country between Bagdad and Mosul is possessed by hordes of Bedouins; one of which, occupying the range of hills adjacent to the Tigris, lately made an attack upon the troops of the Pacha; and another denominated Al Buhamdan, pillaged a caravan when I was in Mosul.

They are a great and powerful tribe of Bedouins between Mordun and Mosul. The reigning Schiech, who is of the family of Salie, for a small annual tribute, possesses the large and fertile plain of Assyria. Were it not for the usual Turkish policy of sowing
dissension

diffension among the neighbours, the Pachas would find it impossible to maintain any shadow of authority over this tribe. But, the Pacha of Bagdad sends the Togk, or horse's tail, sometimes to one Schiech, sometimes to another; and thus is a constant rivalry kept up among them, which weakens their common strength. This horse's tail is not merely an ensign of empty honour. It confers the dignity of Beg, with the right to the possession of the plain, which is held to be with the Turks. The deposed Beg quits his place of residence between Mosul and Nisibin, and retires with his partisans to the banks of the river Khabour, and there waits an opportunity to supplant his rival.

All travellers complain of the robberies of these Bedouins of Assyria. The restlessness and thievish disposition of these people seem to increase the farther they recede from their native deserts, and approach the country inhabited by the plundering Kurdes or Turcomans.

I was told of ten wandering tribes, Arak Arabi. The most considerable encamps in the environs of Helle; its name is Solæd; and its branches are spread even into the governments of Aleppo and Damascus.

An Arabian Schiech, with whom I was acquainted at Aleppo, gave me the names of eight tribes of Bedouins who live towards the head of the Euphrates, in districts comprehended within the government of the Pacha of Orfa. But, as he could give me no farther information concerning these tribes, I pass them by in silence.

CHAP. CXII. — *Of the Bedouins of Syria.*

THE Pachas of this province have as much to do with the wandering Arabs, as the Turkish governors on the Persian frontier. It is of great consequence to the cities of Aleppo and Damascus, that their caravans, travelling to Bagdad or Basra, be suffered to pass in safety through the desert. Without escorting them with an army, the Pachas could not protect them from insult and pillage, did they not artfully contrive to employ one tribe of Arabs against the rest.

With this view, the Pacha gives the title of Emir to the most powerful Schiech in the neighbourhood. This Emir is obliged to guide the caravans, to keep the other Arabs in awe, and to levy the dues from those who feed their cattle on the Pacha's grounds. As payment for his trouble, and to reimburse his expences, he receives a certain sum yearly. But the Arabs having little confidence in Turkish promises, the Pacha settles upon the Emir a number of villages, the revenues of which make up the stipulated sum. These villages were miserable enough before, but have been absolutely ruined by the precarious government of the Arabs.

Upon a calculation of the scanty revenue which the Porte derive from this part of their dominions, and the trivial rents paid by the Arabs for the liberty of ravaging whole provinces; and, on the other hand, a comparative estimate of the sums expended in maintaining that vagabond race in a specious subjection; it is plain, that they are losers by the shadow of authority which they pretend to have over the Arabs; but Ottoman vanity is pleased with the vain fancy of possessing immense territories, from which the Sultan derives no revenue, and in which his orders are not respected.

The most powerful tribe near Aleppo, are the Mauali, whose reigning Schiech is of the family of El Burishe. The Pachas put sometimes one, sometimes another, of the Schiechs of this family in possession of the villages and revenues belonging to the dignity of Emir. He whom they depose, retires commonly with his party to the banks of the Euphrates, and there awaits an opportunity to soften the new Pacha by presents, and recover his place. A few years since an Emir, foreseeing that he was to be deposed, plundered

plundered a caravan, carried away 30,000 head of cattle from the pastures about Aleppo, and conveyed his booty to a place of safety near the Euphrates. Some time after, he surprised and pillaged the city of Hæms. It was supposed, when I was in Aleppo, that the Pacha would be obliged to recal and reinstate him in the office of Emir.

A nephew of the Emir, or reigning Schiech of the tribe of Mauali, named to me fifteen considerable tribes who inhabit the neighbourhood of Aleppo. Another Schiech, a great traveller, mentioned five others, somewhat farther distant, and near the road from Aleppo to Bafra. All these Bedouins pay each a trifle to the Emir, for liberty to hire out or sell their camels, and to feed their cattle through the country. The neighbouring tribes in the Defart of Salt, who are subject to the Pacha, pay something to a farmer (of the tax) for liberty to gather the salt formed in that defart.

I was surprised to see among those tribes the tribes of Thay and Sobæd, which must of consequence be spread very widely over the country. The tribe of Rabea boasts of its antiquity, and pretends to have come from Yemen to settle in the north, at the time when the dyke of the reservoir of the Sabæans at Mareb was broken down.

As my stay at Damascus was very short, I could not acquire enough of information concerning the Bedouins in the government of Damascus or Scham. I learned only the names of a dozen of their tribes, one of which named Abu Salibe, consists, as I was told, solely of Christians. Another, Beni Hamjar, pretend that they are descended from the old Arabian kings of this name.

Several circumstances lead me to presume, that, of the other nations in Syria, Kurdes, Druses, Metuaeli, Nassaries, and Tschinganes, some are of Arabian ancestry.

The tribe of Anæse are esteemed to be the greatest tribe in the defart of Syria. They have even spread into Nedsjed, where they are reckoned the most numerous tribe in the heart of Arabia. The caravans of Turkish pilgrims pay them a considerable duty for their free passage through the country. This tribe too, when dissatisfied, plunder the caravans. They often make war on the Pacha of Damascus. They lately routed and killed the Pacha of Ghassa in his own government.

In my time, the departure of a caravan from Bagdad was retarded by news received of those Arabs being on ill terms with the Pacha of Damascus. Two Turkish lords, who were very much beloved in Arabia, resolving to attend the caravan, the merchants ventured to pack up and send off their goods. But, I not choosing, after so many dangers, to expose myself anew and unnecessarily, took the road from Bagdad to Mosul, and entrusted a trunk to an Arab, a camel driver in that caravan, directing him to deliver it to a certain man at Aleppo. Within a day's journey of Damascus, the whole caravan were plundered by the tribe of Anæse. The trunk was opened. The Bedouins took what they chose, but left me my books, papers, a box of medals, and two watches. The camel driver collected the broken pieces of my trunk, and brought the whole honestly to Aleppo. Thus had I, at the same time, a proof of Arabian rapacity and Arabian integrity.

CHAP. CXIII. — *Of the Bedouins of Arabia Petraea, and Palestine.*

THE name of Arabia Petraea is used in a vague manner by our geographers. It seems to be a denomination given to those countries which are mostly desert, between Egypt, Syria, and Arabia properly so called. It would be difficult to determine exactly the limits of those countries, which are little known, and but thinly inhabited; the inhabitants of which wander among dry sands and rocks, seeking here and there a few spots which afford some scanty food for their cattle. None but Bedouins haunt these deserts.

In the account of my journey to Mount Sinai, I spoke of three tribes whom I found settled by the highway. Those are no doubt of that class which acknowledge the superiority of a greater tribe. On the other side of that chain of mountains, and in the environs of Akaba, there must be other tribes; but the names of these I know not.

I have already mentioned the great tribe of Harb, who live to the north of Hedjas. In this province are also the ancient tribes of Beni Outaba, Hodeil, Jom, and others, which the inhabitants of Mecca call bands of robbers, seemingly for no other reason, but that their Sherriffe has frequent quarrels with those Bedouins.

There are also several considerable tribes upon the confines of Nedsjed, and the great desert. The tribe of Beni Temim, among these, were famous in the days of the successors of Mahomet, for a prophetess named Sedsjay, who did honour to the tribe. Schiech Dahher, Master of Acca, and the greater part of Palestine, is also an Arab; but I know not to what tribe he belongs.

I could learn nothing of consequence concerning the Arabs of Palestine. They seem to be poor neglected hordes, who inhabit that barren and dismal country.

I was told of the tribe of Dsjerhamie, between Rama and Jerusalem. The European monks, who are now the only pilgrims that visit the Holy Land, describe those Arabs as devils incarnate, and complain dolefully of their cruelty to the poor Christians. Those lamentations, and the superstitious pity of good souls in Europe, procure large alms to the convent of Franciscans at Jerusalem. The exaggerated relations of the sufferings of the pilgrims, from those inhuman Bedouins, will therefore be continued as long as they can serve the purpose for which they are intended.

It must be confessed, however, that this tribe of Dsjerhamie form, in one instance, a remarkable exception from the ordinary national character of the Arabs, who, in general, never maltreat a stranger, unless they have first received provocation. But, those Arabs in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem have a rooted aversion to the monks; in other respects, they are honest enough people.

They convey every year, from Jafa to Jerusalem, money and goods, sent to the monks from Europe, to a considerable amount, without ever touching or embezzling the smallest article. They know that the superior of the convent at Jerusalem pays the travelling expences of the pilgrims, and that they are poor monks, who have nothing to lose. Yet they wait to intercept those indigent caravans, not to pillage them, but that they may have the pleasure of venting their hatred against the monks.

It would be a gross mistake, therefore, if any European should fancy that he might travel safely through Judea, in consequence of putting himself under the protection of the monks. A young Frenchman had a trial of this when I was in that country. Passing the river Jordan, he was severely beaten by the Bedouins, solely for being found in company with the monks, which made the Arabs view him in a suspicious light.

OF THE RELIGION AND CHARACTER OF THE ARABS.

CHAP. CXIV. — *Of the different Sects of Mahometans in Arabia.*

IT might be expected that the Mahometan religion should be preserved in its highest purity in Arabia, which was its cradle; and that no contrariety of opinions, or diversity of sects, should have arisen there. An old tradition records a saying of Mahomet's, from which he appears to have foreseen that it was impossible for his followers to remain in perpetual harmony of doctrine and worship. He is said to have predicted that his new religion should be divided into seventy different sects, as the Christians of his time were.

This prediction is in part accomplished; for there are at present several Mahometan sects in Arabia.

The doctrines and rites of the Mussulman religion are in general sufficiently known. I shall satisfy myself with mentioning some remarkable peculiarities which distinguish the sects established in Arabia, and which have an influence on the moral character or political state of the nation.

The most considerable sects among the Arabian Mahometans, are,

1. That of Sunni, to which the Turks also belong. This forms the most numerous sect in Arabia; its opinions being professed by the inhabitants of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and by the Sherriffes of those cities who are reputed the successors of Mahomet.

2. The sect of Schya, of which the whole Persian nation profess themselves. In the eastern parts of Arabia are some disciples of this sect; and it prevails all along the borders of the Persian Gulph. The Metauli, or Mut-Ali, in Syria, are likewise Shiites.

3. The sect of Zeidi, which prevails in Yemen, and of which the Imam of Sana is a follower.

4. The sect of Beiasi, Beiadi, or Abadi, is the principal sect in Oman. It is said to owe its origin to the enemies of the Caliph Ali, two of whom went into Oman after a defeat, which only nine of them had survived.

5. The sect of Mestlich, of which I have already taken notice in describing the Bedouins settled between the provinces of Hedjas and Yemen. I suspect this rather to be a different religion, than a sect of the Mussulman.

6. The sect of Mecrami and Abd ul Wahheb; I have already given my opinion of this little known sect in the description of Nedsjeran and Nedsjed.

7. The sect of Dsjedsjal, of which the inhabitants of Mecran, a maritime province of Persia, are followers.

8. Lastly, the sects of Schabreari and Merdinar, of which are the Belludsje, Arabian tribes on the confines of the province of Mecran, as I have above observed.

All these different sects acknowledge Mahomet their prophet, and regard the Koran as their code of civil and ecclesiastical laws. However, they mutually treat each other as Chauaredsji or Rafidi, that is to say, heretics.

The Sunnites allow only the four sects, which they consider as orthodox; those of Shafei, Hanefi, Maleki, and Hanbali, to have houses of prayer about the Kaba. The Zeidites, however, to make themselves amends for the exclusion they suffer, have reared for themselves an invilible house of prayer in the air, immediately over the Kaba, by which means they are, in their own opinion, put into possession of these sacred places. Notwithstanding these lofty pretensions, every pilgrim of this sect is obliged to pay a high capitation to the Sherriffe, who has, for these several years, made the Shiites likewise pay dear for permission to visit Mecca.

The Zeidites seem to be less rigid and superstitious than the Sunnites, who are much addicted to the worship of saints, and believe in the most ridiculous miracles. The former trouble not themselves with the controversy about Mahomet's successors, which has occasioned the schism between the Sunnites and the Shiites. Nor are they so rigid and exact in respect to prayers and other ceremonies; they make no mention of saints; and the Imam of Sana, who is a Zeidite, suffers useless mosques to fall into ruins, and sometimes even demolishes them, to the great offence of his Sunnite subjects in the Tehama.

All these sects venerate the descendants of Mahomet, except the Beiafi, who treat them with no greater respect than other Arabs, and believe all the families in the nation to have the same right to the sovereign power.

For this reason, the Prince of Maikat, who is of the sect of Beiafi, takes the title of Imam, although not descended from Mahomet. This sect abstain, not only from strong liquors, like the other Mussulmans, but even from tobacco and coffee; although, out of hospitality, these are offered to strangers in Oman. The Beiafi pique themselves on great austerity of manners, and simplicity in their mode of living. Even the most opulent among them avoid every thing like magnificence in their dress, houses, and mosques. The prince administers justice in person, and permits all his subjects to be seated in his presence. It was in consequence of this severity of manners, that the last Imam, who was a tyrannical and voluptuous prince, became odious to his subjects. In the description of Oman, I have taken notice of the revolution by which that prince was driven from the throne.

At Maikat, I received an account of the miraculous origin of the sect of Dsjedsjal, in the province of Mecran. Its first author was a venerable old man, who was found by some wood-cutters shut up in the middle of a tree, and having a book in his hand. Each sect, indeed, tells ridiculous stories of the other sect to bring them into contempt.

I saw or heard of no convents of monks among the Zeidites in Yemen, or among the Beiafi in Oman. The Sunnites, and among them the Turks especially, are known to have a great number of religious orders, the members of which are distinguished by the names of Dervises and Santons, and discriminated from one another by diversities of dress and manners. At Mokha were beggars, who sang through the streets, called Dervises; as well as some other poor creatures, who, for any trifle, were ready to read the passages of the Koran inscribed on the tombstones. As the Zeidites and Beiafi are not worshippers of saints, they cannot have Dervises and Santons; who, on the other hand, are very numerous in Egypt, where they perform many extravagant fooleries.

The Turks and Persians have been almost constantly at war; and their respective Princes have generally contrived to represent to their subjects disputes which originated from their ambition, as prompted by religious considerations. This is the reason of the violent hatred with which the Shiites and Sunnites are animated against one another. In Turkey and Persia, Christians are permitted to build churches, and the Jews, synagogues; but in Persia, no Sunnite mosque is allowed; and the Turks tolerate the Shiites in the exercise of no other part of their worship, except their pilgrimage to their Prophet's tomb in the vicinity of Bagdad; and for this permission they pay very dear to the Ottoman Porte. In Yemen, the Sunnites and Zeidites live happily together; for the latter, who are the more tolerant of the two, are the predominant sect.

The Mussulmans in general do not persecute men of other religions, when they have nothing to fear from them, unless in the case of an intercourse of gallantry with a Mahometan woman. A Christian, convicted of blasphemy, would also be in danger of losing his life. In such a case, it is true, a Mahometan would as little be spared. While I was at Bagdad, a Janissary urged a citizen for a debt; the latter always answered with a devout air, that he should remember God and the Prophet, and wait patiently for payment, without putting himself in a passion. The Janissary was at last provoked to utter a blasphemous expression; the artful citizen attested witnesses; and

the Janissary was accordingly convicted, expelled out of his corps, and next day hanged.

All the Mussulman sects are not alike abhorrrers of images. In Oman, the Banians are allowed to set up their images openly in their apartments. The Sunnites even appear to have lost somewhat of their aversion for these material representations of Deity. Those in India keep paintings; and I even saw two of these in a villa of the Sultan's near Constantinople. At Kahira I found prints, and a plaster bust, in the house of a learned Sunnite.

CHAP. CXV. — *Of the other Religions tolerated in Arabia.*

THROUGH all Arabia are Jews, who are held in much greater contempt than the Christians. I have already mentioned the Jewish tribes settled in the neighbourhood of Kheibar, where they are not barely tolerated, but have the sovereign authority in their own hands.

The Jews, dispersed through different cities, have synagogues, and enjoy a great deal of freedom. They are fond of living together, and commonly form a village near every principal town. In Oman they are still better treated, and permitted to wear the dress of Mahometans.

The Christians were once numerous in Arabia. I know of no Christian church remaining at present in all this country. In the province of Lachsa are many Sabæans, or Christians of St. John. But, the Christianity of this sect seems to be a confused medley of the opinions and ceremonies of several different religions.

Banians from India are settled in great numbers in the commercial cities. At Mokha they suffer many mortifications. But, at Maskat, among the tolerant sect of the Beiasî, they are permitted to observe the laws, and cultivate the worship of their own religion without disturbance. In Persia there are also some of these Indians; but the Turks, who are austere Sunnites, suffer none of them in their provinces.

I never saw that the Arabs have any hatred for those of a different religion. They, however, regard them with much the same contempt with which the Christians look upon the Jews in Europe. Among the Arabs this contempt is regulated. It falls heaviest upon the Banians; next after them, upon the Jews; and, least of all, upon the Christians, who, in return, express the least aversion for the Mussulmans. A Mahometan, who marries a Christian or Jewish woman, does not oblige her to apostatize from her religion; but the same man would not marry a Banian female, because this Indian sect are supposed to be strangers to the knowledge of God, having no book of divine authority. The Mahometans in India appear to be even more tolerant than those of Arabia. They live in a good understanding with the Banians, and treat them with less contempt than their Arabian brethren.

This progress towards general toleration preserves the Arabs from the rage of making proselytes. They seek neither to entice nor constrain any person, except sometimes their young slaves, whom they compel to embrace Mahometanism: but, when a proselyte voluntarily presents himself, they are, by the laws of their religion, obliged to receive him, and even to provide for his maintenance. The converts who most commonly offer themselves are deserters from the crews of European ships, who take this shift to escape punishment. As they are known to be mostly very bad subjects, government allows them but a very scanty pension, scarcely sufficient for their maintenance. They are not confined, either from intercourse with Christians, or from taking
voyages

voyages into distant countries. We had in our service in Arabia a French renegado, who, when he left us, went to India.

It may not be improper to remark, in this place, that the Indians are still less anxious about making converts than the Arabs. The Bramins, Rajaputs, and Banians, receive nobody into their communion, but, on the contrary, expel all of their members who render themselves obnoxious by irregularity of life, and by this means afford profelytes to the Christians. Thus, the European missionaries, who run so indecently through the East, and profane the sacrament of baptism, by casting it at the head of every one, have little reason to boast of the conversions they effect, especially as they use so much importunity to accomplish them.

CHAP. CXVI. — *Of the Character of the Arabs.*

CLIMATE, government, and education, are undoubtedly, the great agents which form and modify the characters of nations. To the first of these the Arabs owe their vivacity, and their disposition to indolence; the second increases their laziness, and gives them a spirit of duplicity; the third is the cause of that formal gravity which influences the faculties of their mind, as well as their carriage and exterior aspect.

No two things can differ more than the education of the Arabs from that of the Europeans. The former strive as much to hasten the age of maturity, as the latter to retard it. The Arabs are never children; but many Europeans continue children all their life.

In Arabia, boys remain in the Haram, among the women, till the age of five or six, and during this time follow the childish amusements suitable to their years; but, as soon as they are removed from that scene of frivolity, they are accustomed to think and speak with gravity, and to pass whole days together in their father's company, at least if he is not in a condition to retain a preceptor, who may form them. As music and dancing are esteemed indecent among the Arabs, women are also excluded from all assemblies, and the use of strong drink is forbidden. The Arabian youth are strangers to the pretended pleasures which are so eagerly pursued by the youth of Europe. The young Arabs, in consequence of being always under the eyes of persons advanced to maturity, become pensive and serious, even in infancy.

Yet, under this air of gravity and recollection, the nation have in reality a great degree of vivacity in their hearts, which varies through the different provinces. The inhabitants of Yemen, living in a mild climate, and an agreeable air, have more animation in their character than those of Hedjas and Arabia Petraea, whose imagination receives a more gloomy cast from the continual prospect of barren deserts and bare rocks. I have seen young Arabs in Yemen dance and leap, with arms in their hands, to the sound of small drums; yet, even the inhabitants of the desert, shew greater vivacity than the Turks. As for the melancholy Egyptians, I never saw them discover any mark of genuine joy, even at their festivals, however splendid.

This vivacity in the Arabians makes them fond of company, and of large assemblies, notwithstanding their seeming seriousness. They frequent public coffee-houses, and markets, which are so numerous through Yemen, that every village, of any considerable magnitude, has a weekly market. When the villages lie at too great a distance, the country people meet in the open fields, some to buy or sell, and others to converse, or amuse themselves as spectators of the busy scene. Artisans travel through the whole week from town to town, and work at their trade in the different markets. From this

fondness of theirs for society, it may be inferred, that the nation are more civilized than they are commonly supposed to be.

Several travellers accuse them of being cheats, thieves, and hypocrites. An arbitrary government, which impoverishes its subjects by extortion, can have no favourable influence, indeed, upon the probity of the nation; yet, I can say, from my own experience, that the accusations laid against them have been exaggerated above the facts. The Arabs themselves allow that their countrymen are not all honest men. I have heard them praise the fidelity with which the Europeans fulfil their promises, and express high indignation against the knavery of their own nation, as a disgrace to the Mussulman name.

CHAP. CXVII. — *Of the Vengeance of the Arabs.*

A LIVELY, animated people, of quick and violent passions, are naturally led to carry the desire of vengeance for injuries to its highest excess. The vindictive spirit of the Arabs, which is common to them with the other inhabitants of hot climates, varies, however, with the varying modifications of the national character.

The Arabs are not quarrelsome; but, when any dispute happens to arise among them, they make a great deal of noise. I have seen some of them, however, who, although armed with poignards, and ready to stab one another, were easily appeased. A reconciliation was instantly effected, if any indifferent person but said to them, 'Think of God and his Prophet.' When the contest could not be settled at once, umpires were chosen, to whose decision they submitted.

The inhabitants of the East, in general, strive to master their anger. A boatman from Maskat complained to the governor of the city of a merchant who would not pay a freight due for the carriage of his goods. The governor always put off hearing him, till some other time. At last the plaintiff told his case coolly, and the governor immediately did him justice, saying, I refused to hear you before, because you were intoxicated with anger, the most dangerous of all intoxications.

Notwithstanding this coolness, on which the people of the East pique themselves, the Arabs shew great sensibility to every thing that can be construed into an injury. If one man should happen to spit beside another, the latter will not fail to avenge himself of the imaginary insult. In a caravan I once saw an Arab highly offended at a man, who, in spitting, accidentally bespattered his beard with some small part of the spittle. It was with difficulty that he could be appeased by him, who, he imagined, had offended him, even although he humbly asked pardon, and kissed his beard in token of submission. They are less ready to be offended by reproachful language, which is, besides, more in use with the lower people than among the higher classes.

But the most irritable of all men are the noble Bedouins, who, in their martial spirit, seem to carry those same prejudices farther than even the barbarous warriors who issued from the North, and over-ran Europe. Bedouin honour is still more delicate than ours, and requires even a greater number of victims to be sacrificed to it. If one Schiech says to another, with a serious air, 'Thy bonnet is dirty,' or, 'The wrong side of thy turban is out,' nothing but blood can wash away the reproach; and not merely the blood of the offender, but that also of all the males of his family.

At Barra I heard the story of an adventure, which had happened about a dozen of years since, in the neighbourhood of that city, and which may afford an idea of the excesses to which the spirit of revenge often rises among this nation. A man of eminence,
belonging

belonging to the tribe of Montefidfi, had given his daughter in marriage to an Arab of the tribe of Korne. Shortly after the marriage, a Schiech of an inferior tribe asked him, in a coffee-house, Whether he were father to the handsome young wife of such a one, whom he named? The father, supposing his daughter's honour ruined, immediately left the company to stab her. At his return from the execution of this inhuman deed, he who had so indiscreetly put the question was gone. Breathing nothing now but vengeance, he fought him every where; and not finding him, killed in the mean time several of his relations, without sparing even his cattle or servants. The offender offered the governor of Korne a great sum if he would rid him of so furious an adversary. The governor sent for him who had been offended, and endeavoured by threats, and a shew of the apparatus of punishment, to force him to a reconciliation; but the vengeful Arab would rather meet death than forego his revenge. Then the governor, to preserve a man of such high honour, soothed him to an agreement, by which the first aggressor gave his daughter, with a handsome portion, in marriage to him whom he had offended. But the father-in-law durst never after appear before his son-in-law.

The thirst for vengeance discovers itself likewise in the peculiar manner in which murder is prosecuted here. In the high country of Yemen, the supreme court of Sana commonly prosecutes murders in the mode usual in other countries; but, in several districts in Arabia, the relations of the deceased have leave either to accept a composition in money, or to require the murderer to surrender himself to justice, or even to wreak their vengeance upon his whole family. In many places it is reckoned unlawful to take money for the shedding of blood, which, by the laws of Arabian honour, can be expiated only by blood. They think little of making an assassin be punished, or even put to death, by the hand of justice; for this would be to deliver a family from an unworthy member, who deserved no such favour at their hands.

For these reasons, the Arabs rather revenge themselves, as law allows, upon the family of the murderer, and seek an opportunity of slaying its head, or most considerable person, whom they regard as being properly the person guilty of the crime, as it must have been committed through his negligence in watching over the conduct of those under his inspection. In the mean time, the judges seize the murderer, and detain him till he has paid a fine of two hundred crowns. Had it not been for this fine, so absurd a law must have been long since repealed. From this time the two families are in continual fears, till some one other of the murderer's family be slain. No reconciliation can take place between them, and the quarrel is still occasionally renewed. There have been instances of such family feuds lasting forty years. If, in the contest, a man of the murdered person's family happens to fall, there can be no peace till two others of the murderer's family have been slain.

This detestable custom is so expressly forbidden in the Koran, that I should not have been persuaded of its existence, had I not seen instances of it. Men, indeed, act every where in direct contradiction to the principles of religion; and this species of revenge is not merely impious, but even absurd and inhuman. An Arabian of distinction, who often visited us at Loheia, always wore, even when he was in company, both his poignard and a small lance. The reason of this, he told us, was, that a man of his family had been murdered, and he was obliged to avenge the murder upon a man of the inimical family, who was then actually in the city, and carried just such another lance. He acknowledged to us, that the fear of meeting his enemy, and fighting with him, often disturbed his sleep. In the narrative of my journey from Beit el Fakih to Mokha, I have related an instance of a family feud of this kind, in the country through which we passed.

Among the Bedouins in the East of Arabia, every family strive to right themselves, whenever they think that they have suffered an injury. When the two hostile families happen to belong to two powerful rival tribes, formal wars sometimes follow in consequence of such accidental quarrels: but, on the other hand, the public peace is not at all interrupted by a private feud, when the persons at variance belong to two petty tribes, both subject to the same great tribe. Lastly, when the two contending parties are subjects of the same Schiech, and are, of consequence, held to be of the same family, the Schiech and the principal subjects join to reconcile the parties, and to punish the murderer.

The tribes upon the confines of Oman, and the shores of the Persian Gulph, are also acquainted with these family wars, and more harassed even than the Arabians by them. A great part of these tribes earn their subsistence by carrying coffee from Yemen to the Persian Gulph, and by the pearl fishery; and, from this circumstance, parties at variance have more frequent opportunities of meeting and fighting at sea. Weak tribes are thus often obliged to quit their way of life, and fall into obscurity and misery.

CHAP. CXVIII. — *Of the Arabian Nobility.*

THE Arabs are accused of being vain, full of prejudices with respect to birth, and ridiculously attentive to records of genealogy, which they keep even for their horses. This reproach cannot affect the great body of the nation, who know not their family names, and take not the trouble of keeping a register of births. Most of those, even in the middle station of life, know not who were their grandfathers, and would often be as much at a loss to know their fathers, if it were not regulated by custom, that the son shall join his father's name with his own.

All those petty princes who govern in Arabia are, undoubtedly, very proud of their birth, and with some reason, since their families have, from time immemorial, enjoyed independence and sovereign power. The nobility, who are free, or dependent only on the chiefs of their tribes, are equally so. They enjoy privileges which the traditional history of the nation represents as having always belonged to certain families. The Schiechs are excusable, therefore, although they value themselves upon advantages which are peculiarly theirs.

What adds to the high conceit the Bedouin Schiechs have of their nobility, is its being incommunicable, and not to be conferred by any sovereign prince, or even by the Caliphs. As it is founded on the customs of a pastoral people, who know no distinction of rank, but that of the heads of families, no sovereign can augment the number of these chiefs. Nobles can be created only in countries where the nobility form a distinct class, enjoying certain civil privileges, which may be equally conferred on others. The Bedouin nobility may be compared to the chiefs of the clans among the Scotch highlanders, who are in a very similar condition with respect to their honours and authority.

The descendants of Mahomet hold, with some reason, the first rank among the great families in Arabia. Mahomet was sprung from one of the noblest families in the country, and rose to the rank of a potent prince. His first profession of a dealer in camels, proves him to have been a Schiech of the genuine and pure nobility of his nation. It may be inferred, however, from the singular veneration in which his family are held, that religious opinions have contributed to gain them the pre-eminence which they hold, above
even

even the most ancient sovereign houses. A sect naturally respect the posterity of their founder, as a race bearing an indelible character of sanctity.

These descendants of Mahomet have received different titles. In Arabia they are called Sherries, or Seids; in the Mahometan countries situate northward, Sherries, or Emirs; and in the Arabian colonies in the East, simply Seids. The Prince of Havisa, on the frontiers of Persia, takes the title of Maula, which has, I believe, been assumed by the Emperor of Morocco. In some countries, this family are distinguished by a green turban. Nay, on the coast of Arabia, ships hoist a green flag, when fitted out by a Seid. Yet the green turban is not invariably a distinctive mark of a descendant of Mahomet. Beggars sometimes wear turbans of this colour; and one of our servants did the same, and was blamed by nobody.

The Sherries of Hedjas are esteemed the noblest of Mahomet's descendants, because they have made fewer intermarriages with strangers than the rest of the Prophet's posterity. In that province they are treated with almost incredible respect. A Sherrie may enter into the midst of a fray, without the smallest fear of being intentionally hurt or killed. He needs not shut his doors against thieves. In the Ottoman provinces, the family of the Prophet are less regarded. In my time, a Seid, who had been guilty of divers crimes, and although warned and reproved by an indulgent governor, had not corrected his bad habits, was condemned to suffer capital punishment.

Having heard a distinction frequently made between a Sherrie and a Seid, I made inquiry into its nature. I learned that Sherries are constantly devoted to a military life, and are descended from Hassan; but that the Seids are the posterity of Hussein, and follow the pursuits of trade and science, although they have sometimes risen to sovereign power in some parts of Arabia.

There are, in all Mahometan countries, an astonishing number of Sherries. I saw whole villages peopled with this family solely. To those who know not in what manner this title is transmitted, the numbers of those who enjoy this high rank must undoubtedly appear surprising; but polygamy naturally multiplies families, till many of their branches sink into the most wretched misery. In my account of Jebel, I have mentioned my acquaintance with a Sherrie in that city, who was in extreme poverty. A peculiar custom tends to the farther increase of the race of Sherries. The son of a woman of the family of Mahomet is esteemed a Sherrie, and transmits the honour to all his posterity. I travelled through Natolia with a Turk, who was called simply Achmed, and wore the common turban, while his son was honoured with a green turban, and with the title of Sherrie, because his mother was a Sherria. Other similar instances came within my knowledge in the provinces of Turkey; and, from various circumstances, I was led to infer, that many persons enjoy this title who are not at all connected with the Prophet's family. The genuine Sherries, to strengthen their party against the Caliphs, have acknowledged kindred with various powerful families who were entirely strangers to them.

In Turkey, where the Sherries are not numerous, they enjoy various privileges, and, among others, that of being subject, in every considerable town, not to the Pacha, but to a man of their own family, who is denominated Nakib, or general of the Sherries. The Turkish government seems, however, to be suspicious of their ambition, and never entrusts them with any public office. They are commonly called Emirs; an indeterminate title, which is bestowed equally upon persons of the highest quality, and upon subordinate officers.

Of all the titles in use among the Arabian nobility, the most ancient and most common is that of Schiech. The Arabian language, which is in other respects so rich, is

however, poor in terms expressive of the distinctions of rank. The word *Schiech* has, in consequence of this circumstance, various significations. Sometimes it is the title of a prince or noble; at other times, it is given to a professor in an academy, to a man belonging to a mosque, to the descendant of a saint, to the mayor of a town, and in Oman, even to the chief of the Jewish synagogue. Although thus seemingly prostituted, yet is not this title despised by the great. A *Schiech* of an ancient Arabian family would not change the name for that of Sultan, which has been assumed by some petty princes in the highlands of Hadramaut and Jafa.

The *Schiechs* of illustrious families among the Bedouins have reason for considering their genealogy as a matter of some consequence. Some of them are descended from ancestors, who were princes before the days of Mahomet, and the first Caliphs. As it would be difficult, among a people who have no public registers or historians, to make out regular tables of genealogy reaching farther than ten centuries backwards, the Arabians have contrived a compendious mode of verifying their lines of descent. From among their later ancestors, they select some illustrious man from whom they are universally allowed to be descended. This great man, again, is as universally allowed to be descended from some other great man; and thus they proceed backwards to the founder of the family. The *Sherriffes* and *Sejids*, by the same expedient, prove the origin of their family to have been with Mahomet, and thus abbreviate their genealogy, without rendering it doubtful.

Beside these *Schiechs* and princes there are at Mecca, some families not less concerned to preserve their genealogies, with all possible exactitude. These are the families descended from the tribe of *Koraish*, which have held certain employments, by hereditary right, since the days of Mahomet and his first successors. Their employments are, 1st, The office of keeper of the key of the Kaba, which was conferred by Mahomet on the family of Othman Ibn Taelha: 2d, That of Mufti of the sect of *Schafei*: 3d, That of Mufti of the sect of *Hanbali*: and lastly, That of a learned *Schiech* to attend in the holy mosque.

There are also in Mecca, twelve other families, descended from the illustrious tribe of *Koraish*. If any where in the world, a faithful list of genealogy, for more than ten centuries, may be found, it is certainly among these families of *Koraishites*, who are constantly obliged to prove the genuineness of their descent, in order to preserve their envied privileges.

I never heard the distinction between the genuine and naturalized Arabs formally explained. Such a distinction is made, however, for the Bedouins value themselves so much on the purity of their descent, that they look very contemptuously on the Arabs who live in cities, as a race debased by their intermixture with other nations. No *Schiech* will marry the daughter of a citizen, unless he happen to be driven by poverty to contract so unequal an alliance. At Bagdad I saw a *Schiech* of eminence from the desert, who, from motives of this nature, had married the daughter of the Mufti of that city.

The Arabs seem still to have a vanity in the use of those long names which are so disgusting in their history; but this length of names and titles is occasioned by the difficulty of distinguishing individuals among a nation who know not the use of family names. Thus an Arab named Ali, if his father's name was Mohammed, takes the name of Ali Ibn Mohammed; if from Basra, he adds the name of his country, el *Basri*; and, if a man of letters, the name of his sect, as *Schafei*; and his name at length will thus be, Ali Ibn Mohammed el *Basri* el *Schafei*; so that he cannot be confounded with any other of his countrymen. An illustrious man never takes these long

names in his life-time, but has all this pomp of epithets conferred on him after his death.

Some men, whose fathers have not been much known, adjoin to their own names that of their eldest son. A Turk of the name of Salech, who furnished me for hire with mules to perform the journey from Aleppo to Konie, called himself Fatime Ugli, the son of Fatime. I asked several Turks, if it were common among them to take the name of the mother. They replied, that there were some instances of it, but that no man in his senses would name himself after a woman.

OF THE MANNERS AND USAGES OF THE ARABIANS.

CHAP. CXIX. — *Of Marriage among the Arabians.*

THE Europeans are mistaken in thinking the state of marriage so different among the Mussulmans from what it is with Christian nations. I could not discern any such difference in Arabia. The women of that country seem to be as free and happy as those of Europe can possibly be.

Polygamy is permitted, indeed, among Mahometans, and the delicacy of our ladies is shocked at this idea; but the Arabians rarely avail themselves of the privilege of marrying four lawful wives, and entertaining at the same time any number of female slaves. None but rich voluptuaries marry so many wives, and their conduct is blamed by all sober men. Men of sense, indeed, think this privilege rather troublesome than convenient. A husband is, by law, obliged to treat his wives suitably to their condition, and to dispense his favours among them with perfect equality; but these are duties not a little disagreeable to most Mussulmans; and such modes of luxury are too expensive to the Arabians, who are seldom in easy circumstances. I must, however, except one case; for it sometimes happens that a man marries a number of wives in the way of a commercial speculation. I knew a Mullah, in a town near the Euphrates, who had married four wives, and was supported by the profits of their labour.

Divorce, the idea of which is also regarded as horrid by the fair sex in Europe, is not nearly so common as is imagined in the East. The Arabians never exercise the right of repudiating a wife, unless urged by the strongest reasons; because this is considered a dishonourable step, by persons who value their reputation, and throws disgrace on the woman and her relations. Wives are entitled to demand a divorce when they think themselves ill used by their husbands. Only profligate and imprudent men, who have married without consideration, will divorce their wives for slight causes.

An Arabian, in moderate circumstances, seldom marries more than one wife. And even the most considerable persons in the nation are often contented with one for life. Rich men, who are in a condition to maintain as many wives as they please, have often confessed to me, that although they had begun to live with several wives, they had at last found that they could be happy only with one.

The Arabian women enjoy a great deal of liberty, and often a great deal of power, in their families. They continue mistresses of their dowries, and of the annual income which these afford, during their marriage; and, in the case of divorce, all their own property is reserved to them. Hence it happens, that when a man in narrow circumstances marries a woman of fortune, he is entirely dependent on his wife, and dares not divorce her.

It is absurd to say, as some travellers have, that the Mahometan wives are all slaves, and so entirely the property of their husbands, that they are even inherited by his heirs. In this representation, slaves purchased with money have been confounded with women of free estate, who dispose of themselves in the East just as in Europe.

The opinion, that women are slaves in Arabia, seems to have arisen from the mistaken notion, that fathers there sell their daughters to the highest bidder. It many times happens, no doubt, that a poor man who has an handsome daughter, is pleased to match her with a rich man, from whom he may receive occasional presents. And rich voluptuaries, who choose to marry more wives than one, are obliged to take young women of low condition, who are compelled by interested parents, or seduced by splendour, to accept a husband who associates them with other wives, and at length divorces them.

Instead of selling his daughter, every man, in tolerably easy circumstances, strives to give her a dowry, which may continue her own property. The marriage is made out by the Cadi, and signed in his presence; and in it not only is her dowry secured to the wife, but also a separate maintenance, in case of a divorce. The rich often give their daughters, in preference, to poor men, and consider their children as more likely to be happy, when thus settled, than if they were married to rich men. The wife is then mistress of all the property, and even of the house of her husband, and is not in danger of being sent away.

Many ridiculous stories have been told of the marks of virginity which an Arab expects when he marries a young woman. But most of these stories greatly exaggerate the truth. The Bedouins, and the highlanders of Yemen, a rude and almost savage race, do indeed regard the want of those marks as a proof of dishonour, and think themselves obliged to send a woman back to her relations, when her chastity cannot be thus evinced. But the inhabitants of the towns, being more civilized, never concern themselves about such a trifle; only, in case of such an accident, a son-in-law forces an addition to the dowry from his father-in-law, by threatening to send his daughter home again, although he never actually does so. At Basra I heard of a single instance of divorce upon this ground, and the man was of the lowest class of the people.

Many superstitious observances, respecting marriage, still prevail in Arabia. The Arabs still believe in the virtue of enchantments, and in the art of tying and untying the knots of fate. The miserable victim of this diabolical art addresses some physician, or some old woman; for the old women are always skilled in forcery. The Christians of the East have a still more certain remedy against the effects of witchcraft. They say masses for the person afflicted; and when, at last, the imagination of the poor patient has had time to recover, the honour of the cure is always ascribed to the powerful influence of the masses.

We imagine in Europe, that the inhabitants of the East keep eunuchs for the guardians of their harems; yet eunuchs are not common through the East, and in Arabia there are none. The Turkish Monarch keeps more eunuchs in his seraglio at Constantinople than are in all the rest of his dominions. The Pacha of Aleppo had two, and he of Mosul one, whom he kept, because he had belonged to his father. It is wrong, therefore, to regard Arabia as the seat of eunuchism. They are brought from Upper Egypt, but are mostly natives of the interior and little known provinces of Africa. The Arabians abhor the cruel operation which is requisite to render a man a fit guardian of the chastity of a harem.

Eunuchs born in a climate which has a tendency to inflame the blood, are not absolutely void of all passion for the fair sex. On the sea, between Suez and Jedda, I met
with

with a eunuch who travelled with his seraglio; and at Bafra I heard of another rich eunuch, who kept female slaves for his private amusement.

Much has been said in Europe concerning the origin of the practice of polygamy, so generally prevalent through the East. Supposing that the plurality of wives is not barely allowed by law, but takes place in fact, some of our philosophers have imagined, that, in hot countries, more women than men are born; but I have already stated, that some nations avail not themselves of the permission given by the Mussulman law for one man to marry several wives. It would be unfair to judge of the manners of a whole people by the fastidious luxury of the great. It is vanity that fills seraglios, and that chiefly with slaves, most of whom are only slaves to a few favourite women. The number of female servants in Europe, who are, in the same manner, condemned in a great measure to celibacy, is equal or superior to that of those who are confined in the harems of the East.

It is true, that European clergymen and physicians settled in the East have presumed that rather more girls than boys are born here. I obtained some Lists of Christian baptisms in the East; but some of those were filled with inconsistencies; and, in the others, the number by which the females born exceeded the males was indeed very trifling. I have reason, therefore, to conclude, that the proportion between the male and the female births is the same here as elsewhere. This proportion varies sometimes in Europe, as is proved by a recent instance of a town in England, in which, for some part of this century, more girls than boys have been born.

There are, it must be allowed, a good many Mahometans, who marry more wives than one, and at the same time keep female slaves; but to supply these mens harems a surplus of females is not necessary. Different accidents carry off a number of men, and those accidents are such as the women are not exposed to. In the East, women are more impatient for marriage than in Europe. According to the ideas of Eastern manners, nothing is more disgraceful to a woman than to remain barren. Conscience obliges the women of those regions to desire that they may become mothers. A woman will, therefore, rather marry a poor man, or become second wife to a man already married, than remain in a state of celibacy. I have mentioned the instance of the poor Mullah, who married four wives, and lived by the profits of their labour. The men are equally disposed to marry, because their wives, instead of being expensive, are rather profitable to them. Nothing is more rarely to be met with in the East, than a woman unmarried after a certain time of life.

The Shiites are, by their law, permitted to live for a certain time, by agreement, but without a formal marriage, with a free Mahometan woman. The Persians frequently avail themselves of this permission; but the more rigid Sunnites think this an illicit connection, and do not tolerate it. In Turkey, a man who should cohabit with a free woman, without being married to her, would be punished by law.

CHAP. CXX. — *Of the domestic Life of the Arabs.*

ARABIA affords no elegant or splendid apartments for the admiration of the traveller. The houses are built of stone, and have always terrace roofs. Those occupied by the lower people are small huts, having a round roof, and covered with a certain herb. The huts of the Arabs on the banks of the Euphrates are formed of branches of the date tree, and have a round roof covered with rush mats. The tents of the Bedouins are like those of the Kurdes and Turcomans. They have the aspect of a tattered sail. I have formerly remarked, that they are formed of coarse stuffs prepared by the women.

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The palaces and houses of Arabians of rank display no exterior magnificence. Ornaments are not to be expected in the apartments of men who are strangers to all luxury, except what consists in the number and the value of the horses, servants, and arms which they keep. The poor spread their floors with straw mats, and the rich with fine carpets. No person even enters a room, without having first put off his shoes. A Frenchman boasts of having maintained the honour of his nation, by wearing his shoes in the governor of Mecca's hall of audience. It is just such another boast, as if an Arabian envoy should vaunt of trampling on the chairs of an European Lord.

The men of every family always occupy the fore part of the house, and the women the back part. If the apartments of the men are plain, those of the women are, on the contrary, most studiously set off with decorations. Of this I saw a specimen in a haram, which was nearly finished for a man of rank. One room in it was wholly covered over with mirrors; the roof, the walls, the doors, the pillars, presented all so many looking glasses. The floor was to be set with sofas, and spread with carpets.

Arabians, in circumstances which admit not of their having separate apartments for the females of the family, are careful, whenever they carry a stranger into the house, to enter before him, and cry *Tarik*, retire. Upon this notice, given by the master of the house, the women instantly disappear, and even his very best friends see not one of them. A man must, indeed, deny himself this sight; for it is reckoned highly impolite to salute a woman, or even to look her steadfastly in the face. To avoid receiving strangers in their houses, shopkeepers and artificers expose their wares, and follow their respective trades, in the open streets.

The retired life of the women disposes them to behave respectfully to the other sex. I met a Bedouin lady, who, purely out of respect, left the road, and turned her back upon me; and I saw her do the same to other men. I several times have seen women kiss the hands of a man of distinction, or kneel to kiss his feet.

The great often have in their halls basins with *jets d'eau*, to cool the air. I have mentioned that which we saw in the Imam of Sana's hall of audience. The edges of the basin were coated with marble, and the rest of the floor was covered with rich carpets.

As the people of the East wish to keep their floors very clean, they spit very little, although they smoke a great deal. Yet to spit is not reckoned a piece of impoliteness. I have seen some persons of rank use a spitting-box, and others spit on the bottom of the wall, behind the cushions on which they sit.

As the floors are spread with carpets, and cushions are laid round the walls, one cannot sit down, without inconvenience, on the ground; and the use of chairs is unknown in the East. The Arabians practise several different modes of sitting. When they wish to be very much at their ease, they cross their legs under the body. I found, indeed, by experience, that this mode of sitting is the most commodious for people who wear long clothes, and wide breeches, without any confining ligatures. It seems to afford better rest, after fatigue, than our posture of sitting upon chairs. In presence of superiors, an Arab sits with his two knees touching each other, and with the weight of the body resting upon the heels. As in this position a person occupies less room than in the other, this is the posture in which they usually place themselves at table. I often tried it, but found it extremely uneasy, and could never accustom myself to it. In many parts of Arabia, there are long, low chairs, made of straw mats; but they sit cross-legged on them, as well as on the carpets.

The life which the Arabians lead in their houses, is so vacant and unvaried, that they cannot help feeling it irksome. Their natural vivacity prompts them to seek amusements

amusements out of doors. They frequent coffee-houses and markets, and are fond of assembling in public meetings as often as possible. Yet they have not the same means of diversion as other nations. What I have formerly said concerning the amusements of the inhabitants of the East, respects the Arabians only in part. They are often obliged to take up with sedentary and domestic amusements, which to Europeans appear very insipid.

It is, no doubt, to divert the tedium of a sedentary life, that the people of the East make so much use of tobacco. The Arabians, notwithstanding the natural dryness of their constitution, and the warmth of their climate, smoke still more than the inhabitants of the northern provinces of Asia. They use the long Persian pipe, which I have already described. A custom peculiar to Arabia is, that persons of opulence and fashion carry always about them a box filled with odoriferous wood. They put a bit of this wood into any person's pipe, to whom they wish to express particular respect; and it communicates to the tobacco a fragrant smell, and a very agreeable taste.

I never saw the Arabians use opium, like the Turks and the Persians. Instead of taking this gratification, they constantly chew Kaad. This is the buds of a certain tree, which are brought in small boxes from the hills of Yemen. Persons who have good teeth chew these buds just as they come from the tree; for the use of old men it is first brayed in a mortar. It seems to be from fashion merely that these buds are chewed; for they have a disagreeable taste; nor could we accustom ourselves to them. I found likewise that Kaad has a parching effect upon the constitution, and is unfavourable to sleep.

The lower people are fond of raising their spirits to a state of intoxication. As they have no strong drink, they, for this purpose, smoke Haschisch, which is the dried leaves of a sort of hemp. This smoke exalts their courage, and throws them into a state in which delightful visions dance before the imagination. One of our Arabian servants, after smoking Haschisch, met with four soldiers in the street, and attacked the whole party. One of the soldiers gave him a sound beating, and brought him home to us. Notwithstanding his mishap, he would not make himself easy, but still imagined, such was the effect of his intoxication, that he was a match for any four men.

CHAP. CXXI. — *Of the Food of the Arabians, and their Manner of Eating.*

AS the people of the East squat themselves upon the ground when they sit, so their manner of eating at meals is conformable to this way of sitting. They spread a large cloth in the middle of the room, put upon this cloth a small table only one foot high, and upon the table a large round plate of tinned copper. Upon this are set different copper dishes, neatly tinned within and without. Instead of table napkins, Arabians of rank use a long linen cloth, which those at table put under their knees. Where this linen cloth is wanting, every one uses a small handkerchief of his own. They use no knives nor forks. The Turks have sometimes wooden or horn spoons; but the Arabians use their fingers with great dexterity, and eat all dishes with the hand.

Were we to judge them by the standard of our own manners, the people of the East behave very indecently at an European table. I could not help being much struck by the behaviour of the first Turk I saw eat, who was the comptroller of the customs of the Dardanelles, in company with whom I happened to sup at the French Consul's table. That Turk tore his meat in pieces with his fingers, and wiped them with his napkin. My surprise at this mode of eating ceased when I became more familiar

with the manners of these people. They know not the use of table napkins, and suppose them to be handkerchiefs, with which they are to wipe themselves. They are much at a loss when a piece of meat is to be cut; for they think it indecent to make use of the left hand in cutting it, as with it they perform their ablutions. They manage better when the meats are, after their own fashion, cut into small bits, before being set down on the table. We, Europeans, were at first shocked to see so many hands in the dish together. But, as the Mahometans are obliged, by the laws of their religion, to pay the utmost attention to personal cleanliness, and are habituated to it, there is in reality little difference in point of delicacy, between their mode of eating and ours.

The more eminent Schiechs in the desert eat of nothing but Pilau, or boiled rice. It is served up in a very large wooden plate. The company sit down and eat, one after another, till the whole contents of the plate be exhausted, or they are satisfied. In the houses of persons of distinction in the towns, several of these plates are set, one upon another, in a pyramidal form. When the masters rise, the servants sit down at the same table, and eat up what remains.

The meal was served up in a different style at Merdin, where I dined with fifteen of the Waiwode's officers. A servant stood in the middle of the company, to set down and remove the dishes which were brought in by the other servants. Hardly was a plate set down upon the table, when sixteen hands were thrust into it, all at once, and soon emptied it of its contents, especially when this was pastry, which the inhabitants of the East, whose drink is water, are passionately fond of. They eat with amazing quickness in the East. At Merdan we emptied more than fourteen plates within less than twenty minutes.

The Mussulmans in general, and particularly the Arabs, repeat always a short prayer before sitting down to a meal, "In the name of the most merciful God." When any one has done eating, he rises, without waiting for the rest, and says, "God be praised." They drink little while they eat; but, as they rise from the table after washing, they drink some cold water, and a cup of coffee.

The Arabians, in the eastern part of this country, are not less fond than the Turks of coffee, which they also call Kahwe. They prepare it in the manner which we have adopted from them. The only difference between their mode of preparing it and ours, is, that they, instead of grinding their coffee-beans, pound them in a mortar. We carried a coffee-mill with us into Arabia, but soon found the taste of the pounded coffee much superior to that of the ground, and left off using our mill. The pounding seems better to express the oily parts of the bean, which give the coffee its peculiar relish. The people of the East always drink their coffee without either milk or sugar.

It is odd enough that, in Yemen, the proper country of which the coffee plant is a native, there should be so little coffee drank. It is there called Bunn, and is supposed to have heating effects upon the blood. The favourite drink of the Arabians of this province is prepared from the husks of coffee-beans, slightly roasted, and pounded. It is called Kahwe, or more commonly Kifcher. It tastes like tea, and is thought refreshing. People of distinction drink it out of porcelain cups, and the lower sort out of cups of coarse earthen ware.

Although the Mussulmans are forbidden the use of all intoxicating liquors, yet many of them are passionately fond of these, and drink them privately, and at night in their own houses. Our physician saw, in the house of a rich merchant at Loheia, all the necessary instruments for distilling brandy. On the frontiers of Arabia, where there are Christians, both wine and spirituous liquors are to be found; but in Arabia, none of these are to be obtained, except from the Jews of Sana, who have great plenty, and that
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of excellent quality. They supply their countrymen; but having no casks, they are obliged to carry their wine and brandy in copper vessels, which renders the use of them dangerous to the health. The English, too, sometimes bring arrack from India to Mokha.

At Loheia, we bought a sort of wine, prepared from an infusion of dry grapes in water, in a pot which is buried in the ground, to make the liquor ferment. We had also offered to us a thick, white liquor, called Busa, which is prepared from meal mixed with water, and brought into a state of fermentation. It is used at Basra, and is still more common in Armenia, where the inhabitants keep it in large earthen pots, half buried in the ground, and draw it out for use by the insertion of reeds. A proof of the permanency of national custom is, that Xenophon found this same liquor used in Armenia, and preserved in this very manner.

The Arabians are, in general, a sober frugal nation, which is probably the cause of their leanness, and seemingly stunted growth. Their usual articles of food are rice, pulse, milk, butter, and Keimak, or whipped cream. They are not without animal food; but they seldom eat of it; for it is thought very unwholesome in these hot countries. Mutton is the most common species of animal food used here; and on it the Arabians of the desert chiefly live. As the castration of animals, though not forbidden by the Mussulman law, is little practised here, whether mutton is never used by the Arabians.

The common people in Arabia have little other food, but bad bread made of Durra, a sort of coarse millet, by kneading it with camel's milk, oil, butter, or grease. I could not eat of this bread at first, and would have preferred to it the worst bread I had ever eaten in Europe; but the people of the country, being accustomed to it, prefer it to barley bread, which they think too light.

The modes of baking bread are different in different places of Arabia. In the ship in which we sailed from Jidda to Loheia, there was a sailor, whose task every afternoon was to prepare Durra for next day's bread. He broke and bruised the grain between two stones, one of which was convex, the other concave. Of the meal thus prepared, he formed dough, and then divided it into small cakes. In the mean time, the oven was heated; but it was simply an earthen pot glazed; and a fire of charcoal was kindled up within it. When the oven was sufficiently heated, the cakes were laid against the sides of the pot, without removing the coals, and in a few moments the bread was taken up half-roasted, and was eaten hot.

The Arabians of the desert use a heated plate of iron, or a gridiron, in preparing their cakes. When they have no gridiron, they roll their dough into balls, and put it either among live coals, or into a fire of camels dung, where they cover it till it is penetrated by the heat. They then remove the ashes, and eat the bread, while it is scarcely dry, and still hot. In the towns, the Arabians have ovens like ours; their bread is of barley-meal, and of the form and thickness of our pancakes; but they never give it enough of the fire.

It is singular that the Arabs, who are no strangers to the invention of mills, should still continue the old and troublesome practice of bruising their grain with stones, without machinery. But I suspect that they find bread made of meal prepared in this way to taste more agreeably than that which is made of meal that has been ground in a mill. The negroes of certain countries in Africa, are said to prefer the mode of bruising their maize upon a stone, even after they have lived long among Europeans.

CHAP. CXXII. — *Of the Drefs and Fashions of the Arabians.*

WHEN speaking of the drefs of the inhabitants of the East in general, I communicated some idea of the dreffes used by the Arabians. I described the drefs of people of distinction in Yemen, when I had occasion to mention the drefs of ceremony with which I was favoured by the Imam of Sana. But there is a great variety in the national dreffes of the Arabians, and various fashions prevail among them, which I must not leave unnoticed.

Nothing can be more inconvenient or expensive than the head-drefs worn by Arabians of fashion. They wear fifteen caps, one over another, some of which are indeed of linen, but the rest of thick cloth or cotton. That which covers all the rest is usually richly embroidered with gold, and has always some sentence of the Koran embroidered upon it. Over all these caps they wrap a large piece of muslin, called a *Safch*, ornamented at the ends, which flow loose upon the shoulders, with silk or golden fringes. As it must be very disagreeable, in a hot country, to have the head always loaded in this manner, the Arabians, when in their own houses, or with intimate friends, lay aside this useless weight, all to one or two of the caps. But before persons whom they are obliged to treat with ceremony or respect, they dare not appear without their turbans. Those who desire to pass for men of learning, discover their pretensions by the bulk of their turbans.

Arabians of rank wear one piece of drefs, which is not in use among the other inhabitants of the East. This is a piece of fine linen upon the shoulder, which seems to have been originally intended to shelter the wearer from the sun and rain, but is now merely ornamental.

The common class of Arabs wear only two caps, with the *Safch* carelessly bound on the head. Some have drawers and a shirt; but the greater number have only a piece of linen about their loins, a large girdle with the *Jambea*, and a piece of cloth upon the shoulders; in other respects they are naked, having neither shoes nor stockings. In the highlands, where the climate is colder, the people wear sheep skins. The scanty clothes which they wear through the day, are also their covering by night; the cloth swaddled about the waist serves for a mattress; and the linen garment worn about the loins is a sheet to cover the Arab while he sleeps. The highlanders, to secure themselves from being infested by insects, sleep in sacks.

Persons in a middle rank of life wear, instead of shoes, sandals, being merely single soles, or sometimes thin pieces of wood, bound upon the foot with a strap of dressed leather. People of better fortune use slippers, like those worn through the rest of the East; and this is also the drefs for the feet worn by the women.

The ordinary drefs of the Arabs is indeed simple enough; but they have also a sort of great coat, without sleeves, called *Abba*, which is simpler still. I was acquainted with a blind tailor at *Basra*, who earned his bread by making *Abbas*; so that they cannot be of a very nice shape, or made of many pieces. In Yemen they are worn only by travellers; but in the province of *Lachsa*, the *Abba* is a piece of drefs commonly used by both sexes.

In several places in Arabia, the men wear no drawers; but these with a large shirt are all the drefs used by the lower women. In the *Tehama*, women of this class wrap a linen cloth about their loins in the manner of drawers. The women of *Hedsjas* veil their faces, like those of Egypt, with a narrow piece of linen, which leaves both the eyes uncovered. In Yemen, they wear a larger veil, which covers the face so entirely,
that

that the eyes can hardly be discerned. At Sana and Mokha, they cover the face with a gauze veil, which is often embroidered with gold. They wear all rings on their fingers, arms, nose, and ears. They stain their nails red, and their hands and feet of a brownish yellow colour, with the juice of the plant Elhenne. The circle of the eyes, and even the eye-lashes, they paint black, with a preparation of lead ore called Kochhel. The men sometimes imitate this mode of painting the eyes with Kochhel; but persons of sense laugh at so effeminate a practice.

This mode of staining the skin of a brown colour, is possibly used by the women of the low country, in consequence of the natural fallowness of their complexion. They fancy, that, when the whole body is brown, the peculiar darkness of the countenance will escape observation. I conjecture this much concerning the women, from the practice of the men; they going almost naked, rub the body all over with Elhenne, and thus become entirely brown.

The women of Yemen also make black punctures in their face to improve their beauty. Their natural complexion is a deep yellow; but, among the hills, are persons of fair complexion and fine faces, and there even among the peasantry. In the towns, these women, who think themselves handsome, lift up their veils to shew their beauty, whenever they think they can do it unobserved.

Fashion shews its influence, in a particular manner, in the modes in which the hair and beard are worn in Arabia. In the Innam of Sana's dominions, all men, of whatever station, shave their heads. In other parts of Yemen, all men, even the Schiechs, preserve their hair, wrap it in a handkerchief, and knot it up behind; caps and turbans are not in use there. Some of the highlanders keep their hair long and loose, and bind the head with small cords.

Every body, without exception, wears the beard of its natural length; but the Arabs keep their mustachios very short. In the highlands of Yemen, where few strangers are ever seen, it is disgraceful to appear without a beard. Our servant wore only his mustachios; and those good highlanders fancied that we had shaven him by way of punishment for some fault.

The Turks, on the contrary, shave their beards, and keep only their mustachios long. Among this nation, the beard is an ensign of honour and dignity; and therefore the slaves and domestic servants of great men are obliged to keep themselves close shaven. The Persians wear long mustachios, and clip their beards in an aukward enough fashion. The Kurdes shave their beards, but preserve their mustachios, with a list of hair upon each cheek.

The Arabians have all black beards. Some old men, when their beards are whitened by time, dye them red; but this practice is generally disapproved. The Persians blacken their beards, although naturally black, and continue to do so, till a very advanced age. Turkish gravity could not endure the use of this fashion of ornament. Some young noblemen are indeed beginning to imitate this Persian mode, in order to disguise the whiteness of their beards; for this colour of their hair is more common in Turkey than in the southern regions of Asia. A white beard is thought by the Turks to be very unbecoming for a man of rank.

When Turks, who have had themselves shaven in their youth, determine upon suffering their beards to grow, they observe the ceremony of pronouncing a Fatha, which is considered as a vow to preserve their hair untouched by a razor through the rest of life. The Mahometans perhaps fancy, as some travellers have represented, that angels occupy their beards. It is at least certain, that a man who cuts his beard, after having once determined to preserve it long, is severely punished for the breach of his vow. At

Basra.

Bafra, he would be condemned to receive three hundred blows with a stick, but might indeed, for a round sum escape the punishment. An inhabitant of that city, who had, twelve years before I visited it, shaven himself in a drunken fit, fled to India, and durst never return, for fear of the disgrace, and the punishment, which he had merited both by his shaving and his drunkenness.

The Jews, through all the East, preserve their beards from their youth. They wear the beard not in the same form as the Mussulmans and Christians, having none of it about the temples and the ears. To distinguish themselves still more from the rest of mankind, they retain two tufts of hair hanging over their eyes. These Jews of Arabia resemble those of Poland; only they have a more decent and less beggarly aspect. They dare not wear the turban, but are obliged to content themselves with a small bonnet. Neither are they suffered to dress in any colour but blue; all their clothes are of blue cloth. They are also forbidden the use of the Jambea.

As there are many Banians settled in Arabia, I shall add a few words respecting their dress. It consists of a turban of a particular form, a piece of linen upon the shoulders, another piece of linen fixed by a string about their loins, and slippers. Some also wear over these pieces of dress a long white robe, which plaits upon the haunches, and sits close upon the body and the arms. These Indians used to dress entirely in white; but they received some years since, an order from Sana, enjoining them to wear red clothes. To obtain a dispensation from this change of dress, they paid a considerable sum to the Imam, and the order was revoked. They were soon after enjoined, by another edict, to wear a red, instead of a white turban: But not choosing to buy off in this instance, they obeyed, and now wear a red turban, with the rest of their dress white.

CHAP. CXXIII. — *Arabian Politeness.*

IN Yemen, Oman, and Persia, an European is treated with as much civility as a Mahometan would find in Europe. Some travellers complain of the rude manners of the inhabitants of the East; but it must be allowed that the Europeans often involve themselves in embarrassments in these countries, by being the first to express contempt or aversion for the Mussulmans. A proof of the desire of these governments to obtain the friendship of Europeans, is their exacting easier duties of custom from them than from other nations, as I had occasion to remark, both in Persia, and throughout all Arabia.

In Turkey they are less kindly treated. A comparison of the manners of the Turks with those of the Arabians, will best prove the superior politeness of the latter nation.

The Turks in general hate Europeans; probably from an indistinct remembrance of the bloody wars which they have at different times waged with the inhabitants of the West. Children are, with them, as much terrified at the name of European as with us at the name of Turk. Turks, in the service of Europeans, consider their masters as indebted to them for protection, yet are despised by their countrymen for eating the bread of Christians, and at Constantinople are nicknamed swine-herds. The Europeans are held in particular abhorrence at Damietta, Damascus, and Kahira. The Arabians having never had any quarrels with the inhabitants of Europe, have not the same reasons for viewing them with aversion.

Neither are the Christians of the East treated equally well in all the different parts of Asia. The Armenians and Georgians are not ill looked upon in Persia; and may aspire to the first posts in the army, without changing their religion. I was myself acquainted

acquainted at Shiraz with a Khan, and several officers, who were Christians, and natives of Georgia. The Turks again admit no Christian soldiers into their armies, and regard their Christian fellow subjects with the most insolent contempt.

In Arabia, the Christians are called *Nassara* or *Nufrani*. As they are incapable of any honourable office in this country, the most respectable among them are merchants. The Arabians, for this reason, give every Christian of a decent appearance the title either of *Chauadsje*, or of *Barlagan*, two appellations both signifying merchant. A Christian of more ordinary dress and equipage is called *Mallim*, or *master*, as they suppose such a one to be an artisan. I had assumed the name of *Abdallah*, and was accordingly called in Arabia *Chauadsje Abdalla*, and in Persia *Abdalla Aga*. In *Natolia*, where the Turkish language prevails, and civility seems to be unknown, the Turks call the Christians of the East *Dsjaurler*, a term extremely contemptuous. A Turk, who had hired me his mules for the journey between Aleppo and *Konie*, and was consequently in my service, never gave me another name than *Dsjaur*. I told him, indeed, that I was not a *Dsjaur*, but a *Frank*; and he afterwards gave me the name of *Frank* or *Abdallah*.

The behaviour of the Turks to the Christians corresponds to the reproachful language in which they address them. In the Turkish empire Christians are obliged to wear a badge, which marks their servile condition, and to pay a poll tax. In *Constantinople*, Christians, as they pass, are required either to sweep the streets, and remove the filth, or to pay money, that they may be excused. These vexatious impositions are not warranted by the government; but so abject is the condition of the Christians, that they dare not complain of an injury suffered from a Mahometan. They are in danger of being insulted if they appear in the streets on days of public festivity. I shall mention one instance, out of many, which I witnessed, of the insolence of the Turks. In *Natolia*, we met in the high way with a Turk, who being about to mount his horse, compelled an honest Greek merchant to alight from his mule, and hold the stirrup to him. An Arab would blush for such rudeness. A *Schiech*, from whom we had hired camels, used often to present his back for a step by which I might mount my dromedary.

I know enough of the Christians of the East, to induce me to believe that their own conduct often draws upon them the contempt of the Turks; at least, the Greek merchants whom I saw in *Natolia* were mean, flattering, babbling creatures; qualities which could not but render them contemptible to a haughty and serious nation. They would eagerly run to hold the stirrup, not only to a Turk, but even to their own *Katerdsjis* or horse-hirers, with whom they condescend to cultivate a shameful familiarity. A Turk, who was servant to two Greeks, called his masters *Dsjaurlers*, and they him *Bekir Aga*, or *Mr. Bekir*. In the presence of the Turks, they called themselves *Dsjaurlers*, and give the Turks the pompous titles of *Bascham*, *Effendum*, *Sultanum*, &c. exclusively; but, on the contrary, in the absence of the Turks, they discover an insufferable degree of vanity, and the softest names they give them are *Kafr* and *Kopek*. The Armenians indeed are of a different character. They are grave and sincere, behave with a degree of dignity, and know better how to command the esteem of the Turks, who treat them better than the Greeks. They sometimes, or indeed pretty often, hear themselves called infidels; but this reproach they laugh at, and confidently name themselves Christians, by which means they come to receive the same name from the Mahometans.

In Arabia and Persia, the Jews are held at least as much in contempt as in Europe. In Turkey they are very numerous, and practise all different trades. Among those of them who are employed in commerce, are some rich bankers, who often rise into credit

with people in power, and afford protection to their brethren. The Arabians call them Jehudi. In Turkey, where they are insulted alike by the Mussulmans and the Christians, they receive the denomination of Tschesied, which is still more opprobrious than that of Dsjaur.

The chief part of Arabian politeness is hospitality; a virtue which is hereditary to the nation, and which they still exercise in its primitive simplicity. An ambassador sent to any prince or Schiech has his expences defrayed, and receives presents, according to the custom of the East. A traveller of any distinction, who should go to see any great Schiech in the desert, would receive the same treatment. I have spoken occasionally of the Kans and Mansales, or houses of hospitable entertainment, in which I was received on my travels. What appears to distinguish the Arabians from the other inhabitants of the East, is, that they exercise hospitality to all, without respect of rank or religion.

The Arabians invite all who come in while they are at table, to eat with them, whether great or small, Mahometans or Christians. In the caravans, I have often had the pleasure of seeing a poor Muleteer press passengers to share his meals, and, with an air of satisfaction, distribute his little store of bread and dates to whosoever would accept any part of it from him. I have, on the other hand, been shocked at the behaviour even of rich Turks, who retired to a corner to eat by themselves, that they might avoid asking any one to partake of their fare.

When a Bedouin Schiech eats bread with strangers, they may trust his fidelity, and depend upon his protection. A traveller will always do well to take an early opportunity of securing the friendship of his guide by a meal. When two Arabians salute each other, he who speaks first lays his right hand on his heart, and says, "Salam aleikum," "peace be with you;" the other replies, "Aleikum essalam;" or, "with you be peace." Old persons commonly add their blessing, or rather "the mercy and blessing of God." The Mahometans of Egypt and Syria never salute the Christians in these words; but content themselves with saying to them, "Sebachel chair," "good day;" or, "Sahheb salam," "friend, how art thou?" In Yemen, this distinction is not observed. The inhabitants of the highlands of Yemen use a form of salutation, of which I could never learn the meaning.

I long imagined that the use of a peculiar form of salutation to Christians was owing to the orthodox zeal of the Mahometans; but I have since understood, that it is rather owing to a superstitious aversion in the oriental Christians for the Mussulman form of salutation. They would not suffer me to use those words, and would not reply in them to some Turks who mistook them for men of their own nation; a circumstance which easily happens, as Christians sometimes use the white turban to procure respect, and to make robbers suppose them Turks.

Two Arabs of the desert meeting, shake hands more than ten times. Each kisses his own hand, and still repeats the question, "How art thou?" In Yemen, persons who value themselves on their good breeding, use many compliments. Each does as if he wished the other's hand, and draws back his own to avoid receiving the same honour. At length, to end the contest, the eldest of the two suffers the other to kiss his fingers. People of rank embrace their equals; and all treat one another with a degree of politeness that surprises strangers.

At visits, they observe nearly the same customs as the other inhabitants of the East. When the visit is an ordinary and familiar one, pipes of Kircher and Kaad are always presented; on a visit of ceremony, rose water and perfumes are added. When it is time for the visitor to retire, a servant comes in with a flask of rose water and besprinkles

the company, another perfumes the beard of the visitor, and the wide sleeves of his gown. When we first saw the ceremony used, which was at Raschid, we were a good deal surpris'd to see a servant sit down beside us, and cast water upon our faces.

CHAP. CXXIV. — *Of some peculiar Customs.*

IN hot countries, cleanliness is indispensably necessary to health. The common people, who reason little, might forget or neglect a care so necessary to their welfare. For this reason, as it would seem, have the founders of several sects enjoined purifications and ablutions as a religious duty.

The Arabians are obliged to be extreme cleanly by the laws equally of their climate and their religion; and they observe those precepts with the most scrupulous exactitude. They not only wash, bathe, and pair their nails very often, but cut away all hairs from the body; and pluck them from those parts upon which the razor cannot be employed, that not the least impurity may remain upon them. Those are held in contempt who exercise uncleanly trades, such as the servants at the public baths, barbers, cooks, tanners, &c. This contempt, however, falls upon the employment, without operating to the exclusion of the person exercising it from society.

Much has been said concerning the origin of the custom of circumcising infants, which seems at first view, so absurd. Some have referred it to men's disposition, to offer to the Deity a part of what they hold dearest, and value as most precious. But this seems to be an awkward attempt at pleasantry, and besides, is not true; otherwise, circumcision would be practis'd among all nations, in all climates, and would be regarded as a religious ceremony; whereas it subsists only in hot countries, and there not as a religious institution, but as an old custom.

It is true that several nations, in hot climates, do not practise it, such as the Persians, the Indians, and many of the inhabitants of Africa; but there are others who observe it, although not enjoined by the precepts of their religion. Such are the Christians of Abyssinia, and many of the idolatrous people of Africa. The Mahometans do not consider circumcision as a religious duty, but merely as a laudable custom of their ancestors, worthy of being kept up. None but the superstitious Jews appear to attach ideas of religious sanctity to an observance which is purely civil.

The custom of circumcising infants certainly owes its origin to the physical nature of these climates. There are some corporeal defects and infirmities more common in some countries than in others, which this practice has a tendency to remedy; and, where these prevail, circumcision is used. Nothing is more effectual in preventing those diseases, which, in hot countries, are liable to attack certain parts, than the keeping of those parts very clean by frequent ablution. Circumcision renders this ablution necessary, and reminds those, who might otherwise neglect it, of its utility. Legislators have accordingly thought it their duty to make people take suitable precautions for the preservation of health, by giving this useful custom the sanction of laws civil and religious.

This conjecture will appear the more probable, when it is considered that the practice of circumcising girls is generally in the same countries in which boys are circumcised. In Oman, on the shores of the Persian Gulph, among the Christians of Abyssinia, and in Egypt, among the Arabs and Copts, this latter custom is prevalent. At Basra and Bagdad, all the women of Arabian blood circumcise their daughters as well as their sons. At Kalira, the women who perform this operation are as well known as midwives. They are openly called into houses from the street, without any secret being made of the intention with which they are invited.

In Egypt, we mentioned to a nobleman, who had invited us to his country seat, our curiosity to know in what manner girls were circumcised. He immediately made a young Arabian girl, who had been circumcised, and was then eighteen years of age, to be called in, and allowed us to examine, in the presence of his servants, what changes had been produced by the operation, upon the parts, and even to make a drawing of them. I was convinced, that it is also out of cleanliness, and to render ablution easier, that the practice of circumcising women has been first adopted. No law has appointed it, any more than that of boys; it is a usage, not a religious duty.

The corruption of dead bodies has the most destructive effects upon the health in hot countries; more so than in more temperate climates. It was therefore necessary to secure the inhabitants from its noxious influence, by increasing, through religious motives, their natural aversion for dead carcases. Mahomet, and some other founders of sects, have for this reason affixed ideas of spiritual impurity to the act of touching a dead body. Some Mussulmans require great purification to cleanse a man thus defiled, and separate him for some time from society. The Arabians are less rigid; when a person of this nation has had the misfortune to touch a carcase, he washes himself carefully, and, when no mark of external impurity remains, he then returns to the ordinary intercourse of life.

A frugal nation, who regard even sobriety as a virtue, must naturally affix ideas of shame to every thing that indicates any degree of intemperance. The Arabians are greatly shocked when that accident happens to a man, which is the natural consequence of the fulness of the intestines after too copious a meal, and of the indigestion of windy articles of diet. The Chevalier D'Arvieux has been blamed as guilty of exaggeration in what he says concerning the delicacy of the Arabs upon this score; but I have found all that he says of the manners and usages of this nation to be strictly true. I am, therefore, inclined to believe equally what he relates concerning things which I could not observe or verify myself. It should seem that the Arabs are not all equally shocked at such an involuntary accident. Yet, a Bedouin, guilty of such a piece of indecency, would be despised by his countrymen. The instance of an Arab of the tribe of Belludsje was mentioned to me, who, for a reason of this sort, was obliged to leave his country, and never durst return.

The ignorance of the Arabians subjects them to all the illusions of superstition. They wear almost all amulets upon their arms; on their fingers they have ordinary rings. Their religion is said to oblige them to take off their rings, which are of gold, or set with precious stones, whenever they say their prayers, which, if this precaution were neglected, would be of no efficacy. They seem to think, that, in order to be heard, they must appear before the Deity in the utmost humiliation and abasement.

OF THE LANGUAGE AND SCIENCES OF THE ARABIANS.

CHAP. CXXV. — *Of the Language and Writing of the Arabians.*

THE Arabian language, one of the most ancient and general in the world, has had the fate of other living languages, which have been spoken through many ages, and by the inhabitants of different provinces and countries remote from one another. It has gradually undergone such an alteration, that the Arabic spoken and written by Mahomet may now be regarded as a dead language.

From religious prejudices, perhaps the Mussulmans in general believe, and the Arabians assert, the language of the Koran, and consequently the dialect spoken at Mecca in the days

days of Mahomet, to be the purest and most perfect of all. That dialect, however, differs so widely from the modern language of Arabia, that it is now taught and studied in the college of Mecca just as the Latin is at Rome. The same is done through Yemen; and is so much the more necessary, because the dialect of that province, which differed from Mecca eleven centuries since, has suffered new and very considerable changes since that period. The dialect of the highlands of Yemen is said to have the strongest analogy to the language of the Koran; for those highlanders have little intercourse with strangers. The old Arabic language is, through all the East, just like Latin in Europe, a learned tongue, to be acquired only in colleges, or by the perusal of the best authors.

There is, perhaps, no other language diversified by so many dialects as that of Arabia. The nation, having extended their conquests, and sent out colonies through great part of Asia, and almost over the whole coasts of Africa; the different people conquered by them have been obliged to speak the language of their new masters and neighbours; but those people retained at the same time terms and phrases of their former language, which have debased the purity of the Arabic, and formed a diversity of dialects.

These different dialects in Arabia bear a considerable resemblance to those of Italy; beyond the confines of Arabia, their reciprocal relations to each other are the same as those of the languages of Provence, Spain, and Portugal, and all the others derived from the Latin. Even in the narrow extent of the Imam of Sana's dominions, this diversity of dialects is very considerable. Not only does the language of the Tehama differ from that spoken in the highlands; but, even in the same parts of the country, people of rank use words and phrases entirely unknown to the rest of the people. These dialects of Yemen differ still more widely from those used by the Bedouins in the desert, than from one another.

The pronunciation of one province differs equally from that of other provinces. Letters and sounds are often changed in such a manner as to produce an entire alteration upon the words. I found the pronunciation of the Southern Arabs more soft, and better adapted to European organs, than that of the inhabitants of Egypt and Syria.

A similar diversity of dialects distinguishes the Turkish language. The Turks of Basra cannot understand those of Constantinople, and are no better understood themselves by the Turcomans of Persia.

Although the Arabian conquerors have introduced and established their language in the countries which they conquered, yet their subjects have not always left off the use of their mother tongue. In Syria and Palestine, indeed, no language is to be heard but the Arabic; and yet the Syriac is not absolutely a dead language, but is still spoken in several villages in the Pachalic of Damascus. In many places, in the neighbourhood of Merdin and Mosul, the Christians still speak the Chaldean language; and the inhabitants of the villages who do not frequent towns, never hear any other than their mother tongue. The Christians born in the cities of Merden and Mosul, although they speak Arabic, write in the Chaldean characters, just as the Maronites write their Arabic in Syriac letters, and the Greeks the Turkish in Greek letters.

Many people living under the dominion of the Arabians and Turks have lost the use of their mother tongue. The Greeks and Armenians, settled in Egypt and Syria, speak Arabic; and the services of their public worship are performed in two languages at once. In Natolia, these nations speak their own languages in several different dialects. The Turkish officers sometimes extend their despotism to the language of their subjects. A Pacha of Kayfar, who could not endure to hear the Greek language spoken, forbade

bade the Greeks in his Pachalic, under pain of death, to use any language but the Turkish. Since that prohibition was issued, the Christians of Kayfar and Angora have continued to speak the Turkish, and at present do not even understand their original languages.

The Kurdes, who are nearly independent, have preserved their ancient language, of which there are in Kurdistan three principal dialects. I was informed that the Sabæans, who are commonly called Christians of St. John, still speak and write their ancient language. The most learned of the few of this sect, who are settled in Basra, was a farrier; him I prevailed with to write me out the characters of his language; but he wrote them so indistinctly, that I could form no idea of his alphabet.

I was not fortunate enough to discover any Hamjarine inscriptions in Arabia, although I had learnt that there were such in several places written in absolutely unknown characters. I have already spoken, in the proper place, of an inscription, probably still more ancient, which was shown me by a Dutch renegado, and of which the characters bore a great resemblance to those of the inscriptions among the ruins of Persepolis. A Maronite of Mount Libanus related to me, that grottos and ruins were to be seen upon a hill in his country, on which were unknown inscriptions, most probably Phœnician.

The Arabic character, which was anciently in use, but is now entirely lost, was the Kufic. It seems to have been the alphabet of the Arabians of Mecca; for the Koran was originally written in Kufic characters. The inhabitants of Yemen have always used a different alphabet, and therefore could not read the Koran, when it was first published after the death of Mahomet. In Yemen, I copied some inscriptions in Kufic characters, which had been engraven in the twelfth century. These characters being in some degree of a square form, are still used in inscriptions.

I had flattered myself, that I might obtain some light from medals concerning the ancient written characters of this nation; but medals are extremely rare in Arabia; when found, they are commonly sold to the goldsmiths, and immediately melted down. In Kurdistan, a great quantity of Grecian, Roman, and Persian medals, have been dug up, and of them better care is taken; in places remote from great towns, they are used as current money.

The invention of the modern characters, which are very different from the Kufic, is ascribed to a vizier. The Arabians, Persians, and Turks, write Arabic in sets of characters differing in several particulars from one another. They have also modes of writing for different forms of business, each of which has its particular name.

The hand-writing of the Arabians in the common business of life is not legible. The orientals, however, value themselves on their writing, and have carried the art of making beautiful written characters to high perfection. But the Arabians value chiefly a species of elegance, which consists in their manner of joining their letters, the want of which makes themselves dislike the style in which Arabic books are printed in Europe.

They sign their letters with a sort of cypher, to prevent the possibility of counterfeiting their signature; at least, the great and the learned do so. Their letters, folded, are an inch in breadth, and their leaves are pasted together at one end. They cannot seal them; for wax is so soft in hot countries that it cannot retain an impression.

CHAP. CXXVI. — *Of the Education and Schools of the Arabians.*

THE monarchs of the East do not take the same care, or lay out the same expence, for the encouragement of science as the sovereigns of Europe. In Arabia, therefore, are neither numerous academies, nor men of profound learning.

Yet the Arabian youth are not entirely neglected. In the cities, many of the lowest of the people are taught both to read and write; the same qualifications are also common among the Schiechs of the desert, and in Egypt. Persons of distinction retain preceptors in their families to instruct their children and young slaves; for they bring up such of their young slaves as appear to possess natural abilities, like children of the family.

In almost every mosque is a school, denominated *Mœddrasse*, having a foundation for the support of teachers, and the entertainment and instruction of poor scholars. In great towns are likewise other schools, to which people of middle rank send their children to receive religious instruction, and to learn reading, writing, and arithmetic. I have often seen schools of this sort in the market place; they are open like shops towards the street. The noise and appearance of passengers does not seem to divert the attention of the scholars, who sit before a small desk, and read their lessons aloud, balancing themselves constantly in their seats; to such a degree does motion appear necessary to rouse and keep up the attention of the inhabitants of hot countries. No girls attend these schools; they are privately taught by women.

Beside these small schools, there are some more considerable seminaries of education in some great towns in Arabia. These are colleges in which the sciences of astronomy, astrology, philosophy, and medicine are taught; in these the Arabians, although possessed of natural abilities, have, for want of good books and masters, made but little progress. In the dominions of the Imam, there have long been two famous academies; one at Zebid for Sunnites, and the other at Damar for the Zeidites. When I passed through these two cities, I happened to neglect making myself acquainted with the professors, or acquiring any knowledge of their system of instruction. I suppose, however, that the same studies are cultivated in these two academies as in that of *Dsjamea el Asfar* at Kahira.

The interpretation of the Koran, and the study of the ancient history of the Mahometans, are the principal employments of men of letters among the Arabians. These studies take up much time; for the student must not only acquire the ancient Arabic, but also make himself familiar with all the commentators on the Koran, the number of whom is very considerable.

I was informed, that all men of letters undergo a public examination, before they can be promoted to any employment, civil or ecclesiastical. Yet those examinations are surely conducted with partiality; for many persons, indifferently qualified, rise to considerable offices, while men of merit are often obliged to act as transcribers or schoolmasters.

CHAP. CXXVII. — *Of Arabian Poetry and Eloquence.*

THE Arabians have been always accounted admirers of poetry. Their early history records many instances of the estimation in which they held this art, even before the days of Mahomet, and of the glory which any family acquired that produced a poet.

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The Arabians have no great poets among them at present, although they still cultivate poetry, and sometimes reward those who excel in it. The best poets are among the Bedouins of Dsjof. A Schiech of that country was, a few years since, imprisoned at Sana. The Schiech, observing a bird upon the roof of a house, recollected the opinion of those pious Mussulmans, who think it a meritorious action to deliver a bird from a cage. He thought that he himself had as good a right to liberty as any bird, and expressed this idea in a poem, which his guards got by heart, and which becoming generally known, at length reached the Monarch's ears, who was so pleased with it, that he set the Schiech at liberty, although he had been guilty of various acts of robbery.

The Arabians often sing the exploits of their Schiechs. Not long since, the tribe of Khafael having obtained a victory over the Pacha of Bagdad, made a song, in which the actions of every one of their chiefs were celebrated. But the tribe of Khafael being beaten next year by the Pacha, a poet of Bagdad made a parody of the Arabian song, in which he extolled the valour of the Pacha and his officers. In my time, the song of the Arabians still continued to be sung at Bagdad, and among the Bedouins. When Affad, Pacha of Damascus, who had long commanded the caravans, and was beloved by the Arabians, was assassinated by order of the Sultan, the Bedouins made an elegy on his death, and sang it openly in the towns of Syria. That piece is in the form of a dialogue between some Arabians, the daughter of the Schiech of the tribe of Harb, and the lieutenant of the assassinated Pacha.

A Maronite informed me, that the poets of Syria sent their compositions to the academy of Dsjamea el Afhar, at Kahira; and did not sing them publicly till they had received the approbation of that academy.

In a country like Arabia, where occasions of speaking in public seldom occur, eloquence is an useless accomplishment, and therefore cannot be much cultivated. The Arabians say, however, that they hear great orators in their mosques. As Europeans are not admitted to hear those sermons, I never had an opportunity to satisfy myself in respect to the truth of this account of the sacred eloquence of Arabia.

The only theatres for the exercise of profane eloquence are the coffee-houses in Arabia, Egypt, and Syria. Those coffee-houses are commonly large halls, which have their floors spread with straw mats, and are illuminated at night by a multitude of lamps. The guests are served with pipes, and a cup of coffee. As the Arabians never engage in any game, and sit still without entering into conversation with one another, they would find their evenings extremely irksome, if readers and orators did not attend in the coffee-houses to amuse them. These are commonly Mullachs, or poor scholars.

Such of them as are content with the praise of reading or repeating the works of others, select chosen passages from some favourite authors, such as, among the Arabians, the history of Antar, an Arabian hero who lived before Mahomet; the adventures of Rustan Sal, a Persian hero; or Beber, king of Egypt; the history of the Ayubites, anciently sovereigns of Arabia; and the life of Bahluldan, a buffoon in the court of Haroun el Raschid. The least of these books contains some good morality.

Those Mullachs who aspire to the praise of invention make tales and fables, which they walk about and recite; or assuming oratorical consequence, deliver discourses upon any subjects they choose. When the orator has ended, he obtains a voluntary contribution from his hearers. This, although but a very moderate reward, encourages those poor Mullachs to learn to recite gracefully, or to compose tales and speeches with some success. At Aleppo, I heard of a man of distinction who studied for his own pleasure, yet had gone the round of all the coffee-houses in the city to pronounce moral harangues.

At Constantinople, assemblies in the coffee-houses are, for political reasons, prohibited; and the decoction of coffee is sold only in the shops. The Turks, an ignorant, grave, and silent nation, are indeed not fond of public orators, and have no relish for an amusement, so delightful to the Arabians, who have greater sensibility for the beauties of poetry and eloquence.

CHAP. CXXVIII. — *Of the Astronomy of the Arabians.*

THE modes of the division of time in use among the Arabians show how little progress this nation have made in astronomy. They know indeed, a little of its elements; but this, it should seem, rather from tradition, than from any observations of their own.

The Arabian day consists of twenty-four hours, and lasts from sun-setting to sun-setting. Their hours are therefore of uncertain duration, and vary with the length of the natural day, or the time during which the sun is above the horizon. As they are strangers to the use of watches, none of them has any precise idea of the duration of their hours, but, like the peasants of Europe, they distinguish the different parts of the day by vague, uncertain denominations, which only approach near the truth.

Their year consists of twelve lunar months. They begin the month with the new moon; and, when the sky is so clouded that they cannot see her rise, then they make no difficulty of beginning the month a day or two later. Thus all their months go the round of the seasons; and this division of the year marks out no period for the labours of husbandry, or any of the other employments of civil life. To obviate this inconvenience, the learned reckon by other months corresponding to the course of the solar year, and consisting of the same number of days as ours.

In Arabia, as in other Mahometan countries, two great festivals are annually celebrated; that of offerings, called Arafa or Corban, and that of Beiram, immediately after Ramadan. The reckoning by lunar months occasions these festivals also to circulate through the whole year. When the fast of Ramadan falls in Summer, it is extremely distressing; for the people, however, employed in labour, dare taste nothing even in the longest days of the year, till the sun is down.

At Constantinople, the Sultan's astronomer composes every year a portable almanac, of which there are at least several copies made. But, in Egypt and Arabia, this mode of acquainting the people with the return of the festivals, and the progress of the seasons, has not been thought of; and so ignorant are they on this head, that the same festival is sometimes two days earlier, and sometimes as much later than the just time, and often on different days at different places. A cloud hiding the new moon from one city, while she is seen by another, will be sufficient to produce these irregularities.

It is not for want of a passion for astronomy that the Arabians have made so little progress in this science. But they want books and instruments. I found some of the nobles curious to see, and to assist at astronomical observations; and some of their learned men passed whole nights with me in examining the heavens. They have the work of Abdarachman es Sofi upon the constellations, and the tables of Ulugh Beigh, by which some astronomers in the great towns are enabled to calculate eclipses. Their instruments are a celestial globe of copper, bestudded with golden stars, which they well know how to use; an astrolabe of brass, and a quadrant of wood, to take altitudes, and to determine the hour for prayer.

I was told that the Persians, but particularly the Brachmans, were more skilful astronomers than the Arabians; yet, to judge from the instruments and conversation of a

Persian astrologer whom I met with at Surat, and of a Brachman with whom I was acquainted at Bombay, these two nations are equally unskillful as the inhabitants of Arabia. In making calculations, the Persian used the tables of Ulugh Beigh, and the Brachman a book which he called *Grola Go*, and its author *Gunnis*. The Indian's instruments were a bowl of copper, having a hole in the bottom, set in water, which served him for a pendulum, with an indifferent solar circle.

It is known to the astrologers, and to all men of sense in Arabia, that eclipses are owing to the interception of the light of one heavenly body by the interposition of another. But the people still maintain the superstitious opinion, that a huge fish pursues the planet which is eclipsed. To chase away the fish, women and children get upon the roofs of the houses, and make a noise during the eclipse by beating upon brazen kettles and basins. The rise of this custom is referred to an Arabian astronomer, who persuaded the people of this fable, that they might make a noise great enough to reach the ears of the Caliph of Persia, who had refused to credit that astronomer's prediction of the eclipse.

The Arabians seem to study astronomy solely with a view to their success in the cultivation of astrology, a science highly esteemed and very lucrative in the east. When I told the first astronomer in Kahira of the contempt in which we hold astrology in Europe, he replied, that it was a divine science, the depths of which man could not fathom. He at the same time acknowledged to me the uncertainty of his calculations; but, added he, people desire only to know what my books say of their affairs, and that I honestly tell them.

The Koran expressly forbids all Moslems to pry into futurity by any form of divination; and the most famous commentators for this reason represent the study of astrology as criminal. But, notwithstanding the decision of those doctors, the Mahometans are all much attached to this science; the Shiites, however, more than the Sunnites. The former sect carry this superstition to such a length, as never to conclude a bargain without trying fortune, at least by counting the buttons on their clothes, or the beads of their rosaries. The Persians are not all alike weak in this respect. It is said that Kerim Khan, in compliance with the popular error, undertakes nothing of consequence, without first consulting the astrologers; but he previously informs them of his designs, and dictates the answers which they are to return.

CHAP. CXXIX. — *Of the Diseases and Medicine of the Arabians.*

A REGULAR and temperate life preserves the body from the attacks of disease. The Arabians, accordingly, are seldom sick, and hardly ever have recourse to physicians and medicines. When forced by extreme illness to call in a physician, they reward him poorly, and hardly pay for the value of his medicines. When the sick person dies, the physician has no reward to hope for; if he recovers, he soon forgets the services he has received. This ingratitude of their patients has taught them to use artificers often dishonest and disgraceful, in order to obtain payment from the patient before-hand.

In Arabia, therefore, we cannot expect to find great physicians. Those who there practise the art of medicine, know little more than the technical terms, such as they find them in the books of Avicenna, and some little matters about the use of simples. All the physicians whom I knew in Yemen acted at the same time as chemists, apothecaries, surgeons, and horse doctors; and yet, by the practice of all these arts together, could hardly earn a livelihood.

The Arabians have many family nostrums, which they apply with much success. A peasant from the highlands extracted, by incision, a lacteous juice from a spongy tree, and by swallowing drops of it, which he knew to be a poison, if taken in greater quantity, gave himself a purge.

The Bedouin heals wounds which have been made with clear arms, by applying to them raw flesh from a camel newly killed. A man on board the Arabian vessel in which we sailed from Jidda to Lohcia complained of a colic, upon which his master put an iron in the fire, and applied it hot to him till his pains ceased.

In Yemen, the anointing of the body is believed to strengthen and protect it from the heat of the sun, which the inhabitants of this province, as they wear so little clothing, are very liable to suffer. Oil, by closing up the pores of the skin, is supposed to prevent that too copious transpiration which enfeebles the frame. Perhaps too these Arabians think a glistening skin a beauty. When the intense heat comes in, they always anoint their bodies with bad oil. At Sana, all the Jews, and many of the Mahometans, have their bodies anointed, whenever they find themselves indisposed. The extreme unction of the Christians in the East does not affect the health; for they are obliged to pay their patriarch so dear a price for the pretended holy oil, that out of frugality, the point of a silver needle only is dipped in the oil, and what adheres to it dropped upon the dying person.

It was formerly imagined that the Arabians would rather die than endure the administration of a glyster; but our physician prevailed with several persons of distinction at Cairo to take this remedy. Every one was shocked, however, when he proposed it for a woman. Bleeding is seldom employed in Arabia; yet, a Banian bled one of us with great dexterity at Mokha. In Yemen, it is pretty frequently used. At Basra, the lower people, especially porters, scarify their legs, in the idea that this practice has a tendency to improve their strength.

Tooth-achs are less common in Arabia than in Europe, because the inhabitants wash the mouth, after eating, more carefully than we. In the towns, however, this disorder is not unknown, and is ascribed to the infectious smell with which the air is tainted from the common sewers. At Basra, where these are not carefully cleansed, the teeth of the inhabitants are very much spoiled; and I have seen a barber stopped in the street, by a person in pain, to draw out his teeth publicly. These tooth-achs are not owing to the use of coffee, for they were common in Egypt before this beverage was drank there. A Mullah told me that an Arabian had been cured of a tooth-ach by introducing into a hollow the smoke of a certain plant, which had brought several small worms out of that tooth.

A disease very common in Yemen is the attack of the Guinea-worm, or the *Vena Medinenfis*, as it is called by the physicians of Europe. This disease is supposed to be occasioned by the use of the putrid waters, which people are obliged to drink in several parts of Yemen; and for this reason the Arabians always pass water, with the nature of which they are unacquainted, through a linen cloth, before drinking it. When one unfortunately swallows any of the eggs of this insect, no immediate consequence follows; but after a considerable time the worm begins to shew itself through the skin. Our physician, Mr. Cramer, was within a few days of his death, attacked by five of these worms at once, although this was more than five months after we had left Arabia. In the isle of Karak, I saw a French officer, named Le Page, who, after a long and difficult journey, performed on foot, and in an Indian dress, between Pondicherry and Surat, through the heat of India, was busy extracting a worm out of his body. He supposed that he had got it by drinking bad water in the country of the Marattas.

This disorder is not dangerous, if the person affected can extract the worm without breaking it. With this view, it is rolled on a small bit of wood, as it comes out of the skin. It is slender as a thread, and two or three feet long. It gives no pain as it makes its way out of the body, unless what may be occasioned by the care which must be taken of it for some weeks. If unluckily it is broken, it then returns into the body, and the most disagreeable consequences ensue, palsy, a gangrene, and sometimes death.

As venomous serpents are very common in hot, dry countries, it often happens, that they bite people who have occasion to be much in the open fields. The Arabians would not, for any compensation, teach us the secret by which they cure their bites, and prevent the effects of the poison. But, a Schiech at Basra, who was celebrated for his skill in the occult sciences, informed me, that he used to scarify the wound, and then rubbed it to his mouth, and sucked the poison without danger to himself, and with the happiest success. This mode of cure is not unlike that of the Hottentots, who apply bruised slices of a sort of white onion to wounds of this sort. Over all the East, the power of sympathy in curing diseases is firmly believed. Some instances were mentioned to me of persons who had healed others bitten by serpents, at a distance, without seeing them, or applying any remedies to them.

Besides, the serpents of Asia are not all alike dangerous. Some are harmless and familiar, take refuge in the walls of houses, and are esteemed agreeable guests by the inhabitants. The sailors brought a serpent of this character on board our ship, after it had been inadvertently carried out, lest its absence might prove unlucky to the vessel.

The leprosy seems to have been always an endemic disease in Arabia; for there is one species of leprosy which authors distinguish by the character of Arabian. Three different varieties of this disease are known here at present; of which two, named Bohak and Barras, are rather disgusting than dangerous; but the third, called Juddam, is very malignant, and apparently infectious. This latter exhibits the same symptoms which the English physician Hillary ascribes to what he calls the leprosy of the joints.

The Turks, from a misconception of the doctrine of predestination, use no precautions against the plague; but the Arabians, although true Mussulmans, are more careful in respect to the leprosy. The last prince of Abu Schæhhr used to send to the isle of Bahrein all who were attacked with the leprosy, or with venereal complaints. At Basra, lepers are shut up in a house by themselves; and there is a quarter in Bagdad surrounded with walls, and full of barracks, to which lepers are carried by force, if they retire not thither voluntarily; but government does not seem to provide with any care for the maintenance of those lepers. They come out every Friday to the market place to ask alms.

It is said, that these wretched creatures are much inclined to sooth their misery in the enjoyments of love. Not many years since, a leper employed a cruel stratagem in order to obtain a woman with whom he was in love. He wore a fine shirt for a few days, and then caused it to be privately sold, for a trifling price, to the object of his passion. When he knew that the leprosy had made its appearance upon her, he informed against her, and procured her to be shut up with himself in the barracks.

At Bombay, the leprosy is not uncommon among the lower people; but it seems not to be of a dangerous nature; for there lepers are permitted to work in company with persons not affected with the disease. In India, as in Arabia, the leprosy is thought to be occasioned chiefly by the unwholesome food, especially putrid fish, used by the people. Mr. Forskal has left a description of the different varieties of the leprosy, which must be valuable to physicians.

I could learn nothing concerning the origin of the plague. It is at least not owing to the putrefaction of the waters at Cairo. The Christians who live on the banks of the great canal are never annoyed by it. Whatever has been said concerning certain diseases preserving those who are affected by them from the contagion of the plague, is founded on prejudices which have been refuted by experience, and particularly by the observations of Dr. Ruffel, a skilful physician at Aleppo.

Inoculation for the small pox has been in use from time immemorial among the Bedouins. Mothers perform this operation on their children, opening the skin of the arm with the prickle of a thorn. An Arabian of the isle of Lam, situate on the south east coast of Africa, informed me at Bombay, that inoculation had been known and practised in his country for several ages.

CHAP. CXXX. — *Of the Occult Sciences of the Arabians.*

To speak of the occult sciences of any people, is to describe their ignorance, weakness of understanding, and wildness of imagination. Such a description would be too humiliating to human pride, did it not at the same time afford us consolation, by shewing from what endless absurdities we are saved by the study of sound philosophy, particularly of physics.

Those pretended occult sciences are in high estimation among the Arabians. None dare practise them, unless previously authorised by a master in the art, after serving a sort of apprenticeship; or, as the Arabians say, without having for some time spread the carpet for prayer before the feet of a famous master. A certain proof of their veneration for these sciences, is, that one of the first men in Mecca, and of the highest nobility in Arabia, Schiech Mohammed el Dsjanadsjeni, is now the most celebrated master of the science of Ism Allah.

This science of Ism Allah, or of the name of God, is the most sublime of all; for God is the lock, as Mahomet is the key; and consequently none but Mussulmans can acquire it. It enables its possessor to discover what is passing in the most distant countries, to make himself familiar with genii, and to oblige them to obey his pleasure; to dispose of the winds and seasons as he chooses; and to cure the bites of serpents, and many other diseases or infirmities. Persons who have advanced far in the study of this science, have attained, as there are instances to prove, to a facility of performing their prayers at noon, in the Kaba at Mecca, without going out of their own houses in Bagdad or Aden for the rest of the day. A merchant of Mecca, who had studied this science in that city, under the famous Dsjanadsjeni, assured me, that he had himself, when in danger of perishing at sea, fixed to the mast a billet written by the rules of art, which instantly calmed the storm. The art of discovering hidden treasure belongs also to this science, in which the Magrebins or Arabians of Barbary are known to excel.

The art of procuring sublime visions is not unknown to these Arabians; they use the same means which are employed by the devotees of certain societies in Europe. They shut themselves up for a long time without eating or drinking, in a dark place, and continue to repeat their prayers aloud till they faint away. After recovering from the swoon, and leaving the cave, they relate what they have seen in their trance. The common pretences are, that they have beheld God in his glory, angels, and spirits of all sorts, heaven and hell.

The second of these sciences, called Simia, is not of so exalted a nature, but has something human in it. It only teaches juggling tricks. Although the most sensible of the Mahometan clergy disapprove of this science, some orders of dervises, however, apply

to it, and practise it, as they say, to prove the truth of their religion, and the sanctity of the founder of their order. These pretended miracles are no where oftener performed than at Basra, where I have seen a company of dervises, of the order of Bed-reddin, walk all day about in the streets, leaping, dancing, beating the drum, and making gesticulations with sharp pointed irons, which they seemed to strike into their eyes.

In the same city, I was present at a festival which the dervises of this order celebrate every year in honour of the birth of Mahomet. The scene was in the open air, and in the court of the mosque, which was illuminated with only three lamps. Several Mullahs and dervises began with singing some passages out of the Koran. They continued to sing, with the accompaniment of some drums; and, during the music, the other dervises arose, took the sharp pointed irons, and did as if they were piercing their bodies, and even driving the irons with mallets into their flesh. Next appeared the principal actor, who, assuming an air of inspiration, directed the music to proceed, and to be raised to higher animation, in order to assist his enthusiast, or rather to stun the ears of the spectators. In his extacy, he threw up his turban in the air, loosened his hair; for this order of dervises wear their hair; and pierced his body with five lances: then mounting upon a low building, upon which a pole, sixteen feet long, and shod with a sharp iron point, had been set up, he impaled himself upon the pole, and was carried in this condition through the square.

It was an affecting sight, to see a lean man, with a long beard, and dishevelled hair, wounded all over with spikes, and then carried about spitted upon a pole. I said, as I went away, to a Mullah of my acquaintance, that the dervise performed his tricks by means of a broad belt which he carried in his long wide drawers. The Mullah replied, that he had suspected some such art, but avoided mentioning his suspicions, lest he might draw upon himself the enmity of the order of Bed-reddin; for that one of his brethren had experienced great persecution from those dervises, in consequence of presuming to hint his doubts of the reality of their miracles.

Understanding that the impaled dervise went also about, exhibiting in private houses for money, I offered him two ducats, if he would come and shew me what he could do. He accepted my offer, came, and began with a long harangue on the dignity of his order, and its founder, who had transmitted to his disciples the gift of working miracles. After this he prayed, and pushed the spikes with violence into his head and body. I examined the places into which the points had seemed to enter, and found the skin slightly torn, but without effusion of blood. I, however, thought that he had suffered enough for two ducats, and dismissed him.

The science of Kurra teaches to compose billets, which secure the wearer from the power of enchantment, and from accidents of all sorts. Those billets are inclosed in small purses of skin, and worn on the head, the arm, or the breast. They are likewise bound upon the necks of horses and asses, to give them an appetite for their food, or to tame them when unmanageable. In the citadel of Diarbekir, a billet of this sort put an end to a troublesome croaking of frogs. A man of eminence in Aleppo distributes every year, gratis, billets for freeing houses from flies. The efficacy of these billets depends on the day, the hour, and the particular condition of the messenger who is sent to ask for them. Old women continue to use them, however often they fail, being simple enough to suppose always that some of the conditions requisite to the efficacy of the billets have been wanting when they have been unsuccessful. These billets are not the worse for being written by a Jew or a Christian. Being thought an astrologer, I was often asked for such. These billets are at least no worse than those for making hens lay,

lay, which were publicly sold by a Jesuit, in the middle of the eighteenth century, and among enlightened nations.

The science of Rámle is properly the art of fortune-telling. Jews, as well as Mussulmans, deal in it. When a man falls sick, his friends, in order to learn whether he will recover, send to consult a Mullah, who returns an answer, after examining his book, and receives for his pains a cock or a sheep.

The Sunnite clergy condemn the practice of these two last sciences; yet they are tolerated, because they afford a livelihood to a great number of poor scribes. As the Arabians are in general covetous, men of wealth and distinction too often practise these low arts for gaining money.

A science truly occult, and which every Arabian of worth must hold in abhorrence, is what they call Sihhr, or pure open forcery. The end of this science is rather to do mischief to another person than to do good to the person who practises it. It is sometimes employed, however, to seduce a wife from the arms of her husband into those of a stranger. All that is requisite for this is to fix a certain billet on her door. The inhabitants of Oman are peculiarly skilled in this execrable science: yet they are certainly inferior to our European forcerers; for they know nothing of the art of riding through the air on a broomstick, or of nocturnal assemblies under the presidency of the devil.

I found in Arabia more votaries than I expected of an occult science of a different sort, the pursuit of the philosopher's stone. The Arabians are so passionately addicted to this science, which is the object of their highest wishes, and most eager researches, that they often ruin their fortunes by it, as the alchymists of Europe have been accustomed to do. They suppose the secret of making gold to be known in Europe, especially among the Venetians. They have books in their own language which treat of that science, and inspire them with wild hopes. It should seem, that the idea of the philosopher's stone is originally oriental, and has been brought westward, like many other foolish fables.

At Beit el Fakih, we became acquainted with two alchymists, who wrought each by the precepts of a particular book. The one, who was an amiable, and, in all other respects, a sensible man, was sure of success, as he imagined, if he could find a certain herb, which he believed to grow on the hills of Yemen. As he supposed us to be likewise alchymists, and to have come on purpose to seek that wonderful herb, he cultivated the intimacy of Mr. Forkal, and was of great use to him in his botanical excursions; but the poor man, who has already wasted all his own substance, and was then working at the expence of a rich nobleman, was not fortunate enough to find the herb he sought. There is said to be an herb on mount Libanus which communicates a yellow golden hue to the teeth of the goats which graze upon it. The observation of this fact may perhaps have given rise to the opinion of the efficacy of an herb in promoting the great work.

The other of these Arabian alchymists was a sort of physician, so poor that he had not wherewith to buy a glass alembic. He believed that he should succeed in making gold if he could discover the meaning of a particular term in his book. Knowing that Mr. Von Haven was a linguist, he applied to him for the explanation of a barbarous term which nobody could understand.

AGRICULTURE OF THE ARABIANS.

CHAP. CXXXI. — *Fertility of the Soil.*

A TRAVELLER, who is obliged to spend the greatest part of his time in towns, and has only a transient view of the country, cannot acquire just ideas of the fertility of the lands, or the modes of cultivation. I neglected no opportunity that offered of obtaining information, concerning the state of agriculture in the East, from such persons as I understood to be best qualified to give it. I shall here set down what came to my knowledge concerning the fertility of Arabia Proper, and of those other countries in which the Arabians have settlements.

The most fertile soil I heard of is in Egypt, and in the lands lying immediately around Alexandria. By the accounts of the European merchants in that city, wheat yields an hundred fold increase; but the peasants told Mr. Forikal, that their most plenteous wheat harvests afforded no greater returns than from thirty to seventy fold, and, in some places, from fifteen to twenty fold. It is at least certain, that the lands of Egypt, although watered by the Nile, afford in all other places only an increase of tenfold. Granger never met with a greater produce than this last.

In Mesopotamia, in the vicinity of Kelle, Bagdad, and Basra, where the lands are watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris, it is thought a singularly good crop when the increase is twenty-fold; nobody remembers having seen thirty fold produced.

In the plains of Assyria, at Erbil, and in the neighbourhood of Mosul, the cultivated grounds yield only a return of ten or fifteen to one. But corn of these countries, which are watered solely by rain, is of a better quality, and produces more meal than what grows upon fields artificially watered. Fifteen fold is better in Assyria than twenty fold in Mesopotamia. In the neighbourhood of Diarbekir, the ordinary wheat crop is from four to fifteen fold.

An inhabitant of Merdan assured me that he reaped fifty for one in barley; a return which he himself considered as extraordinary; the usual increase being only from seven to fifteen. Upon more particular inquiry respecting this fact, I learned that there were in this country two different sorts of barley, the common and black barley. The latter serves best for the use of cattle, and yields fifty fold; while the increase of the common barley never exceeds fifteen fold. There are likewise two sorts of wheat, one of which yields a larger return than the other, and yet is seldomer sown, because it exhausts the ground more.

In Syria, near Aleppo, nobody could recollect more than one harvest that had yielded above twenty to one. The peasants between Saide and Damascus, and those about Bethlehem, had never, in their best years even, reaped more than from twelve to fifteen fold increase.

In Arabia, in the environs of Maskat, wheat yields ten to one. In the province of Yemen, agriculture seems to be farther advanced than in the other parts of the East. I was assured, that, in the best cultivated districts, wheat yields an increase of fifty fold; durra, in the highlands, an hundred and forty; and in the Tehama, from two hundred even to four hundred. The latter product may appear incredible; but by their mode of sowing and watering this grain, the inhabitants of the Tehama reap three successive crops from the same field, in the same year. Durra is, in general, the most productive grain. Granger says, that, on the banks of the Nile, it yields fifty to one.

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These particulars may afford some general idea of the productive powers of land in the East. The ancients, and some modern travellers, with a view, it should seem, to garnish their works with wonders, have related things absolutely incredible of the fertility of these regions. Their calculations have either been intentionally enlarged beyond the truth, or the natives have imposed upon them.

Yet it is not impossible to bring their accounts within the bounds of probability. It is a vague way of estimating the fertility of any soil, to say that the produce is in such a proportion to the seed. Skillful modes of sowing and sowing may give a great saving of seed, as I shall soon have occasion to remark, when speaking of the agriculture of the peasants of Yemen. If, then, a piece of ground, where one half of the seed has been lost through the unskillfulness of the sower, yet produces ten fold in the crop, another piece of ground, of the same degree of fertility, and sown with only half the quantity of seed, will yield twenty for one, and will consequently seem, upon a hasty consideration, to be twice as fertile. This circumstance does not appear to have been duly attended to, by either the ancients or the moderns, in their accounts of the fertility of distant countries.

Neither do they state what sort of grain they allude to in their calculations of the produce of the lands. We have seen that there is a great difference between the increase of wheat and that of durra. The latter grain, a sort of coarse millet, known in Denmark by the name of Sargo, has been found in Europe to be friendly to the fertility of the lands on which it is sown; but being of little value, in comparison with our other grains, it is now very seldom sown. In the East, it appears to have been in use from time immemorial. The Arabians use it as their chief article of food. It is sown in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. The peasants of Syria and Palestine sell their wheat, and live upon durra. It should seem, therefore, that what some authors have related concerning the astonishing fertility of some countries in the East, is to be understood of this durra.

CHAP. CXXXII. — *Of the Modes of Ploughing and Sowing.*

THE soil not being every where alike good, and the climate varying greatly through the countries of the East, the modes of cultivation here practised are also considerably diversified. In Egypt, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Syria, agriculture is very much neglected; and these provinces are so thinly inhabited, that much valuable land is suffered to lie waste.

In Arabia, the government of which is less inauspicious to agricultural industry, husbandry is in a more prosperous condition. Yet the instruments of husbandry are, even here, coarse and ill made. The plough used is of a very simple structure, is drawn by oxen, and is dragged over the ground in every direction, till the soil seems to be sufficiently broken and loosened for the reception of the seed. In the neighbourhood of Bagdad, I saw oxen yoked in the plough with oxen; and near Mosul, two mules. In cultivating their gardens, and such spots in their fields as are not accessible to the plough, the Arabians use a sort of hoe, and in digging very deep, a large crow, managed by two men, one of whom presses it in the ground, and the other draws it towards himself with cords.

In many parts in Yemen, whole fields are cultivated like a garden. Agriculture is in such places, however, a very laborious task, for much care is requisite in watering the grounds. In the highland part of this province, the fields are often formed into terraces, and watered in the rainy season by canals from the hills. The inhabitants of
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the plain are obliged to encompass their fields with dykes, in order that the water may remain for some time upon the surface of the ground. I have already described both these modes of watering the fields, in the narrative of my journeys to Zebid, and in the highlands.

The inhabitants of the upper parts of Yemen collect the water necessary for their fields in dams formed at the foot of the hills. Beside private dams, there are likewise very large public reservoirs, formed by carrying a wall between two hills. In the plain of Damar, the fields are watered out of very deep draw-wells, from which the water is drawn by strength of arm. It is surprising that the Arabians adopt not the hydraulic machines which are used by their neighbours in Egypt, and in India.

I saw them sow in the highlands of Yemen. A peasant bearing a sackful of lentiles, dropped them here and there in the furrows, just as we sow peas in our gardens; and, as he went on, covered the seed by pushing in the mould with his feet from both sides. In other places, the sower followed the ploughman, and cast the seed into the furrow, which the other returning covered up with his plough. Both these modes of sowing are exceedingly troublesome; for the sower must make as many turns backwards and forwards as there are furrows; but there is a saving in the quantity of the seed, no part of which can be withered by the winds, or pecked up by birds. In Arabia in general, only a small quantity of seed is used; the peasant, trusting to the regularity of the seasons, does not expose his grain to perish in the ground, by sowing it at an improper time. This is another proof of the fallacious nature of inferences concerning the fertility of ground, deduced from the proportion between the seed and the increase.

In some districts in Yemen, maize and durra are planted with the hand. I saw likewise, in the highlands, between Mofhak and Sehan, some fields in which those grains grew in rows, like our cabbages in Europe. They were the finest fields I ever saw in my life. The stalks were all of the same height, and every plant was thriving and luxuriant. In adjoining fields were some unpromising enough crops of the same grain, which is a proof that the Arabian peasants are not all alike industrious. The corn-fields in the places about Beit el Fakih were also full of cockle weeds, and irregularly sown.

Near mount Mharras I saw a peasant draw furrows with a small plough between straight rows of corn, of which the stalks were from nine to ten inches high. His oxen were so yoked, that they passed between the rows without treading down any of the plants. The intention of this piece of labour was to destroy weeds, to cover the roots of the plants with earth, and to open the soil for the reception of moisture. The weeds which still remained were pulled up with the hand, and given to cattle. Thus, the husbandry of Tull and Du Hamel, although novel in Europe, is very old in Arabia.

For the preservation of the grain, care must be taken to drive away birds, and the destructive animals. To this end, the peasants watch their fields by turns. In the highlands, he who watches seats himself on a tree; in the Tehama, on a sort of scaffold, having a roof raised over it.

CHAP. CXXXIII. — *Of the Harvest.*

THE beginning of the harvest varies greatly through Arabia, not only by reason of the differences of the latitude of places, but chiefly in consequence of the diversities of their situations as to high and low, and the different times in the season at which

which it becomes convenient to water them respectively. Even within the narrow extent of the Imam of Sana's dominions, there are great differences in this respect. At Sana, their barley was cut down on the 15th of July, while at Chamis, nearer the mountains, the lentiles were then but a sowing. In the plain of Beit el Fakih, the durra was seven feet high on the first days of August; and, at the same time, the fields were ploughed and watered for a second seed in the valley of Zebid, which is only a very short day's journey from Beit el Fakih.

At Maskat, wheat and barley are sown in December, and reaped about the end of March; but durra is sown in August, and reaped in the end of the month of November. The date trees are fecundated in the month of December; and, as Oman produces several sorts of this fruit which ripen successively, the inhabitants have fresh dates during the three months of February, March, and April.

In Egypt, the lands adjoining to the canals are sown in October, and the corn is ripe in the end of February. Lands which cannot be watered from the Nile are sown in November; and in the last case, the wheat is ripe in February, and the barley in March. At Mosul, the barley may be cut in the beginning of the month of May, and the wheat within forty days after. All different grains are ripe at Bagdad twenty-four days sooner than at Mosul.

The Arabians pull up their ripe corn by the roots, but cut with a sickle green corn, grass, and whatever they intend as forage for their cattle. The Indians use the same instrument in cutting their rice, and pruning their cocoa trees. Both nations have a very simple mode of sharpening their sickles. They pour water among a quantity of sand, and rub the blade with this sand till it is sufficiently sharpened.

In threshing their corn, the Arabians lay the sheaves down in a certain order, and then lead over them two oxen dragging a large stone. This mode of separating the ears from the straw is not unlike that of Egypt, of which I have spoken in my description of the manners of that country.

In Syria, the sheaves are spread in the open fields; and oxen drag over them a plank loaded with stones.

The Arabians being less superstitious than the Jews, make no scruple of sowing a field with a mixture of different grains, whenever they suppose that this may be done with advantage.

CHAP. CXXXIV. — *Of the Domestic Animals.*

In Arabia are abundance of all the domestic animals common in hot countries. The Arabians breed horses, mules, asses, camels, dromedaries, cows, buffaloes, sheep, and goats. In the fertile provinces, wild fowls are so plentiful that they are sold at a trifling price.

Of all their domestic animals, it is well known that the Arabians put the greatest value on their horses. Of these they have two great branches, the Kadischi, whose descent is unknown, and the Kochlani, of whom a written genealogy has been kept for two thousand years. The Kadischi are in no better estimation than our European horses, and are usually employed in bearing burthens, and in ordinary labour.

The Kochlani are reserved for riding solely. They are highly esteemed, and consequently are very dear. They are said to derive their origin from King Solomon's studs. However this may be, they are fit to bear the greatest fatigues, and can pass whole days without food. They are also said to show uncommon courage against an enemy. It is even asserted, that when a horse of this race finds himself wounded, and unable to bear his rider much longer, he retires from the fray, and conveys him to a place of security. If the rider falls upon the ground, his horse remains beside him,

and neighs till assistance is brought. The Kochlani are neither large nor handsome, but amazingly swift: it is not for their figure, but for their velocity, and other good qualities, that the Arabians esteem them.

These Kochlani are bred chiefly by the Bedouins settled between Basra, Merdin, and Syria, in which countries the nobility never choose to ride horses of any other race. The whole race is divided into several families, each of which has its proper name: that of Dsjulfa seems to be the most numerous. Some of these families have a higher reputation than others, on account of their more ancient and uncontaminated nobility. Although it is known by experience, that the Kochlani are often inferior to the Kadischi, yet the mares at least, of the former, are always preferred, in the hopes of a fine progeny.

The Arabians have indeed no tables of genealogy to prove the descent of their Kochlani: yet they are sure of the legitimacy of the progeny; for a mare of this race is never covered unless in the presence of witnesses, who must be Arabians. This people do not indeed always stickle at perjury; but in a case of such serious importance, they are careful to deal conscientiously. There is no instance of false testimony given in respect to the descent of a horse. Every Arabian is persuaded that himself and his whole family would be ruined, if he should prevaricate in giving his oath in an affair of such consequence.

A Christian, having a Kochlani mare, whom he wishes to have covered by a stallion of the same race, is obliged to employ an Arabian witness, who must watch the mare twenty days, to be sure that she has been defiled by the embraces of no common horse. During all this time, she must not see either horse or ass, even at a distance. When the mare produces her foal, the same Arabian must be present; and, within the first seven days, a notorial certificate of the legitimate birth of the foal is made. If there happens to be a crossing of the two breeds, the foal, whether the father or the mother be Kochlani, is always esteemed Kadischi.

The Arabians make no scruple of selling their Kochlani stallions like other horses; but they are unwilling to part with their mares for money. When not in a condition to support them, they dispose of them to others, on the terms of having a share in the foals, or of being at liberty to recover them after a certain time.

These Kochlani are much like the old Arabian nobility, the dignity of whose birth is held in no estimation unless in their own country. These horses are little valued by the Turks. Their country being more fertile, better watered, and less level, swift horses are less necessary to them than to the Arabians. They prefer large horses, who have a stately appearance when sumptuously harnessed. It should seem that there are also Kochlani in Hedsjas, and in the country of Dsjof; but I doubt if they be in estimation in the dominions of the Imam, where the horses of men of rank appeared to me too handsome to be Kochlani. The English, however, sometimes purchase these horses at the price of 800 or 1000 crowns each. An English merchant was offered at Bengal twice the purchase money for one of these horses; but he sent him to England, where he hoped that he would draw four times the original price.

There are two sorts of asses in Arabia; the smaller or lazy ass, as little esteemed here as in Europe; and a large and high spirited breed, who are highly valued. These latter are sold at a high price. I thought them fitter for a journey than horses are.

I have reason to believe, that in Arabia are several sorts of camels. Those in the dominions of the Imam are of a moderate size, and a light brown colour. Those from Nedsjeran are large, lubbardly, and of a dark brown colour. The dromedaries of

of Egypt and Arabia have only one bunch upon the back; and, by such as have not often seen them, can be distinguished from camels only by an air of lightness, which makes them seem fitter for running. I never but once saw dromedaries with two bunches, and that was in a town in Natolia, to which those I saw had been brought from the Crimea; but they were so large and lubbardsly, that they seemed to me rather camels of a particular species, than dromedaries.

Buffaloes are to be found in all the marshy countries of the East, and on the banks of the rivers. They are even more numerous than the common horned cattle. I have seen animals of this species in Egypt, at Bombay, near the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Orontes, &c. The female buffalo yields more milk than the common cow; and the male is as fit for the yoke as our oxen. His flesh is indeed inferior to that of the ox, being hard and ill tasted. European merchants are however obliged to use it in the countries where those animals are numerous. I believe that I have often eaten the flesh of a young buffalo without distinguishing it by the taste or appearance from our beef. The Arabians have a mode of forcing the female buffalo to yield more milk than she voluntarily does, which the ancient Scythians also practised with their mares. While one milks the cow, another tickles her.

The oxen and cows of Arabia have upon the shoulder, immediately above the fore-legs, a lump or bunch of fat; the bunch of the camel grows larger, or diminishes, as the animal becomes fatter or leaner. I could obtain no particular information concerning the instinct ascribed to these oxen, of forming into circular bodies, to defend themselves against beasts of prey. The story is so much the less probable, because the cattle of Arabia are distinguished by remarkably small horns.

The Arabians have no meadows which might afford grass for the feeding of these domestic animals. The country is too much parched for the grass to become luxuriant enough to be used as hay. Straw, barley, and beans, are the articles of food upon which they nourish their cattle. The only herb they sow expressly for this purpose is a sort of bean or *phasolus*; the Egyptians, whose country is better watered, sow trefoil for the same use. The camel eats the most stunted and withered roots. In Arabia, however, he lives chiefly on herbs of the gourd species, which abound in the driest countries.

NATURAL HISTORY OF ARABIA.

CHAP. CXXXV. — *General Reflections on the Natural History of Arabia.*

ONE principal object which it became our party of travellers to keep in view, was undoubtedly the examination of the natural productions of the country through which we travelled. Every member of our company having had his particular task assigned to him, the investigation of subjects of natural history was particularly appropriated to the late Mr. Forskal. His well known activity, abilities, and ardour for the cultivation of science, afforded the public room to expect from him numerous discoveries in the natural history, as well of Egypt, as of Arabia; countries which he had time to examine before his premature death. But, our hopes have been in part disappointed, by the concurrence of different unfavourable circumstances, which it may be proper to give an account of here, both in excuse for the deficiency of this article, and as an encouragement to future travellers to perfect what was so successfully begun by our deceased friend.

The time prescribed for our continuance in the East was short in the whole; and an unforeseen delay in Egypt farther abridged that portion of it which we had destined to be spent in Arabia. In consequence of this circumstance, we had no more time for examining the natural history of Arabia than the six months between the end of December 1762, and the beginning of June 1763, at the last of which periods Mr. Forstkal died. Hence many objects could be only cursorily observed. Besides, the frequent indisposition of some or other of our party obliged us often to separate; and a notion of this nature hindered Mr. Forstkal from seeing Mount Sinai, and the productions of that part of Arabia Petraea.

The climate and soil of several of the countries which we visited are less favourable than is commonly reported, for the increase of vegetables and animals. The soil of Arabia, in, through a great part of that country, dry and sandy, produces no plants, and is therefore unfit for the nourishment of animals. Here the naturalist finds but few objects to observe; and of such a country the natural history can never be extensive. In Arabia, likewise, the heat of the sun is so intense, that the flowers no sooner blow than they are withered; and if the botanist, attentive to a number of plants at once, misses the precise moment when any one which is new to him is in flower, he can have no subsequent opportunity of examining it till the ensuing season.

This inconvenience might be avoided by observing the plants in gardens. But there is, perhaps, no country in the world where gardening is so much neglected as in Arabia. There is hardly a single small garden in the neighbourhood even of the greatest towns. At Beit el Fakih there is only one, which was formed by an old Dola. The Arabians, a simple frugal race, content themselves with the plainest food, without taking pains to furnish themselves with a variety of dishes. What seems to give them an aversion for the culture of gardens is the long droughts, which last sometimes for more than a year, and destroy every sprout of vegetation, together with the ravages of the grasshoppers, which complete the devastation of the fields. The Banians, being by their religion confined to a vegetable diet, plant great quantities of pulse; but these are mostly of species that are natives of India, and by consequence already known to botanists.

Beside these physical obstacles to the investigation of the natural history of the East, there is another arising from the moral character of the people who inhabit these regions. The Arabians, an ignorant, covetous, and jealous race, cannot comprehend how the Europeans should be prompted by mere curiosity to expose themselves to so much danger and fatigue. They ascribe to them a motive of interest, the desire of discovering hidden treasures, with great skill in the search. The idea generally prevalent among them, of the wealth of travellers, makes a curious person run a great risk of being plundered by vagabond robbers. Mr. Forstkal, escaping once with difficulty out of the clutches of a band of these robbers in Egypt, and being once plundered by another party, was obliged to cease from his scientific excursions. He found means, indeed, to have plants gathered for him, by an Arabian, in the neighbourhood of Kahira. But the naturalist makes his observations best upon living plants, in their native situations.

Our friend was luckier, in this respect, in Yemen, where the safety of a stranger is better secured by the laws, and the manners of the people of the country. The Arabians in Yemen were so far from offering him any interruptions in his pursuits, that both men and women, of all ranks and ages, appeared to take pleasure in bringing, pointing out, and naming to him all their indigenous plants. A people living the life of
shepherds,

Shepherds, and of husbandmen, like the Arabians, who spend almost all their time in the open fields, naturally acquire a taste for botany, and a degree of skill in its researches. But, in order to obtain the aid, and even the friendship of these good people, he was obliged to conform to their manners, and to content himself with their scanty cheer. A life of such abstinence and fatigue, too severe for a person brought up in European habits, undoubtedly contributed to shorten the days of our friend.

In spite of all these obstacles, Mr. Forskal's ardent industry was successful beyond our hopes. It is inconceivable in what a short time he discovered and made descriptions of full three hundred species in the animal kingdom, and of more than eight hundred in the vegetable. This number might have been yet more considerable, had he not laid it down as a rule to himself, to describe nothing which he had not examined with the most scrupulous exactness. For this reason had he put off, till he should be at more leisure, the examination of a large collection of insects and shells. With the same intention, he had preserved in spirit of wine, a great many fishes and amphibious animals. But the reader will recollect the fate of this collection, when our goods were inspected at the custom house at Mokha, as above related.

After my return to Europe, I was intrusted with the task of publishing my friend's posthumous papers. I then discovered a new loss which natural history had suffered by his death. He had been accustomed to write down his observations on small detached pieces of paper, which could not easily be preserved together. It is true, I found 1800 of these billets, which I endeavoured to reduce into order. But I could not help inferring from the chasms here and there, that many of them were lost. Whether it be or be not so, I have, however, presented to the public all that I could recover, in two Latin works, intitled, *Descriptiones Animalium*, 4to, Hafniæ, 1775; and *Flora Arabica*, 4to, ib. 1775.

These two works, written in Latin, and in the manner and arrangement of Linnæus, are intended particularly for the use of the learned naturalist. To gratify readers of all classes, I shall here insert the most curious particulars of the information contained in those works, and such as will serve to give the best ideas of the productions, common or peculiar, of the countries which we traversed. Although natural history was not my province, I had occasion to observe transiently many things respecting it. I shall, therefore, intermingle my own remarks, without distinguishing them as such; for the greater part of the whole is Mr. Forskal's.

CHAP. CXXXVI. — *Climate and Soil of Arabia.*

A COUNTRY, such as Arabia, extending from the 30° to the 13° degree of northern latitude, and, by consequence, situate partly between the tropics, will be naturally supposed subject to a very hot climate. In some provinces of Arabia, the heat is excessive. But, in this country, as in most others, the varying degrees of elevation, the relative situations of places, and the nature of the soil, occasion considerable varieties of temperature.

Before a person can understand these varieties, it is necessary that he should have a full idea of the physical circumstances of Arabia. This country may be considered as a pile of mountains, encircled with a belt of flat, dry, and sandy ground. Towards the north and east, this belt is formed by the deserts of Syria, and Arabia Petrea. The plains called *Telama* by the Arabians, and extending from the sea-shore to the hills,

bound Arabia on those sides on which it is washed by the waters of the Red Sea, of the Eastern Ocean, and of the Persian Gulph.

In these deserts, diversified here and there only by bare rocks, and in these flat plains, there is nothing to lessen the force of the sun's rays, but all vegetables are burnt up, and the soil is every where reduced to sand. The drought is so extreme, that whole years will pass without rain; and the torrents which fall from the hills are lost among the sands long before they can reach the sea. Were it not for these river-waters, which being swelled in the rainy season, are drained off to fertilize the lands, the husbandman would be unable to raise even those scanty crops which his harvests at present afford. By observations made with good thermometers, we found, that in these plains, as, for instance, at Loheia, Mokha, and Maskat, the heats were as intense as in any other hot country whatever.

In the interior country, the temperature of the atmosphere is very different. The great ranges of lofty mountains attract vapours; and these falling down in plenteous rains cool the air, and quicken vegetation. The cold occasioned by the height of the country, produces falls of snow; but this never lies long upon the ground. While the inhabitants of the plain suffer by heat, those of the hills are obliged to wrap themselves in pellices. We were assured that there was ice on some of the hills, and that, at Sana, which lies among the hills in the interior country, there was sometimes frost.

The position of these mountains, in the middle of a peninsula, occasions likewise another phenomenon that is equally observable in the peninsula formed by the Ganges, which is in the same manner intersected by mountains. The rainy seasons, which are regular in the countries between the tropics, are, by this peculiarity of situation, diversified here. Westward, in Yemen, the rainy season is of great service to the country; for it comes on in the month of June, and terminates in the middle of September; in which months the heats are most violent, and the earth and its inhabitants in the greatest need of such refreshment. In the eastern part of these mountains, on the side of Maskat, those rains fall between the middle of the month of November and the middle of February. In Hadramaut and Oman, to the south, the rainy season lasts from the middle of February to the middle of April. It should seem, therefore, that the rains make the tour of the peninsula every season, as impelled by the prevalent winds. In the Tehama of Yemen, we heard also of a rain in spring, the period of which is uncertain, but on which the success of the harvests depends.

These regular rains render the vallies lying among the mountains fertile and delightful. The Highlanders, who breathe a fine fresh air, are handsome, healthy, and brave. Another advantage which the Arabians owe to the situation of their country, is, that it affords them at the same time the productions of different climates. In the plains, several vegetables transplanted from India thrive well enough, and many of the animals of hot countries multiply there. The mountains produce the plants and animals of temperate climates. Arabia may thus be regarded as an assemblage of different climates, the respective advantages of which are all to be found in the tract lying between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulph.

The nature of the winds differs, in Arabia, with the point of the compass from which they blow, and the tract over which they respectively pass. The same wind is, in different places, dry or moist, according as it blows over the ocean, or over deserts. On the shores of the Persian Gulph, the south-east wind is accompanied with a degree of moisture, which when the heat is intense, occasions violent sweatings; the north-west, passing over the great desert, is more torrid, but less disagreeable; this last wind heats metals in the shade, as if they were exposed to the sun; and its heat, suddenly added

to that of the atmosphere, often suffocates men and other animals. The Arabians, when they travel, carry with them garlic and dried grapes, for the purpose of reviving such persons as may fall down fainting, from the effect of these hot blasts.

Notwithstanding its torrid qualities, this north-west wind serves to cool their liquors for the Arabians, in the middle of Summer. In order to this, they put their water into bardaks, or unglazed pots, made of a sort of porous earth; and then, having these pots in a place exposed to the current of this hot wind, the water is thus rendered very cool; a circumstance well known in hot countries, and at present ascribed by naturalists to the effects of sudden evaporation.

Another wind, of a more dangerous nature, is the famous Sam, Simum, or Sandel, which seldom blows within Arabia, but frequently upon its frontiers. This wind prevails only on the confines of the great desert, where the agitation of the air forms a current for the vapours which are raised by the heat of the sun from that parched territory. The places the most exposed to this destructive wind, are the banks of the Euphrates, and sometimes the environs of Mecca, when the northwind blows from the desert. It is not unknown in Persia, on the borders of those arid plains; and it is said to have been felt in some places in Spain, near the vast tracts of desert sands which deform that fine kingdom. The effects of the Smum are instant suffocation to every living creature that happens to be within the sphere of its activity, and immediate putrefaction of the carcases of the dead. As a similar rapidity of putrefaction has been observed to take place upon bodies deprived of life by thunder, or by the electric shock, it has been conjectured, that electrical matter which is very generally diffused through nature, might be the cause of the peculiarly noxious qualities of this wind. The Arabians discern the approach of the Smum by an unusual redness in the air; and they say that they feel a smell of sulphur as it passes. However this may be, the only means by which any person can preserve himself from suffering from the noxious blasts, is, by throwing himself down with his face upon the earth, till this whirlwind of poisonous exhalations has blown over; which always moves at a certain height in the atmosphere. Instinct even teaches the brutes to incline their herds to the ground on these occasions.

The other meteors of Arabia are common to it with all other hot countries. A clear sky, seldom obscured by clouds, renders storms very unfrequent in the plains. The air discharges its electric matter in globes of fire, and by the phenomena called shooting stars, which are not unfrequent, and of considerable bulk. In the most arid tracts, near the sea, the dews are singularly copious. But, notwithstanding this humidity, the air is so pure, that the inhabitants sleep in the open air; I never slept sounder than where I found my bed all wet with dew in the morning. There are, however, places where one dares not sleep in the open air for fear of being struck with a palsy. By long experience the inhabitants of those parts have learned what precautions to take, and these are always peculiarly necessary to an European unaccustomed to the climate.

Arabia enjoys the prospect of almost constant verdure. Not but that most of the trees shed their leaves, and the annual plants wither and are re-produced. But, the interval between the fall of the leaf in one year, and the re-production of new leaves for the next, is so short, that the change is hardly observable. Continual verdure is peculiar to those countries in which there are no frosts, but a rainy season instead of our winter.

From the singular local situation of Arabia, the inequalities in the nature of its lands may, without farther information, be inferred. These inequalities are indeed very remarkable. On one side are frightful deserts, and on the other fertile and delightful

ful vales. The sandy belt which encircles this peninsula is almost entirely barren, and presents one unvaried picture of desolation.

This belt, denominated Tehama, as has been several times mentioned, begins at Suez, and extends round the whole peninsula, to the mouth of the Euphrates. Its breadth varies; it is, however, for the most part, about two days journey from the sea-shore to the rise of the hills; at least this is the breadth of the plain adjacent to the Red Sea. It bears every mark of having been anciently a part of the bed of the sea. Its bottom soil is a greyish clay, with a large proportion of sand, and having marine exuvie interspersed to a great distance from the sea-shore. It contains large strata of salt, which in some places even rise up into hills. Its regular inclination towards the sea indicates that it has emerged gradually. The small eminences upon the confines of this plain are composed of calcareous stones, having a blackish appearance, and seeming as if they were burnt by the sun. The adjoining hills contain schistus and basalt; in this differing greatly from the strata of the hills on the opposite coast of Egypt, and from those of Arabia Petraea, which are chiefly made up of granite.

The sea, no doubt, still continues to recede; and the Tehama is on that side gradually extending its limits. The banks of coral are still increasing, and coming nearer to the shore, so as to render the navigation of the gulph every day more and more dangerous. The sand accumulated by the billows gradually fills up the intermediate space, and joins these beds of coral to the continent, as appears from some recent instances. History also records proofs of this gradual recession of the waters; and mentions, as sea-ports, several places which are at present inland, without noticing the present maritime towns, which must undoubtedly be of later origin than the formation of the land on which they stand.

Such a conquest over the watery element promises, however, little advantage to man. These newly formed lands are ungrateful and barren. Nor can any better be sanguinely hoped of the future; since the territory of the Tehama has remained for so many ages unchanged in its nature. Mr. Forikal fancied that he could distinguish a similarity between the soil of Hedsjas and that of Egypt, from which he inferred, that the sterility of the former was owing to the want of water. But he was certainly mistaken; for the soil of Egypt is formed of the sediment of the Nile, but that of Hedsjas of the remains of the bed of the sea. The calcareous stone of the hills of this latter province is, however, decomposed into a blackish earth, which in time becomes fit to bear some coarse vegetables.

In the Highlands of Arabia, there are as great diversities of soil as in most other cultivated countries. The most general character of the soil on these schistous hills is clay mixed with sand. But the figure of the hills is unfavourable to their fertility. They are commonly so craggy and precipitous, as to afford neither room nor soil for vegetable productions, the good earth being continually washed away by the waters. These circumstances have likewise the effect of rendering the culture of such places extremely difficult and expensive. Terraces are necessary to be formed; of which indeed the construction is sometimes facilitated by the piles of basalt naturally cast into regular pentagonal figures, which are broken, from time to time, from the rocks, and serve as materials for the walls.

Arabia is a country interesting in many respects; but is, in general, neither rich nor fertile. The laborious life, and indifferent fate of its inhabitants, are sufficient proofs of this truth. If it was called Happy by the ancients, it was only by the value and the novelty, not by the abundance of its productions, that it could merit this name.

CHAP. CXXXVII. — *Arabian Quadrupeds.*

SPEAKING of the agriculture of the Arabians, I had occasion to mention their domestic animals. Of those, some appear to be originally natives of the country, for they are not common through the other regions of the east; they retain their primary instincts in higher perfection, and are more eminently distinguished by strength and beauty here than elsewhere. Such are the horse, the ass, the camel, and perhaps too the ox. The camel, by its power of enduring thirst, and its containing a reservoir for water in its bowels, seems naturally destined for an inhabitant of the desert. Its hoof is formed to tread on burning sands; and the cartilaginous texture of its mouth enables it to feed on the hard and prickly plants of those parched plains.

The ass, especially, seems to be a native of Arabia. Here are a species of asses, which, in beauty, vigour, and spirit, are no contemptible rivals to the horse. The inhabitants speak likewise of a wild animal, called Djæar, of the same size and shape as the ass, the flesh of which is excellent food.

This animal is probably a wild ass, who, in consequence of living in a state of independence, acquires some varieties of form, which the Arabs, in their unskilfulness in natural history, mistake for the characteristics of a different animal.

The Arabians give the name of Bakar Uasch to an animal which we did not see, but of which their vague description can be referred only to the wild ox. They speak of another animal of the form of an ox, which is destitute of horns, and feeds only by night.

On the lofty hills of Arabia Petræa, are rock-goats. The plains are stocked with gazelles; and this beautiful creature is so common, that the Arabian poets draw from it many of their allusions and similitudes. The hare is not a common animal here, and is to be seen only in some mountainous parts. In the sandy tracks are numbers of those little animals called Jerboa's, Pharaoh's rats, whose flesh the Arabians eat without any dislike. The peculiarity in the structure of the hinder feet of these animals, and their manner of leaping, which have induced our naturalists to give the species the name of *Mus Jaculus*, are well known.

In the forests, in the south of Arabia, are monkeys without tails, whose back parts are bare and red. I saw these animals in troops of some hundreds. Other travellers have met with them in thousands on the hills of Aden. These creatures are docile, and easily learn any trick which is attempted to be taught them. On this account numbers of them are exported to Egypt, where jugglers exhibit them to the people.

Of carnivorous animals, the most hideous and formidable is the Hyæna, who attacks men and beasts with the same ferocity. This fierce and solitary animal inhabits the caverns of the desert mountains of Arabia Petræa, and is also common round the shores of the Persian Gulph. The hyæna marches out only at night, in that season when the inhabitants of the country sleep in the open air, and often carries off children from beside their parents.

As the domestic animals on the southern coast of the Persian Gulph are chiefly fed upon fishes, the hyæna is sometimes obliged to content himself with the same food. On my return into Europe, I saw in Denmark one of these animals alive, in the king's collection of wild animals.

The leopard, reckoned by Mr. Forkal among the carnivorous animals, is perhaps the same as the panther, (*Felis pardus*, Linnæi); the more probably so, as he gives it the Arabic name of the panther, Nemer. However, the ounce or small panther, named

in Arabic Fath, is still more common than the large one; neither is it regarded with any sort of terror in Arabia, where it carries away cats and dogs, but never ventures to attack men.

Wild boars, wolves, and foxes, are to be found in Arabia; but the most common carnivorous animal is a sort of wild dog, more like the fox than the household dog, and named by the Turks Tschakal, by the Arabians El Vavi. This animal, common through all the countries of the East, is so well known, that I need not here add any thing concerning its figure and manners.

Mr. Forikal names several other animals of which he knew nothing, except what he gathered from the indistinct accounts of the natives; and some others of which he could only learn the Arabian names. As such slight notices cannot enlarge the knowledge of nature, I shall not repeat them here. The most singular of those animals, which we knew only by hearsay, is one said to resemble a cat, to live upon the hills, to feed on grass, and to be a most delicate article of food.

CHAP. CXXXVIII. — *Of the Birds of Arabia.*

IF we had opportunities of examining but few quadrupeds, we were not more fortunate in respect to birds. Not that Arabia is deficient in variety of species; on the contrary, its productions are sufficient to nourish a prodigious number; but a traveller hastening through a country, has it still less in his power to acquaint himself with the inhabitants of the air than with those of the earth. One cannot see many birds, or observe them at leisure, unless among people who are fond of fowling, and who, as they seek for game and sell it, bring to the curious such birds as they have caught or killed, and are able to give some account of their respective names and instincts.

In Arabia we had no such advantage. The Arabians despise the use of wild fowl, and regard neither the amusement nor the exercise of fowling. I thought that I could discern two causes of their aversion for a diversion which the savages of the north pursue with extreme fondness. A people who are naturally sober and frugal, and live in a climate where the use of animal food is injurious to health, cannot be fond of game. The precepts of the Mussulman religion must also disgust the Arabians at the pursuit of wild animals, especially of birds. A hunter loses his labour, and his prey becomes impure, if he has but neglected the repetition of one short prayer when he killed the animal; if it has not lost the just quantity of blood required by the law; if the bird struggled with any remains of life after it was shot; or if it fell upon a place which was either inhabited or in any manner defiled. We saw no other birds, therefore, than those which we killed ourselves, or those which we could observe while they were at liberty.

In the fertile countries of Arabia, tame fowls are very plentiful, and all sorts of poultry are bred in great abundance. The pintado is not domestic; but these birds inhabit the woods in such numbers, that children kill them with stones, and then collect them to be sold in the towns. The pheasant is likewise a native of Arabia, and is found in great plenty, in the forests of Yemen, as well as the wood-pigeon, and several other varieties of the pigeon species. In the plains of the same province, the grey partridge, the common lark, and a sort of white crane, having the under part of the belly of a beautiful red, are also to be seen here.

So dry a country as Arabia cannot be supposed to afford a great variety of water fowls. However, in places where there was water, we found a beautiful variety of the plover, and sometimes storks. Sea-fowls, which live upon fish, are numerous on the

coasts of the Red Sea, because this gulph is very deep, and copiously stored with fishes. Beside some sort of sea-maws, we saw in an isle of the Red Sea pelicans, who had built nests and laid eggs as large as those of the goose.

The deserts of Arabia are not without ostriches, which are called by the inhabitants Thar Edsjammel, the camel bird. I did not understand that the Arabians take this bird young, and tame it. One which I saw at Loheia was from Abyssinia. A beautiful lapwing, called by the Arabians Hudhud, is also common on the shores of the Persian Gulph. Some Arabians have been persuaded, by a fabulous tradition, that the language of this bird may be understood.

Eagles, falcons, sparrow-hawks, and the Egyptian vulture, (*Vultur Petenopterus*, Linnæi), are birds of prey to be met with in Arabia. The last of these is very serviceable in the country; clearing the earth of all carcases, which corrupt very rapidly, and are very noisome in hot countries. He also destroys the field mice, which multiply so prodigiously in some provinces, that, were it not for this assistance, the peasant might cease from the culture of the fields as absolutely vain. Their performance of those important services induced the ancient Egyptians to pay those birds divine honours; and even at present it is held unlawful to kill them, in all the countries which they frequent.

In several countries in the east, as also in Arabia, there is another bird, not less beneficial to the inhabitants. It is thought to be a native of Korasán, for it comes annually into Arabia, in pursuit of the swarms of locusts, of which it destroys incredible numbers. It is called Samarman or Samarmog. Mr. Forkal ranks it among the thrushes, and calls it *Turdus Seleucus*. The services done by this bird, in countries exposed to the ravages of those insects, have given rise to several ridiculous and superstitious practices in Syria. It is thought to be attracted from Korasán by water, which is, for this end, brought from a distance with great ceremony, and preserved in a stone reservoir on the top of the tower of a mosque. When this water fails, the inhabitants of Mosul are in despair. But as this bird's instincts prompt it not only to feed on locusts, but to kill as many of them as possible, it naturally follows these insects in the course of their passage.

We heard much talk of two species of birds, which are highly valued by the Arabians, and are called *Salva* and *Sumana*. We could discover nothing concerning the generic character of the latter; but we heard enough of the *Salva* to enable us to understand that it is the rail, a bird of passage which frequents a small district in Arabia. As to quails, we received no evidence of their being birds of passage; nor is it probable that this bird should traverse deserts where no subsistence is to be found.

The Arabians likewise named to Mr. Forkal several other birds, which he never could see, and consequently could not ascertain their genus, such as the Achjal, famous for two beautiful feathers, with which the Highlanders adorn their bonnets, and to preserve which uninjured, the bird, it seems, leaves a hole in its nest. Another, the Thær el Hind, rare and remarkable for its gilded plumage, is sold very dear in Arabia. Its name seems to indicate that it is a bird of passage, which is supposed to come from India.

CHAP. CXXXIX. — *Of Amphibious Animals and Fishes.*

In the Arabian seas we never met with the sea tortoise; the land tortoise is more common; the peasants bring the latter, by cart-loads, to the markets of several towns

in the east. The eastern Christians eat these animals in Lent, and drink their blood with great relish.

We saw several sorts of lizards, of which the only dangerous one was that called by the Egyptians Gecko. It is said that the saliva of this creature, falling upon victuals, infects the persons who eat them with the leprosy.

There are in Arabia several sorts of serpents, the bite of which is often mortal. But the innocent are as numerous as the dangerous serpents. Of some the bite occasions only a disagreeable itching, which the Arabians cure by applying the leaves of the caper-tree to the wound. In general, life is endangered only by the bite of such serpents as have a distinct row of teeth larger than the rest of the teeth. The Arabians in Egypt are acquainted with this law in the structure of reptiles, and play safely with serpents, after pulling out the long teeth, which serves to conduct the poison. In Arabia, the only serpent that is truly formidable is that called Baetan, a small slender creature, spotted black and white; its bite is instant death, and the dead body is swelled by the poison in a very extraordinary manner.

Mr. Forikal discovered in the Red Sea several sorts of ray fishes which are unknown in Europe. That sea is in general stored with a great variety of fishes; and I was told by my friend, that in the short passage between Suez and Jidda, he observed more than a hundred new species, only a part of which he could rank among the known genera. He was obliged to form four new genera, which he named *Salaria*, *Scarus*, *Signanus*, and *Acanthurus*. A new torpedo which he met with, appeared so different from that already known, that he was induced to class it as a particular genus.

Among the new species are some belonging to genera which are found also in our seas; such are several cod-fishes hitherto unknown; new species of mackerels, mullets, scari, perches, &c. Others of these species belong to genera peculiar to the seas adjacent to hot countries, such as the *Chætodon* and the *Sciaena*.

In our passage over the Red Sea, we saw troops of flying fishes, which rose from time to time above the surface of the water; but we discovered no flying serpent in the course of our voyage; although the Arabians give this name to a serpent, which should rather be called the leaper. This serpent fixes himself by the tail to a low branch of a tree, and then giving himself an impetus, by means of his elastic tail, springs from branch to branch successively, till he reaches the top.

The Arabians inhabiting the shores of the Red Sea live almost entirely on fishes, as I have already had occasion to mention, and even sustain their cattle with the same food. Although fishes are so plentiful, yet a living fish is seldom to be seen among them. For fear of violating some precept of the Mussulman law, the fisherman kill all their fishes before they bring them on shore.

CHAP. CXL. — *Insects and Shells.*

THE locusts have a great influence on the condition of the inhabitants of Arabia, and of several other countries in the East; and, therefore, I shall speak of this insect at a length which others do not merit. We, however, did not find the numbers so great as they are commonly supposed to be in Europe.

In Egypt I saw once only a cloud of locusts, which was brought by a south wind from the deserts of Lybia; the locusts fell in prodigious quantities on the roofs of the houses, and in the streets of Kahira. I saw no more of them, till at Jidda, in November 1762, a large cloud of locusts was driven over the city by a west wind. The cloud came from the other side of the Arabic Gulph; and, therefore, many of the insects must

have been drowned in their passage. In the month of July following, we found a small quantity near mount Sumara, which seemed to have spent the season in Arabia. These swarms often cross the Red Sea a second time, and return to Egypt, the upper part of which adjoining to the deserts of Lybia, seems to be the cradle of these animals. I saw clouds of them in Persia, and Syria; where, in the quarter of Mosul, I found nests of these insects, which a careful police might in a great degree destroy. Small locusts, of the size of a fly, grow with amazing rapidity, and attain their natural size within a few days.

There are undoubtedly various species of this insect, which have not as yet been sufficiently discriminated. Mr. Forkal calls the locust which infests Arabia, *Gryllus Gregarius*, and thinks it to be different from that which is called by Linnaeus *Gryllus Migratorius*, and which is a native of the deserts of Tartary, from which it passes through the neighbouring countries, into Poland and Germany. The *Gryllus Gregarius* merits this denomination; for the locusts of this species appear to act in concert, and to live and travel in society. Those which remain after the departure of the great body are only irregular stragglers.

The Arabians distinguish several separate species of this insect, to which they give particular names. But these names are not expressive of any qualities in the nature of the animal; as they respect only the delicacy ascribed to its flesh. They give the name *Muken* to the red locust, which is esteemed fatter and more succulent than any of the others; they likewise eat the light locust; but abstain from another, called *Dubbe*, because it has a tendency to produce diarrhoea.

All Arabians, whether living in their native country, or in Persia, Syria, and Asia, are accustomed to eat locusts. The Turks, on the contrary, have an aversion for this sort of food. If the Europeans express any thing of the same aversion, the Arabians then remind us of our fondness for oysters, crabs, and lobsters. A German, who had long resided in Barbary, assured us, that the flesh of this insect tasted like the small sardine of the Baltic Sea, which is dried in some towns of Holstein.

We saw locusts caught, and put into bags, or on strings, to be dried, in several parts of Arabia. In Barbary, they are boiled, and then dried upon the roofs of the houses. The Bedouins of Egypt roast them alive, and devour them with the utmost voracity. We saw no instance of unwholesomeness in this article of food; Mr. Forkal was indeed told, that it had a tendency to thicken the blood, and to bring on melancholy habits. The Jews in Arabia are convinced, that the fowls, of which the Israelites are so largely in the desert, were only clouds of locusts,—and laugh at our translators, who have supposed that they found quails where quails never were.

The swarms of these insects darken the air, and appear at a distance like clouds of smoke. The noise they make in flying is frightful and stunning, like that of a waterfall. When such a swarm falls upon a field, it is wasted and despoiled of its verdure. The pulse and date trees suffer greatly from the locusts; but corn, either ripe or nearly so, is too hard for their use, and they are obliged to spare it.

A small insect named *Arda*, of the bulk of a grain of barley (*Terres fatale*, Linn.) is another scourge of Arabia, and of hot countries in general. On account of some general resemblance, many travellers represent this insect as an ant, and speak of it under this name. Its instinct disposes it to travel only by night, through a sort of galleries, which it forms as it proceeds, of fat earth. After reaching the end of its journey, it corrodes and destroys every thing, victuals, clothes, and furniture. We found an army of these in our chamber, for the first time, at Bet el Fakih. We immediately demolished the galleries which they had formed; but they, without being discouraged, or terrified at

our presence, renewed their work in the night, with singular obstinacy, so that we had much ado to rid ourselves of them. They live and work together like ants.

The arda is also destructive to trees, the sweetness of whose leaves and fruits gratifies its taste. These insects fix upon trees of this character, and extend their galleries from the root to the top. The inhabitants of the country have no other means of preserving their gardens from utter ruin, except to surround the trees with sheep's dung, the smell of which the arda cannot endure.

There are in Arabia many ants, but most of them are harmless as ours. From among these, however, are to be excepted two species, one of which becomes troublesome by the voracity with which it attacks victuals, unless driven away by the odour of camphor: the other's bite is little less painful than that of the scorpion; but neither is it more deadly.

A sort of scolopendra likewise torments the inhabitants of this country, and affects those on whom it fixes with burning pains. This insect fixes all its feet in the flesh, so that it is impossible to rid one's self of it otherwise than by successively burning all the parts affected with a hot iron. The cuttle fish is dangerous to swimmers and divers, of whom it lays hold with its long claws. These do not wound, but produce swelling, internal pains, and often an incipient paralysis.

Among the Tenebriones is one species which destroys reeds. Probably this small insect attacks likewise the stalks of corn, in which is observed a farina, which serves to diffuse the eggs of this insect through houses. This little animal is therefore one of the most troublesome insects in the country. The women of Arabia and Turkey make use of another tenebrio, which is found among the filth of gardens. As plumpness is thought a beauty in the East, the women, in order to obtain this beauty, swallow, every morning and every evening, three of these insects fried in butter. The Red Sea is full of marine insects; Priapi, Salha, Fistulares, Medusa, &c. Mr. Forskal became more and more convinced, in the course of his observations, that the immense numbers of these animals contribute to produce the refulgence which is perceived at night in sea water. This insect seems to be an animated phosphoric body.

We observed a great many crabs, some of which were species peculiar to the Arabic Gulph. The shells are not less numerous; and some of them of rare species. The most beautiful is a Pinna, the colours of which are superb; but this shell is very brittle. The inhabitants avail not themselves of this plenty of marine productions, which might afford them excellent food. Mussulmans in general eat very little fish, and appear to have a particular aversion for crabs and shell fish. On the contrary, the oriental Christians, who are confined to long and rigid fasts, make up to themselves for their abstinence from flesh, by the frequent use of such meats as these. At Suez, the Copts live almost entirely on shell fish.

I have already had occasion to speak, in the course of my travels, of the astonishing mass of works formed by marine insects; namely, the immense banks of coral bordering, and almost filling up the Arabic Gulph. Great part of the houses in the Tehama are of coral rock. Mr. Forskal used to look upon every Arabic house as a cabinet of natural history, as rich in corals as any such cabinet in Europe. The reader may therefore conceive with himself what a variety of madrepores and millepores are to be met with in these seas. Some are so curious as to tempt us constantly to take specimens of them; but then their bulk renders it impossible to carry these away. These coral rocks, rising sometimes ten fathoms above the surface of the sea, are soft under the waters: And hence, being easily wrought, they are preferred to all other stones for the purposes of building.

CHAP. CXLI. — *The Common and Rare Plants.*

ARABIA, by its situation, as has been already remarked, partakes of the advantages equally of hot and of temperate climates. In the higher parts of this country, therefore, are found plants common to it with the northern parts of Europe and Asia. The plains, on the contrary, produce vegetables which are to be met with in India and in Africa. It is, however, probable, that many of these last plants had been introduced into Arabia by the Banians from their ancient country.

It is worthy of remark, that, where there are in Europe various species of any genus of plants, the species of the same genus to be found in Arabia are almost all new, and have accordingly been described by Mr. Forskal for the first time. The case is not the same in respect to the plants common to Arabia with India; most of these are equally to be found in both countries. The indigenous plants of Arabia have been hitherto so little known, that Mr. Forskal was obliged to form no fewer than thirty new genera; not to speak of the doubtful species, which he durst hardly arrange under known genera.

Of the 800 plants described by my late friend, I shall content myself with speaking of a small number remarkable for their novelty or utility. The first place is, no doubt, due to those which are used for food. I have already had occasion to name some of them in my account of the Arabian agriculture. The Arabians cultivate wheat, barley, and durra, (*Holcus* Linn.) The latter grain, sorgho, or great millet, seems to be a native of Arabia, for several wild species of it are here to be found, on which the birds feed. That which is cultivated, in order to attain full maturity, requires considerable warmth, and upon a good soil grows to a great height.

The Arabians cultivate several pot herbs, of the same nature as ours; such as lettuces, of which there is also a wild sort which is not used; spinach; the carrot (*Daucus*, Linn.); a very delicate sort of purslain with sharp leaves; a sort of raddish, of which only the leaves are eaten; water cresses; and above all, great variety of gourds, cucumbers, pumpkins, and melons. Of pumpkins and melons, several sorts grow naturally in the woods, and serve for feeding camels. But the proper melons are planted in the fields, where a great variety of them is to be found, and in such abundance, that the Arabians of all ranks use them, for some part of the year, as their principal article of food. They afford a very agreeable liquor. When the fruit is nearly ripe, a hole is pierced into the pulp; this hole is then stopped with wax, and the melon left upon the stalk; within a few days the pulp is, in consequence of this process, converted into a delicious liquor.

The pot herbs which are natives of India, but are now cultivated or naturalised in Arabia, are,—*Sida*, resembling our mallows; *Hibiscus*, resembling mallows also, but of which only one species is proper to be eaten; *Jussiaea*, nearly like the *Lythamachia*; *Acanthus*, a beautiful species; and *Bunias*, somewhat like our cabbages; the leaves of these plants are boiled. There are other Indian plants whose leaves the Arabians eat raw, and by way of salad, such as *Cleome*, not unlike mustard; *Stapelia*, and *Delichos*, a sort of bean, of which I shall hereafter have occasion to speak.

There are also some leguminous vegetables peculiar to the country, which require no culture. Such are *Coreborus*, and the plant like our mallows; *Salsanthus*, a new plant like the *Salix* *Calaf*, the leaves of which, when boiled, have a pleasing acid taste; lastly, the celebrated *Colocasia*, (*Arcem Colocasia*, Linn.), of which the Egyptians have always made great use, and which grows in abundance in all marshy places in Arabia.

Nor is there in Arabia any want of vegetables distinguished by the beauty of their flowers, and their fragrant smell. The odoriferous herbs, of which we have also species, are lavender, marjorum, the lily, and some pinks. But the most fragrant, and those which produce the finest flowers, are plants common to Arabia and India. Those valued for their perfume are *Ocimum*, the most beautiful species of the basilic; *Imula*, a very odoriferous sort of *elicampane*, a native of India; *Cacalia*, from the heart of Africa; and *Dianthera*, a plant as yet but little known, of which Mr. Forskal discovered eight species. In the sandy deserts grows a plant of a new genus, named *Mocharia*, by my friend, on account of its musky smell. The plants of Indian origin which afford the finest flowers, are, *Ipomæa*, a plant like the rope weed; *Pancratium*, called by us the sea daffodil, a flower of the purest white colour; and *Hibiscus*, a species different from the leguminous *Hibiscus*, a flower of the brightest red colour, and singularly large. These flowers, agreeable by their form or perfume, are far from being indifferent objects to the Arabian peasantry, who retain the ancient custom of crowning themselves with flowers on days of joy and festivity.

Various Arabian plants are used as materials for the arts, and for purposes of economy. An ill looking herb, like orache, and which Mr. Forskal ranked as a distinct genus, by the name of *Suada*, affords abundance of an alkaline salt, excellent for whitening linen, and used by the common people, instead of soap, which is very dear in Arabia. Of a particular sort of rush, the Arabians work carpets so fine, that the exportation of them to other countries, and even as far as Constantinople, forms a considerable branch of trade to the people who live on the borders of the Red Sea. Two plants, natives of India, and of the interior parts of Africa, which have become very common in Arabia, namely, *Dolchis* and *Glycyne*, and resembling French beans, produce such beautiful beans that they are strung into necklaces and bracelets, which are highly esteemed. The bean of the *Glycyne* is generally known by the name of the black bean of Abyssinia. The indigo shrub (*Indigofero*, Linn.) is cultivated through all Arabia, blue being the favourite colour of the Arabians. Several wild species of this plant grow very generally over the country. We were told, that, in a scarcity of this plant, the Arabians knew how to extract indigo from a species of *Polygala*. The common *Kali* (*Salsola*, Linn.) grows in great plenty along the Arabic Gulph, and in the isles. Were the Arabians capable of industry, they might make sugar for themselves, as the cane grows in their country in its full perfection; they content themselves with eating it raw without even squeezing out the juice.

Through almost all Arabia, a sort of *Panis* (*Panicum*, Linn.) or bulrush (*Scirpus*, Linn.) is used for covering the roofs of the houses. These slender coverings are sufficient in countries where rains are unfrequent.

One plant, although not a native of Arabia, merits notice in this place, on account of the discovery made by Mr. Forskal of an economical secret among the Arabians in Egypt, in which it is concerned. That country, in which the water is generally bad, has, from time immemorial, used for drinking a sort of beer different in its nature from that used in the north. They told us they could neither brew this beer, nor give it an agreeable taste, without the use of a grey herb, called *Schæbe*, an infusion of which was mixed with a certain quantity of meal, in order to form leaven for the fermentation both of bread and beer. Upon seeing a specimen of that herb, my friend and I perceived it to be the *Lichen* of the plum tree, a native of the isles of the Archipelago, whence several ship-ladings of it are annually brought to Alexandria.

Meadows are rare, and not rich in herbage; in Arabia, therefore, there are not many plants for forage. Horned cattle are not common here, and are ill fed, and their flesh

flesh is consequently ill tasted. Animals of a nature suitable to the climate, such as camels and asses, are, as I have already mentioned, content with the driest and hardest fare. We have seen camels eat of a species of *Euphorbia*, after it had received some little preparation in a hole dug in the earth. This animal also browses on the dry and prickly herbs and shrubs of the desert, such as the *Zygophyllum*, *Hedysarum*, *Colutea*, &c. The *Mesembryanthema*, succulent herbs, afford another resource to the animals of the sandy plains. The Bedouins likewise prepare, of the grain of a species of *Mesembryanthemum*, a sort of bread, which they eat as readily as wheat bread. The ass eats even a species of *Scorfonera*, so rough and bitter, that even the camel refuses it.

All simple nations use for remedies vegetables, of the virtues of which they have a traditionary knowledge. The Arabians have also medicines of this kind, which they have used from time immemorial, with a degree of success of which indeed a stranger can never be absolutely certain. I need say nothing of plants so well known as aloes and euphorbia. In Arabia, the different species of the latter of these plants are so numerous, that Arabia may certainly be regarded as its native country. In hot countries counter poisons are highly esteemed, on account of the number of venomous beasts with which such countries are infested. By long experience, the inhabitants of those countries have learned what plants are salutary to man, and noxious to the venomous animals. The Arabians, however, appear to be ignorant of the virtues of the *Ophiorrhiza*, which is very common on their hills. But they value highly the *Aristolochia semper virens*, which they consider not only as a remedy, but as a preservative too, against the bite of serpents. In their opinion, a man who, for forty days, drinks the decoction of this herb, is in no future danger of being bitten by those venomous animals. Although the grounds of this opinion do not fully appear, yet it seems probable, that the jugglers, who expose themselves so daringly to be bitten by serpents, have some secret by which they preserve themselves from suffering by their bites. The prickly caper tree is also esteemed an excellent antidote against poisons of all kinds.

Among the new genera of plants discovered by Mr. Forskal, several are particularly curious; Caydveja, called by Sir Charles Linnaeus, Forskalea, in honour of my deceased friend, grows in the driest places of the country. It has small feelers, with which it fixes itself so tenaciously upon stulfs and other smooth bodies, that it is torn in pieces before it can be removed. The *Volutella* is a very extraordinary plant; being properly a long slender thread, without root or leaves, which intertwines itself about trees. It bears, however, a sort of flower, and berries, which are eaten by children. The *Polycophalos*, which resembles the thistle, has at a distance the appearance of a loose heap of balls, each of which incloses a parcel of flowers. The *Nerium obesum*, a sort of laurel-rose, is remarkable for a singular bulb, close to the earth, and of the size of a man's head, which forms all its trunk, and out of which the branches spring.

Reeds are so common about the Arabic Gulph, as to have procured the Gulph the name of Jam Suf, or the sea of reeds, from the ancients. One species of this vegetable is particularly worthy of notice. It grows with a vigorous vegetation, and in great abundance, in the bath-waters, in the district of Ghobeybe, where it rises to the height of twenty-four feet. These long solid reeds are an article of commerce. They are exported to Yemen, and there used in the ceilings of houses. In the same district of Ghobeybe, nearly opposite to Suez, we were surprised to see a *Conserva* growing in the bottom of the hot baths of Hammam Faraon, the heat of which was at 49 degrees in Reaumur's thermometer.

CHAP. CXLII. — *Of Trees and Shrubs.*

THE sandy plains of Arabia are almost destitute of trees; only a few palms are scattered here and there. Forests are to be seen only in the Highland provinces, where the hills retain enough of earth for vegetation; but even in the Highlands are rare. The trees in those forests are either absolutely unknown, or at least different from our European trees of the same genera or species. The principal of them are the following, of which I shall have occasion to speak somewhat more at length: *Sceura*, *Tomex*, *Catha*, *Cynanchum*, *Meru*, *Baka*, *Hadedi*, and several species of the fig-tree unknown among us.

The Arabians cultivate several of our fruit trees. They have pomegranate, almond, apricot, pear, and apple trees. There is a species of pear tree, and a cornel tree which are peculiar to Arabia. The Arabians likewise eat the fruit of several of our shrubs, such as the *Asclepias* and the *Rhamnus*.

Although the Mahometans drink no wine, the Arabians however, plant the vine, and have a great variety of grapes. They dry a small sort of grape, called *Kischmisch*, which has no stone, but only soft, and almost impalpable seeds; and of these grapes they sell a quantity to their neighbours. They also make from mint a syrup, named *Dub*, which they find a pretty lucrative article of commerce.

Several sorts of lemons and oranges are found in Arabia. If an inference may be drawn from the names which the Arabians have given them, one should suppose that they have had an orange tree from Portugal, and two lemon trees from Italy. From common oranges, cut through the middle while they are green, dried in the air, and steeped for forty days in oil, is prepared an essence famous among old women for restoring a fresh black colour to grey hairs.

The Banians have transported various fruit-trees from India, which are now naturalized in Arabia; such are the Bannana-tree (*Musa* Linn.); the Mangoustan (*Mangifera* Linn.); the Papaya (*Carica Papaya* Linn.); and the *Cissus* Linn. Arabia produces the date tree; but their other palms, and especially the *Cocos*, seem to be from India.

The Indian fig-tree, (*Ficus varta*), although now very common in Arabia, is perhaps not a native of this country. The singular property which this tree possesses, of spreading itself, by means of filaments shooting from its branches, which, when they reach the ground, take root and form new trunks, is well known. Mr. Forskal saw a dozen species of indigenous fig-trees in Arabia, which are not mentioned by Linnæus. Their fruit is far from delicate; seldom eatable. The bark of one species is used in tanning leather. Of another the leaves are so rough, that they are used for cleaning and polishing iron. The rest are only so many of the useless trees of the forest.

The tamarind, which, in Arabia, as well as in India, is equally useful and agreeable. It has a pulp of a vineous taste, of which a wholesome refreshing liquor is prepared. Its shade shelters houses from the torrid heat of the sun, and its fine figure greatly adorns the scenery of the country. The inhabitants are also fond of raising over their houses the shade of the Indian fig-tree.

Arabia appears to be very rich in indigenous trees, the number of which is more than proportionate to its peculiar herbaceous plants. But great trees are not easily removed from one place to another; and those of the forests, in the back parts of the country, are seldom seen by travellers than the other vegetables. Hence, it is no wonder that we have been hitherto so ignorant concerning the trees of Arabia. More than half the new genera classed by Mr. Forskal comprehend trees only. My friend

saw likewise other eighteen trees, the genera of which he had no opportunity of ascertaining; not to mention a great many others, of which he could learn only the Arabic name.

Catha is one of those new genera peculiar to Arabia. This tree, which is improvable by culture, is commonly planted among the coffee-shrubs on the hills where these grow. The Arabians are accustomed constantly to chew the buds of this tree, which they call Kaad; they are as much addicted to this practice, as the Indians to that of chewing betel. To their kaad they ascribe the virtues of assisting digestion, and of fortifying the constitution against infectious distempers. Yet its insipid taste gives no indication of extraordinary virtues. The only effects we felt from the use of those buds were the hinderance and the interruption of our sleep.

Elcaya and Keura, two trees famous for their perfume, are not known, but form two new genera. The former is common on the hills of Yemen; and the women steep its fruit in water, which they use for washing and perfuming the head. The second bears some resemblance to the palm-tree, and produces flowers of a rich and delicious smell. These flowers are sold at an high price, as the Keura is rather a scarce plant. But one little knot, if preserved in a cool place, will long continue to diffuse its odours through a whole apartment.

Children eat the fruit, which is insipid enough, of a large tree called Oncoba, and a tall shrub named Mærua. Both these too, are new species discovered by Mr. Forskal. Such is also the Chadara, a large tree, and the Antura, a tree of a smaller size; neither of which has any thing remarkable to distinguish it, except its wood and its novelty. Culhamia, a large tree, also unknown to the botanists, has nothing but its use to recommend it. Cadaba and Mælia are shrubs which have nothing particular about them, and might be passed over in silence, had not Mr. Forskal taken notice of them.

Several shrubs which are indigenous in Arabia are of some use to the inhabitants. The fruit of a new genus, named Sodada, is eaten; from the berry of another new shrub, called Cebatha, is extracted a very strong species of brandy, the acid taste of which is improved by a mixture of sugar. A sort of that false phaeolus, Dolichos, which I have mentioned in speaking of the plants, grows up to a bushy shrub, so as to form hedges in a short time, which are almost impenetrable. Cynanchum, a new genus, is a shrub, of which the wood called by the Arabians March, is used for fuel, as it has all the lightness and combustibility of tinder.

An Arabian tree, famous from the most remote antiquity, and nevertheless but little known, is that from which the balsam of Mecca is obtained. We found one of these trees in the open fields; and under its shade Mr. Forskal wrote the first botanical description of the species. He at the same time named it, as a new species, Amyris; a name which has since been adopted by other botanists. The tree has not a beautiful appearance; and, what is surprising, its qualities are not known to the inhabitants of Yemen, in which we met with it. They only burn its wood as a perfume. The wood of a sort of Amyris, called Kafal, is exported to Egypt, and there used to communicate an agreeable odour to pots boiled upon it, as fuel, which affects also the liquors contained in them. The Arabians, in the remoter parts of the province of Hadjas, seem to be better informed; for they collect the balsam, and bring it to Mecca, whence it is distributed through the Turkish empire, where it is in high estimation. Even at Mecca it is difficult to obtain any of this balsam in its original purity. Antica produces also some trees of the genus of Amyris, so that the value of the balsam of Mecca may fall in time.

We could learn nothing of the tree from which incense distils; and Mr. Forskal does not mention it. I know that it is to be found in a part of Hadramaut, where it is called *Oliban*. But the Arabians hold their own incense in no estimation, and make use only of that which comes from India. Probably Arabian incense was so called among the ancients, because the Arabians traded in it, and conveyed it from India to the ports of Egypt and Syria.

Senna (*Cassia Senna* Linn.) is a shrub of which the favourite seat seems to be Upper Egypt, and that part of Arabia which lies opposite to Upper Egypt, on the other side of the Arabic Gulph. As there are several species of *Cassia*, it seems probable that the senna imported into Europe is not all the produce of the same shrub. The differently figured leaves indicate as much. That which we call senna of Alexandria grows in great abundance in the territory of Abu Arifsch. The Arabians sell it at Mecca and Jidda; whence it passes, by the way of Suez and Kahira, to Alexandria. *Senna*, and other sorts of *cassia*, are much used in Arabia in various diseases. *Cassia Fistula*, or black *cassia*, mixed with a little rhubarb, is the best remedy known to the Arabian physicians for the cure of the Cholera Morbus, and of diarrhœas, which are in hot countries peculiarly dangerous.

I have already had occasion to speak of the coffee-tree, which furnishes the Arabians with their best article for exportation. This shrub, which is at present reared in many green houses in Europe, is too well known to need a description here. The Arabians say that it is a native of Abyssinia; and several travellers affirm that they have seen it in great plenty in that country, where it produces berries not inferior in goodness to the coffee of Yemen. What renders this relation the more probable is, that the fruit of the wild coffee-trees is in Arabia so bad as to be unfit for use. However this may be, it is at least certain that this shrub thrives only on hills, and in places which are cool, and not destitute of moisture. For this reason, the inhabitants of the Highlands plant other trees among their coffee-plants, in order to shade them; and, in the time of the intense heats, water them. It should seem then that the Europeans are mistaken, in supposing that this shrub should be planted in a dry soil, under a torrid sky, and in the hottest climates. This mistake may be suspected to be the reason of the bad quality of the American coffee. In the account of my journey through Yemen, I have mentioned the countries where the best coffee is to be found; and have at the same time spoken of the extensive trade which the Arabians carry on in this commodity.

Their profits are less considerable from the cotton-tree, of which they have two species; that which grows to a shrub; and another which bears red flowers. Almost all the inhabitants of Arabia are clothed in cotton cloth from India.

Arabia, as well as Egypt, produces the celebrated *Alhenna* (*Lawsonia inermis* Linn.) the leaves of which, pulverised and wrought into a paste, form a cosmetic which is in high repute through the east. The women of those countries, with this drug, stain their hands and feet, or at least the nails of these, of a red colour; which is yellowish, or deeper, according to the manner in which the powder is applied. They think their charms improved by this painting; and, indeed, it may by contrast, render the black and yellow of their complexion less disagreeable than they would otherwise be. This shrub, in its size and character, has a resemblance to our privets.

The sensitive plant, of the genus *Mimosa*, is well known. In Arabia are several species of this genus, all either trees or shrubs, which serve the inhabitants both for use and pleasure. One of these trees droops its branches whenever any person approaches it,

it, seeming as if it saluted those who retire under its shade. This mute hospitality has so endeared this tree to the Arabians, that the injuring or cutting of it down is strictly prohibited. Another of these (*Mimosa Selam*) produces splendid flowers, of a beautiful red colour, with which the Arabians crown their heads on their days of festivity. The flowers of another (*Mimosa Lebbeck*) are no less remarkable for a fine silky tuft, formed by their pistils. The leaves of another (*Mimosa Orfæa*) preserve camel's milk from becoming sour, so that it retains all its sweetness for several days. The smoke of the timber of this same tree expels a worm, which fixes itself in the flesh of the human neck, and produces epileptic fits. This species of the *Mimosa* is dispersed through Asia, Africa, and America; it is well known that the sensitive plant was brought into Europe from the latter of these continents.

At Beit el Fakih, Mr. Forikal found some fine trees, which were the ornament of the place; but he could not learn either their name or their country. He suspects them to have been brought from India by the Bramins. But, as their characteristics were different from those of any other known species, he has classed them in two new genera, under the names of *Hyperanthera* and *Binectarium*. Those trees were large, of a majestic form, and covered with beautiful flowers. The *Cissus*, perhaps another native of India, is at present common in Arabia, where it has been naturalized, as well as the *Tomex*, a great tree, the properties of which we are unacquainted with. The *Cissus* is valued as one of the best counterpoisons; and is on this account held in high estimation; it is the *Cissus Illa* Linn. A species of *Glycyrrhiza*, or liquorice-shrub, is common in Arabia and India.

Arabia does not produce many poisonous vegetables; yet here is found a very dangerous shrub of a new genus, called by Mr. Forikal *Adenia*. The buds of this shrub are one of the most violent poisons, if dried, and given in drink as a powder; they have the sudden effect to swell the body in an extraordinary manner. A sort of caper-tree (*Capparis spinosa* Linn.) is the only remedy against the effects of this poison. This latter shrub is so common in Arabia, that the antidote is always to be found beside the poison.

Mr. Forikal likewise enumerates other eighteen trees which he saw, and which are indigenous in Arabia; but their genera he could not determine. Of the most part he learned the Arabic names, and of a few, some of the properties. In Yemen he saw two trees, one of which was like the lemon, the other like the apple tree; but the inhabitants themselves know neither their names nor qualities. Noemam, a tree from the coffee mountains, is often confounded with the cassia tree. Beka and Anas are trees very common in the Highlands, the juice of which is caustic and poisonous. Schamama bears a fruit which tastes and smells like a lemon. Gharib Elbakke is a tree on the hills in the territory of Abu Arifeh, from which distils an agreeable juice, which affords pleasant morsels to the birds. Segleg, another tree of Abu Arifeh, bears leaves from which there is a juice expressed which passes for an excellent remedy in cases of weakness of sight. Sym el Horat, or the poison of fishes, is the fruit of an unknown tree in Arabia Felix; from which great quantities of it are exported by the ports of the Red Sea. It is used in fishing. Fishes are fond of it, and swallow it eagerly; after which they float in a state of seeming intoxication on the surface of the water. This seems to be a sort of *nux vomica*; which is also obtained from the western coasts of India.

We neglected to inform ourselves, in Arabia, concerning the production of manna; and what we learned from a monk, in a convent near Suez, was a monstrous legend, not worth repetition. The tree from which manna is obtained in Mesopotamia, by the shaking

shaking of its branches, is an oak, as I have been credibly informed by several different persons. This manna is white and saccharine. But, at Bafra, I had a specimen shewn me of the manna Tarandjabin, which is gathered in Persia, from a prickly shrub; it, as well as the former, is in round grains; but these are yellowish. As Arabia Petrea abounds in prickly shrubs, possibly this manna may be found also there; although in those desert places it cannot be very plentiful. Both these sorts of manna are used as sugar, in several dishes of meat, especially pastry. They are nourishing, and, when newly gathered, have no purgative qualities.

The cedar grows not in Arabia, but seems to be a tree peculiar to Mount Libanus. The Arabians have little wood fit for building; their trees are mostly of a light, porous texture. *Secura*, a new genus described by Mr. Forskal, a tree that grows on the seashore, is so soft a wood, that no use can be made of it.

CHAP. CXLIII. — *The Minerals of Arabia.*

IN the account of my journey, and in speaking of the soil of Arabia, I have already had some occasion to mention the nature of those stones of which the hills are here composed. I have likewise spoken of the masses of basaltes between Hadie and Kachma, from the upper parts of which pentagonal fragments are from time to time detached, and darted down into the vallies.

Beside calcareous, vitrifiable, and sand stones, we saw also a ferruginous spar, mixed with brown or white selenite, almost transparent. We found likewise, in the neighbourhood of Loheia, a blueish gypsum, a greyish schistus, and spheric marcasites, in beds of grit-stone; from which stones are hewn for building. Arabia affords, however, stones of greater value. The onyx is common in Yemen; and we saw even quantities of these stones on the road between Taes and Mount Sumara. In a hill near the town of Damar is found the stone Ayek Jemani, which is in the highest estimation among the Arabians. It is of a dark red, or rather a light brown colour, and seems to be a sort of cornelian. The Arabians set it in rings or bracelets, and ascribe to it the virtue of stopping the bleeding of wounds when instantly applied. Among the stones of Mokha, which are, properly speaking, Indian cornelians, brought from Surat to Arabia and Europe, pieces are often found which bear a perfect resemblance to this Ayek Jemani.

I could learn nothing of the precious stones, properly so called, which are supposed to be found in Arabia. It does not seem even probable that emeralds were ever found here. The hill which has been denominated the hill of emeralds is in Egypt, on the opposite side of the Arabic Gulph, and forms a part of that large chain of mountains which are composed chiefly of granite.

We saw two little hills, consisting almost entirely of fossil salt; one near Loheia, and the other in the neighbourhood of Hodeida. Those masses of salt are piled up in large transparent strata, and inclosed in a crust of calcareous stone. The Arabians formerly dug up this salt, but the galleries of the mines have sunk down, and it is now neglected. We were told, however, that foreign vessels sometimes come to trade with this salt, from the hill near the isle of Kameran, in the neighbourhood of Hodeida.

Arabia does not appear to be rich in metals. The old Greek and Latin writers go even so far as to assert that it is absolutely destitute of iron. This is not true; for grains of iron are to be seen among the sands which are washed down by the rains. Magnets are commonly to be met with in the province of Kufina; and at Saade are
iron

iron mines, which are wrought at present. It must, however, be confessed that the iron of Yemen is coarse and brittle; disadvantages in it which cannot be remedied. Besides, the scarcity of wood makes this iron dearer than that which is brought from distant countries. For this reason, iron is a commodity which strangers can always dispose of to advantage in the ports of the Red Sea.

In Oman are many very rich lead mines. As this metal is more easily fusible, the inhabitants of this province export great plenty of it. This trade is carried on from the harbour of Maskat.

As the ancients honoured one part of Arabia with the title of Happy, it should seem that they must have ascribed to it all possible advantages. The Greeks and Latins accordingly make ample mention of the immense quantity of gold which this country produced. In remote times possibly, when the Arabians were the factors of the trade to India, much of this precious metal might pass through Arabia into Europe; but that gold was probably the produce of the mines of India. At present, at least, there is no gold mine in Arabia. The rivulets bring down no grains of this metal from the hills; nor does the sand shew any marks of so rich an intermixture. A philosopher of Loheia strove to persuade us, that he himself, and nobody else, was acquainted with some mines in the country; but he was a babbler to whose stories we could not give the slightest credit.

All the gold now circulating in Arabia is from Abyssinia or Europe, and is received in payment either for coffee, or for India goods, which are sold at Jidda or Mokha. The Imam of Sana, when he wished, some time since, to strike a little gold coin, was obliged to melt down foreign money for the purpose. The gold which passes from Europe into Arabia, consists almost altogether of Venetian sequins. On this account some Arabians asked, if the Venetians were the only nation in Europe who had gold mines. Others fancied that the Venetians were in possession of the philosopher's stone.

These prejudices and popular rumours serve to keep up the old partiality of the Arabians for the pursuit of the art of transmuting other substances into gold. An Arabian no sooner meets with an obscure book upon this subject, by some pretended adept, than he sets himself to chemical processes, which he pursues as far as the circumstances of his country will permit. I have already given the story of two alchymists of Beit el Fakih who had ruined themselves by researches into the art of making gold. This taste is very general in Arabia; most of those alchymical enthusiasts think themselves sure of success, if they could but find out the herb which gilds the teeth, and gives a yellow colour to the flesh of the sheep that eat it. Even the oil of this plant must be of a golden colour. It is called Hafehisehet ed dab. I was assured that it is common in the vales of Mount Libanus, and is also to be found on the high hills of Yemen.

VOYAGE FROM MOKHA TO BOMBAY.

CHAP. CXLIIV. — *Departure from Mokha.*

THE vessel belonging to Mr. Scott, with whom we were to take our passage for Bombay, having been detained for a considerable time at Mokha, we could not leave the city till the 23d of August 1763. Although Messrs. Cramer and Breurenland were at that time very ill, they, however, determined not to lose the opportunity of leaving Arabia. As to myself, my health was so far re-established, that I could safely venture upon the voyage to India.

The

The famous freight of Babel-Mandel, where the Arabian Gulph joins the ocean, and where we arrived on the second day of our voyage, may be about ten German miles in breadth. It is interspersed with small isles, of which that nearest Africa is called Perim, and forms with the African continent a channel, through which ships usually pass, notwithstanding the rapid current which prevails in it. In the sea, between Arabia and India, there is generally a rapid current driving to the east, with so much violence, that it is impossible to reckon the rate at which a ship runs in passing here. In this sea we met likewise with north winds, so cold that we were obliged to put on warmer clothes.

In this first part of our voyage, Mr. Cramer's health seemed to recover daily; but Mr. Baurenfeind grew worse and worse. He sunk into a deep lethargy, and died on the 29th of August. The designs of this artist, of which I have published a part, sufficiently bespeak his praise.

Next day after Mr. Baurenfeind, died also our servant, Berggreen, a Swede, who had made several campaigns in the service of a Colonel of Hussars. This man, who was naturally robust, and had been inured to fatigue, had at first laughed at the idea of the hardships of a voyage to Arabia; but he sunk under them at last, as well as Mr. Cramer, as I shall hereafter relate.

This melancholy fate of my fellow-travellers leads me to recollect the similar end of two learned travellers into the east, which deserves to be made known. The one was Mr. Donati, who was at the head of a society of learned Italians, sent by the king of Sardinia to travel in Asia. Soon after their arrival in Egypt, this society quarrelled among themselves. Mr. Donati's companions returned to Italy, and he proceeded alone on the journey, attended only by a young interpreter from Kahira, and an Italian servant. He went by Damascus to Basra, in order to find an opportunity of passing on to India. But, being naturally impatient, and weary of waiting for an European vessel, he embarked on board a small open skiff, in which he purposed to proceed to Mangalore, on the coast of Malabar. The fatigue was too much for him; and he died on board this vessel, three days before it reached India. Before his death he gave money to his servants to carry them home; but this the Italian losing all at play, in despair, turned Mussulman at Maskat.

Mr. Donati was well qualified to make the most of such a journey as that he had undertaken. His knowledge was very extensive; and he possessed all the requisite firmness and activity of spirit. He was farther possessed of a still more necessary quality, courage, which danger could not subdue, and of which he gave frequent proofs in Egypt, when attacked by the Arabians, who, at last, learned to respect his intrepidity.

This philosopher had taken, although in vain, all possible precautions to make his papers and the curiosities which he had collected in Egypt and Syria reach the Sardinian court. He had intrusted to the Arabs, with whom he sailed, all his effects, begging them, before his death, to convey the whole to the viceroy of Goa, who would not fail to forward them to the court of Turin. I met with one of those men in India, who told me that they had faithfully discharged their commission, and that the whole of Mr. Donati's effects were in the hands of the Portuguese viceroy. In 1772, however, nothing had been obtained from him; and I know not if any part of the deceased traveller's effects has been yet received in Italy. It was in 1763 that the Arabs, on board whose vessel Mr. Donati died, were on the coast of Malabar.

The

The other learned traveller to whom I have alluded, was a French physician named Simon, well skilled in natural history, and a considerable proficient in astronomy. He arrived long before us in Syria, and was well received by his countrymen at Aleppo. Not finding leisure enough while he was among those Europeans, to prosecute his researches, he went to Diarbekir, in the hope of being there left at liberty for his inquiries. In that city he lodged with the capuchins, the only Europeans in the place; but, disgusted by the mummeries and ridiculous observances of those monks, he, in a fit of despair, resolved to become Mussulman.

Although the Turks make much of an European physician, Mr. Simon saw himself neglected as soon as he had made profession of Mahomedism; just as if he had lost his skill in his profession, with the change of his religion. Becoming weary of Diarbekir, he retired to Bagdad, and there lived by the sale of drugs, and the practice of medicine. Still retaining, however, his taste for natural history, he continued to botanize in the adjacent country with great activity. A Persian Khan in the neighbourhood, whom he had refused to visit, had him carried off, when he was out upon one of his botanical excursions, and compelled him by the bastinado to prescribe for him. Mr. Simon not succeeding in the cure of the Khan, was again bastinadoed, and imprisoned. The successor of the deceased Khan being likewise sick, and learning that the prisoner was an European physician, took him out from confinement, and entrusted his health to his care, and was fortunately cured by Mr. Simon's skill. But this success proved only a source of new misfortunes to the ill-fated philosopher. His new master refused him permission to return to Bagdad, and carried him with him in all his campaigns, in the late civil war in Persia. In one of those expeditions, an enemy surprised the Khan, and Mr. Simon was slain on that occasion, with his master, and their whole party.

The passage between Arabia and India was formerly thought very dangerous. Ships were carried on by so rapid a current, that they could neither keep their reckoning, nor distinguish the coast during the rainy season: several were consequently lost on the low coasts of Malabar. These misfortunes have ceased to take place, since an observation was made, which has been thought new, although Arrian speaks of it as being known to the ancients: in the Indian ocean, at a certain distance from land, a great many water serpents, from 12 to 13 inches in length, are to be seen rising above the surface of the water. When these serpents are seen, they are an indication that the coast is exactly two degrees distant.

We saw some of these serpents, for the first time, on the evening of the 9th of September; on the 11th we landed in the harbour of Bombay; and on the 13th entered the city.

CHAP. CXLV. — *Of the Isle and the City of Bombay.*

THE isle of Bombay is two German miles in length, by rather more than half a mile in breadth. A narrow channel divides it from another small isle of little value, called by the English Old Woman's Island. Bombay produces nothing but cocoas and rice; and on the shore a considerable quantity of fish is collected. The inhabitants are obliged to bring their provisions from the continent, or from Salset, a large and fertile island not far from Bombay, and belonging to the Marattas. Since I left India, the English have made an attempt upon Salset, which is indeed very much in their power, and the public papers say that they have been successful. I know not whether they may be able to maintain themselves in it against the Marattas, whose armies are very numerous.

The sea breezes, and the frequent rains, cool the atmosphere, and render the climate of this island temperate. Its air was formerly unhealthy and dangerous, but has become pure since the English drained the marshes, in the city and its environs. Still, however, many Europeans die suddenly here; but they are new-comers, who shorten their days by a mode of life unsuitable to the climate; eating great quantities of beef and pork, which the Indian Legislator had wisely forbidden, and drinking copiously of the strong wines of Portugal in the hottest season. They likewise persist obstinately in wearing the European dress, which by its ligatures impedes the free circulation of the blood, and by covering the limbs renders the heat more intolerable. The Orientals again live to a great age, and are little subject to diseases, because they keep the body at ease in wide flowing robes, abstain from animal food and strong liquors, and eat their principal meal in the evening after sunset.

The city of Bombay, situate in the northern part of the island, is a quarter of a German mile in length; but narrow. It is defended by an indifferent citadel towards the sea, and at the middle of the city. On the land side its fortifications are very good. During the war the East India Company expended no less than 900,000 French livres a-year, in the construction of new works for its defence; and, although these works are no longer carried on with the same activity, yet the fortifications of Bombay are still continued, so that it must be in a short time the most considerable fortress in India. Besides the town, there are in the island some small forts sufficient to protect it from any irruption of the Indians.

In this city are several handsome buildings; among which are the Director's palace, and a large and elegant church near it. The houses are not flat roofed here, as through the rest of the east, but are covered with tiles in the European fashion. The English have glass windows. The other inhabitants of the island have their windows of small pieces of transparent shells framed in wood, which renders the apartments very dark. In the east it is the fashion to live during the dry season in chambers open on one side. The houses of Bombay are in general neither splendid nor commodious in any great degree.

The harbour is spacious, and sheltered from all winds. A valuable work, which has been constructed at the Company's expence, is, two basons, hewn out in the rock, in which two ships may be at once careened. A third is now preparing. This work, which has been very expensive, likewise brings in a considerable annual return. Strangers pay very dear for liberty to careen in these basons. While I was there I saw a ship of war belonging to the Imam of Sana, which he had sent to Bombay, solely on purpose that it might be refitted.

CHAP. CXLVI. — *Of the Inhabitants of Bombay.*

THE toleration which the English grant to all religions has rendered this island very populous. During these hundred years, for which it has been in the possession of the Company, the number of its inhabitants has greatly increased; so that they are now reckoned at 140,000 souls, although within these twenty years they did not amount to 70,000.

Of these the Europeans are naturally the least numerous class; and this the rather as they do not marry, and their numbers consequently do not multiply. The other inhabitants are Portuguese, or Indian Catholics; Hindoos, the original possessors of the country; Persians from Kerman; Mahometans of different sects; and in the last place some Oriental Christians. My journey to Surat will afford me occasion to speak
more

more at length of the Hindoos and Persians, who chiefly inhabit the environs of this city; adding the observations I also made on these people at Surat.

The English, as I have mentioned, have an handsome church at Bombay, but only one English clergyman to perform the service of religion in it; and, if he should die, the congregation would be absolutely deprived of a pastor; for the Company have no chaplains in their ships, and entertain no clergy in their settlements on the coast. Wherefore, when a child is to be baptized, which is not often, as the English rarely marry in India, a Danish missionary is sent for, to administer the sacrament of baptism.

The Catholics, a scanty remainder of the Portuguese, and a great number of Indians, their converts, are much more numerous than the Protestants. They have abundance of priests, as well Europeans as Indians, who attend their studies at Gen. To superintend this herd, the Pope named some years ago a bishop of Bombay, but the governor of the island sent him away, declaring that they needed not Catholic priests of so high a rank. The Catholic churches are decent buildings, and are sumptuously ornamented within. The Jews had once a college and a church in the middle of this island. Their college is at present the country house of the English governor. And the old church has been converted into a suite of assembly rooms.

All religions, as I have already remarked, are here indulged in the free exercise of their public worship, not only in their churches, but openly, in festivals and processions, and none takes offence at another. Yet Government allows not the Catholic priests to give a loose to their zeal for making proselytes. When any person chooses to become Catholic, the reasons must be laid before government, and if they are judged valid, he is then allowed to profess his conversion. The priests complain of the difficulty of obtaining this permission. They, however, have considerable success in conversion among the slaves, who, being struck with the pomp of the Romish worship, and proud of wearing the image of a saint upon their breasts, choose rather to frequent the Catholic churches than any others, and persuade their countrymen, as they successively arrive, to follow their example. I had purchased a young Catholic negro at Bombay, who was also born of Christian parents, and intended to bring him with me into Europe; but, fearing afterwards that the Mussulmans in Persia and Turkey might give me trouble, and pretend that I was carrying away a Mahometan boy, in order to make him a Christian, I gave him away before my departure from India.

CHAP. CXLVII.—*Of the Government and Power of the English on the Coast of Malabar.*

THE English East India Company govern their settlements in a mode of administration different from that of the Portuguese and Dutch. These last nations intrust the disposal of all places to the power of a single governor; the Portuguese to the viceroy of Goa; the Dutch to the governor-general of Batavia. The conquests of the English are, on the contrary, all divided into four independent governments, each of which receives its orders immediately from the Court of Directors at London. The four of these four governments are, Bombay for the coast of Malabar, Madras for the Coromandel coast, Calcutta for Bengal, and Bencoolen for the island of Sumatra.

Although independent of one another, the several English governments are, however, obliged to lend one another mutual aid in extraordinary exigencies. On a late occasion, news being received at Bombay of an insurrection, the council of Bombay, without waiting for orders from the Court of Directors in London, sent troops and artillery to

Calcutta. These different establishments are all governed in the same manner. All processes between subjects of the Company are determined by the law of England.

The council or regency of Bombay consist of a governor, with the title of president, and twelve counsellors, who are all merchants, except the commander of the troops, who held lately the rank of major. The Company have of late made some changes upon this arrangement. The president must be a military man; the commander of the troops is a brigadier, and has a voice in the council; and the director of the naval affairs has a place among the twelve counsellors who were formerly all merchants. The other servants of the Company are factors and writers of different ranks. Their rise from lower to higher places in the order of seniority,—even to the very first offices, that only excepted of president; who is nominated by the Court of Directors in London. The servants of the Company are sometimes transferred from one department to another. Mr. Spencer, a very intelligent man, who was a counsellor at Bombay when I was there, was soon after transferred to the place of first president at Calcutta.

The president of the council of Bombay is obliged to reside in the island; as are also those counsellors who hold the offices of treasurer and inspector of the Company's stores. The other counsellors are sent out to manage the concerns of the Company's trade in the establishments dependent on the government of Bombay. In my time, the directors of the trade at Surat, Tellicherry, Anjengo, and Basra, were members of the council. In three of these places, the Company have forts in which they keep up garrisons of sufficient strength. Since I left that country, the English have conquered Baradich, a great town, north from Surat, which was subject to a Nabob of its own, and was formerly the seat of a Dutch factory. A counsellor from Bombay now resides as director in this city.

Factors are sent to the inferior settlements; such as, in the province of Scindi, the great city of Tatta, the seat of the sovereign of the country; Lacer Bunder; and Schah Bunder. The Company have likewise factors at Abu Schahr, Cambay, Onor, Calicut, and even in the fort of Victoria. This fort stands on a great river, which holds its course through the interior country, even to as great distance as Puna, the seat of the chief of the Mahrattas. The English acquired this place, with some adjacent villages, from the Mahrattas, in exchange for Geri, a fortress once belonging to the famous Aurang, of which they had taken possession. The Company expected, that, by means of this river, they might extend their trade through the country of the Mahrattas. This project, however, never, indeed, they avail themselves of the fort, and purchase leather and salt from the Mahrattas in the neighbourhood, as the Hindoos about Bombay will not sell their cattle for slaughter.

It is for the benefit of the Company to send its servants successively to different places, before they are advanced to the first employments. Factors thus gain a knowledge of the affairs of all the dependent settlements subject to the government, of which they are afterwards to be counsellors. The Company, however, allows but very moderate salaries to its factors and directors. But they are permitted to trade on their own account in India only from Delagoa near the Cape of Good Hope, to China, and northward, as far as Sudda and Tatta. By means of this extensive trade chiefly, do the Directors acquire that wealth which is the admiration and envy of their countrymen in Europe.

The advantages for the acquisition of wealth in trade, are reserved for the English exclusively. The Company admit strangers into none but the military department of their service. In it they must enter the lowest rank; but advancement is pretty rapid; for their mode of life suits off the officers very fast. At Bombay, I saw officers from

various

various nations; chiefly however Germans and Swifs. The troops are well paid; but I could not think the service agreeable; for the writers, who are more directly in the career of advancement, look upon the soldiers with that contempt, which monied men commonly think themselves entitled to shew for persons who are in their pay.

In the government of which Bombay is the centre, the Company maintain seventeen companies of regular troops, consisting each of about an hundred and twenty men, with three companies of artillery. The soldiers are mostly Europeans, except some Topases, or Catholic Indians, dressed in the European fashion. At Bombay there is also a body of three thousand Sepoys, or Indian soldiers, Pagan and Mahometan, who wear their own original dres, and are commanded by their own officers. Each company of this corps has an interior European officer to teach the Sepoys their exercise; for, when commanded by Europeans, they form good troops. At Surat, the Company have in their pay a small corps of Arabs from the Persian Gulph, who are in such high reputation in India for their courage, that every Rajah desires to have some in his service.

The artillery of Bombay is in very good condition, owing to the care of a Swede, whom the English sent out in 1752, and who brought with him a company of gunners, whom he had raised in Germany. Bombay was thus furnished with a good number of able workmen, chiefly malons and carpenters. Those Germans likewise engaged many of their countrymen to leave the Dutch, and enter into the English service.

The whole coast from Bombay to Basra is inhabited by people addicted to piracy, such as the Malays, the Sangeries, the Kulis, the Arabs, with other petty nations. It might be easy for the English to exterminate these pirates; as they shewed in 1765, by possessing themselves of the territory of the Malayans; which, however, they soon after ceded to the Indians for a round sum of money. But it is the Company's interest to leave those plunderers to scour the seas, and hinder other nations from sailing in the same latitudes. The English are therefore content with protecting their own trade; for which purpose they maintain in the government of Bombay eight or ten small ships of war, with a number of armed barks. The Indians dare not travel from one port to another, otherwise than in caravans, and under the protection of an English vessel, for which they are obliged to pay very dear.

The Company find it not necessary to pay their court in a particular manner to any nation in these latitudes, except the Mahrattas, who are masters of the coast and of the isles about Bombay, and by consequence in some measure masters of the subsistence of this settlement. The marine force of the Mahrattas is not formidable; but they can bring 80,000 cavalry into the field. This residue of the old Indians, retired among the hills, still retain a power which renders them formidable to the Moguis. The great Aurengzebe, to keep peace with the Mahrattas, granted them a fourth of the customs paid by several provinces; a revenue which they have found means to enlarge since the rise of the last troubles in Indostan. They ventured to attack the English, in a time of peace, and in 1765 took a man of war pertaining to that nation. The Company, instead of revenging this insult, thought it more prudent to settle the affair amicably. The sovereign of the Mahrattas, who is a Bramin, is styled by his principal officers, resides at Puna, a great town in the interior country. He sends out his provinces to the Bramins, who again employ and command their own troops. According to accounts, the government of this nation is good, strict, and easy. Justice is impartially administered; agriculture and manufactures flourish; and the country is very populous. The Mahrattas, although they do not practise justice among themselves, are, however, guilty of great barbarities in their frequent incursions into the British

bowing provinces under the government of Mahometans. They pillage and lay waste all before them in the most cruel manner.

CHAP. CXLVIII. — *Of the Trade of Bombay.*

THE permission which the Company's servants enjoy of trading on their own account, appears to many persons to be injurious to the interests of the Company. It must be confessed that this private trade is liable to abuses, and may on certain occasions prove hurtful to that of the Company. Yet, judging upon the whole, I am induced to think it advantageous alike to the masters and to the servants. A liberty of trading on their own account inspires factors with spirit and activity, and affords them means of acquiring fuller information concerning various branches of commerce. Thus is the trade in general benefited, and business extended.

A recent instance will shew both the good and the bad side of this account. In the first part of my work, I have mentioned the privilege the English enjoy at Jidda, of paying lower duties than any other nation. Since the extension of their conquests in India, they have engrossed almost the whole trade of the Red Sea; so that few ships from other nations now resorting to Jidda, the customs of that city have considerably declined. The Turks and Arabs, not daring to raise those duties, in violation of the tenor of their treaties with the English, contrived to make the purchaser of goods imported by ships from Bombay pay a second duty. This falling ultimately upon the English merchants, the Company complained, but could obtain no redress. They then threatened to forsake the harbour of Jidda, and to send their ships straight to Suez. The Turks and Arabs, considering the navigation of the Arabian Gulph as the most dangerous in the world, paid no attention to those menaces.

At last, Mr. Holford, an able seaman, determined to accomplish them. To this end, it was necessary to obtain the consent of the regency of Cairo, and assurance of good treatment at Suez. Ali Bey, who was then master of Egypt, giving himself no concern about the interest of the Pacha of Jidda, or of the Sheriffs of Mecca, offered the English the most advantageous conditions; hoping to derive great profits from the Indian trade running in this new channel. Since Mr. Holford, in 1773, made a successful voyage up the Arabic Gulph, and conducted the first English ships straight to Suez, several vessels have every year sailed from India for this port. In 1776, five of those English ships entered the harbour of Suez. The passage has been found so short and convenient, that the regency of Bombay now send their couriers by the way of Suez to England. In this way, they receive answers to their dispatches within the same length of time which was formerly consumed in the conveyance of their packets to London.

But, this change in the conduct of this trade, is not yet of long standing. By the diminution of the expences of freight which it produced, the English reduced the prices of India goods so considerably, through all the Levant, that the Company no longer found sale for those stufis which they had been accustomed to send from London to the Levant. They have, therefore, prohibited their factors from trading, on their own account, from India straight to Suez. But, as this trade has been once opened, the Company might send their own ships to Egypt. The only consideration to hinder them, is, that of the instability of the government of Cairo, and the frequent disturbances which render Egypt unsafe for the merchant.

All the English ships for India sail to one of the four principal settlements. Those which sail for Bombay are commonly five months in their passage. In one instance,

the voyage is known to have been performed in three months and eighteen days. Few of those ships, of which there arrive commonly four in the year, return to Europe immediately after discharging their cargoes. They, for the most part, make first some voyage to a different settlement, as far often as China, by which they gain considerable freights, when the governor favours them so far as to grant them his permission. Each of these ships was formerly to take out 40,000 crowns; but, since the Company have acquired such an extent of territory in India, they have no necessity to send ready money from London to their settlements.

The principal article with which the ships from India are freighted, is cloth of all sorts, which is sold mostly at Basra, and in Persia. The others are cochineal, ivory, iron, copper, guns, arms, &c. The crew of these ships carry out likewise, each man, a parcel of goods, on his own account. A great part of the cargoes of these ships is publicly sold, soon after they are unladen. The Indian merchants gather in to the sale; and the goods are disposed of by auction, to the highest bidder. The remainder are carried to the dependent settlements.

The ships return to Europe, laden with pepper from Malabar, saltpetre from Seindi, and stuffs from Surat. The crews carry home parcels of perfumes, gums, and spices of different sorts, the produce of India.

CHAP. CXLIX. — *Antiquities of the Isle Elephanta.*

THIS small isle, situate near Bombay, belongs to the Mahrattas, and is inhabited by an hundred poor Indian families. Its proper name is Gali Pouri. The Europeans call it Elephanta, from the statue of an elephant formed of black stone, which stands in this island, in the open plain, near the shore. This island being of small importance, the Mahrattas take no care of it; and the English are at liberty to visit it without passports, which are requisite, when they go to the isle of Salset.

Several travellers mention the isle of Elephanta, and the Indian temple in it; but this only in a transient manner, and without seeming to have known all the importance of those remains of remote antiquity. To me the temple appeared so remarkable, that I visited the island three different times, in order to draw, and describe its curiosities.

It is an hundred and twenty feet long, and the same in breadth, without including the measurement of the chapels and the adjacent chambers. Its height within is nearly fifteen feet, although the floor has been greatly raised by the accession of dust, and of the sediment of the water which falls into it in the rainy season. The whole of this vast structure, situate in a hill of considerable height, is cut out in the solid rock. The pillars supporting the roof are also parts of the rock which have been left standing by the architect. They are of an uncommon order; but have an agreeable enough effect.

The walls of this temple are ornamented with figures in bas-relief, so prominent, that they are joined to the rock only by the back. Many of these figures are of a colossal size; being some 12, some 12, and some even 14 feet high. Neither in design, nor in execution, indeed, can these bas-reliefs be compared with the works of the Grecian sculptors. But they are greatly superior in elegance to the remains of the ancient Egyptian sculpture. They are also finer than the bas-reliefs from the ruins of Persepolis. No doubt, then, but the arts were cultivated by the ancient Indians with better success than is commonly supposed.

Probably

Probably these figures mark events relative to the mythology and fabulous history of the Indians; for they seem to be representative of gods and heroes. But, to be able to understand them, we should know more than we at present do of the manners and religion of this ancient nation. The modern Indians are so ignorant, that I could obtain from them no information concerning their antiquities. One man who pretended to explain the character of one of the larger statues, assured me that it was Kaen, one of their ancient fabulous princes, famous for his cruelties committed upon his sister's children. The statue, which is in other respects well formed, has eight arms; an emblem of power, which the Indians give to their allegorical figures.

I have given designs of these allegorical figures (in the larger works), which will make them better understood than any description can. There are, however, some particulars about them, which prove the stability of the manners of the Indians, and afford ground for the comparison of ancient with modern customs. None of these figures has a beard; and all of them very scanty whiskers. At present, the young Indians wear all whiskers; and such as are advanced in life leave commonly the whole beard to grow. The lips of these figures are always thick; and their ears are lengthened out by large pendants; ornaments which they almost all wear. Several of them wear a finish cord, in the fashion of a scarf; a mode now prevalent among the Bramins.

One woman has but a single breast; from which it should seem, that the story of the Amazons was not unknown to the old Indians. Several figures, as well masculine as feminine, have one arm leaning on the head of a male, or a female dwarf; from which it should seem that these monsters of the human species have always been an object of luxury and magnificence among the tasteless great. Several of these figures have hair on the head, which seems not to be of its native growth, but is perfectly like a wig; so that this covering for the head appears to be of very ancient invention. The female bosom is always perfectly round; from which it seems that the Indian fashion of wearing thin wooden cases upon the breasts is also very ancient. One woman too appears bearing her child in the same attitude which is still in use among the Indians, and which forms those children to stand firmly upon their feet and legs.

The head dress of these female figures is commonly an high-crowned bonnet. I have, however, observed also a turban. Some are bare-headed, and have their hair at least well combed, if it is not rather a periwig they wear. Several are naked. The dress of others is more nearly like that of the moderns. Some of the women wear a cap. In many pieces the handkerchief, still used through all India, is observable in the Lands of the Interior figures.

In several parts of these bas-reliefs appears the famous Cobra de Capello, a sort of serpent, which the human figures treat with great familiarity. These serpents are still very common in the Isle of Elephanta, the inhabitants of which are not afraid of them, but say that they are friendly to man, and do no harm, unless when intentionally provoked. Certain it is, however, that their bite is mortal.

On each side of this temple is a chapel, nine feet high, consequently lower than the principal building. The walls of these chapels are also covered with bas-relief figures, on a smaller scale than those upon the walls of the temple. Behind the chapels are three chambers, the walls of which display no sculptures; their uses I could not conjecture.

The smallest of the chapels, having no sculptured figure, but that of the God Gonnis, is still in a state of neat preservation, which must be owing to the cares of the present

inhabitants, whom I saw repair thither to perform their devotions. Before the entrance into this chapel, I found a pile of shapeless stones, newly bedaubed with red paint. I should suppose that the modern Indians no longer adore their ancient Gods, but have adopted new objects of worship, whom they represent by stones painted red, for want of more artificial statues. In many places through India, indeed, may be seen similar piles of red stones, which are held in high veneration among a people who have now almost entirely lost all knowledge of the fine arts.

The rest of the temple being perfectly neglected, is now the haunt of serpents and beasts of prey. One dares not enter it without first making several discharges of fire arms, to expel those creatures. Even after using this precaution, a Dutchman was once in great danger from swarms of wasps of a peculiar species, which he had roused from their nests with his gun. In the hot season horned cattle resort to the lower chambers of the temple, to drink of the water which is deposited there during the rains.

As little is there any hope of obtaining any information from the present inhabitants of the island, concerning the period when this temple was built. Those good folks relate with simplicity, that a number of strangers came one night into the island, and reared this edifice before the return of day-light. Men seem fond of the marvellous in India, as elsewhere.

On a hill, at a small distance, there is said to be another temple. But, to it, there is no open road; and, as the grass was at that time very tall, my guides would not accompany me thither, for fear of serpents and wild animals.

Besides, this is not the only old temple remaining in India. I have already mentioned those in the isle of Salliet, three of which standing at Kanari, Poniser, and Monpefer, have been described by M. Anquetil. I have already mentioned, that access into this island cannot be obtained without a passport from the Mahratta governor at Tana, or perhaps from the sovereign. Such a passport I durst not ask, for the purpose of gratifying my curiosity as to the temples; as the Mahrattas had lately seized a vessel, and were not, even then, in a good understanding with the English.

Freyer has described the temple of Dunganee, and Thevenot that of Iloura, both hewn out in the solid rock, like that of Elephanta. Near Fort Victoria is another very large temple, hewn out also in solid rock, and divided into twenty-five separate chambers. One perfectly like this is to be found in the vicinity of the town of Teridshanapalli.

These monuments of the ancient splendor of the Indians deserve, upon several accounts, the attention of our men of learning. We go to see pyramids nowise worthy of comparison with these pagodas. It would require more labour and skill to cut out such spacious apartments in rocks, and to ornament them with such large and beautiful pieces of sculpture, than to raise those huge piles of soft, calcareous stones, which the builder found ready at his hand. The pyramids appear to have been reared by the tool of barbarous slavery; the temples of India are the works of a magnificent and enlightened people.

The Indians are, besides, the most ancient of the nations whose history is known, and have best retained their ancient usages and opinions. We know that the inhabitants of other countries in the east, the Greeks, and perhaps too the Egyptians, drew the first elements of their knowledge from India. It may farther be presumed, that the examination of Indian antiquities would throw new light on those opinions and modes of worship which were by degrees diffused through other parts of the east, and

spread at last into Europe. These discoveries, again, would throw new light on the antiquities of other nations.

These hopes are the more plausible, as the Indians have still books which were written in the most remote times, and of which the language is at present understood. The books might explain the monuments; and the monuments again might serve as a commentary upon those books, and the history of the nation.

It were to be wished, that some enlightened scholars would undertake a voyage into India, for the purpose of investigating its antiquities. But, such an undertaking is more than can be expected from any private person, and might be worthy of the patronage of a prince or a nation. The Portuguese, who were for two centuries masters of Salsel, must have been well acquainted with these temples, for they converted that of Kanari into a church. But, instead of seeking to make those monuments known to other nations, they sought to conceal them, and covered the finest of the bas-reliefs with plaster. The English, although they have been settled at Bombay for these hundred years now, have still neglected these researches. It is to be hoped, that they will at length think of meriting the gratitude of the public, by bringing those hidden curiosities to light, which lie in the extensive conquests on the continent, now possessed by that nation.

VOYAGE TO SURAT.

CHAP. CL. — *Occasion of this Voyage, and Departure from Bombay.*

THE reader will recollect, that Mr. Cramer and I were both sick when we arrived at Bombay in September 1763. Our intention was to return into Europe through Turkey, and to take our passage on board a ship of the Company's which was to sail from Basra the beginning of the next year; but, the state of our health would not allow us to take that opportunity. Mr. Cramer, sinking at length under his complaints, died at Bombay, on the 10th of February 1764, in spite of the cares of a skilful English physician.

Being now the sole survivor of all our party, I thought it my duty to attend to my own preservation, and to provide for the safe conveyance of our papers to Europe, as I feared that these would be lost, if I also should die by the way. Foreseeing that I should have to undergo the same fatigues in passing through Turkey, which I had already encountered in Arabia, and which the weak state of my health was unfit to bear, I resolved to set out straight for London, by the first ship which should sail for Europe. In the mean time, to gratify my curiosity with a sight of Surat, I took the opportunity of going on board an English ship bound on a voyage to that port.

We sailed from Bombay on the 24th of March 1764, and were obliged to stop at Mabin, a small town in the northern part of the isle, where a member of the Council of Bombay constantly resides. An incident which took place at this time may serve as an instance of the military spirit and skill of the Portuguese. Proud of their ancient conquests, they scorn to make peace with any of the Indian nations, all of whom they regard as rebels. Being thus in terms of continual hostility with their neighbours, they dare not sail those seas without an escort. A small fleet of merchant ships bound from Goa to Din, under the protection of two frigates, was seen, one evening, off Bombay. In the night we heard a brisk firing of guns, and imagined that the Portuguese were engaged with the Mahrattas. But, in the morning, it appeared that their exploits

exploits had ended merely in the destruction of a quantity of bamboos, from 30 to 40 feet high, which the fishermen had set up in a sand bank for the purposes of their fishing. Those valiant Portuguese had taken the bamboos for the masts of an hostile fleet. To crown their glory, the admiral found himself compelled by the governor of Bombay to pay damages to the fishermen.

On the 26th of March we arrived in the road of Surat, at the distance of three German miles from the city. We went on shore at Domus, a village distinguished by the residence of some priests, and by a vast Indian fig-tree, which is held in high veneration. Of this tree (the *Ficus vasta* of Linnæus), I have already spoken in giving the natural history of Arabia. To the description above given of it, I may here add, that it grows to a great age; the new shoots from the branches of the primary stem continuing to nourish the top of the tree, even after the parent stock is entirely decayed.

At Domus we took a Kakkre, the carriage common in the country, which is neither more nor less than a covered cart, drawn by two oxen, which are driven by a peasant seated on the pole. I had here an instance of the great dryness of this country, for the movement of our light carriage raised a cloud of dust about us. I never suffered so much from the dust, even in caravans of some hundreds of camels, horses, and mules.

CHAP. CLI. — *Of the City of Surat, and its Environs.*

THIS city stands in a large and fertile plain, on the banks of a considerable river, named Tappi. On the land side, it is encompassed with two brick walls, which divide it into the inner and the outer town. The citadel stands within the inner, on the shore of the Tappi, and is divided by trenches from the town. One may walk round the outer wall in two hours and an half; the space which it encloses is chiefly occupied by gardens, having but a very few houses.

The larger houses are flat-roofed here, as through the rest of the east, with courts before them. The houses of the common people are high-roofed. Although Surat has been long under the dominion of the Mahometan Moguls, yet here is no handsome mosque with towers, as among the Turks and Arabians. The squares of this city are large, and the streets spacious, but not paved; so that the dust is insufferable. Each street has gates of its own, with which it is shut up in times of turbulence; and there are as frequent here as at Cairo.

At Surat provisions are plentiful and cheap; the air, too, is wholesome, notwithstanding the warmth of the climate. I here observed Fahrenheit's thermometer at 60° in the month of March, while the wind blew from the north. In the month of May the thermometer stood at 95° at Bombay, which lies two degrees farther to the south.

One thing unfavourable for Surat, is, that ships cannot enter the harbour, because the Tappi is full of sand banks. This river is too low in the dry season; and in the rains swells too suddenly, to such height as to overflow all the neighbourhood. Were the river confined by dikes, the stream which, during the rains, often rises eight or twenty feet above its ordinary level, would carry away all the sand, and thus clearing the channel, would afford ships access to the very walls. But the despotic governments of Asia neglect every thing that might contribute to the general good of their subjects.

General toleration and entire liberty are enjoyed in this city by all religious professions; and its inhabitants are accordingly very numerous. The Europeans residing

here estimate the population of the city at a million of souls. But this calculation is evidently above the truth,—by two thirds, I have reason to believe.

One thing singular in Surat is, that here is no hospital for human beings, but an extensive establishment of this nature for sick or maimed animals. When the Europeans turn out an old horse, or any other domestic animal, to perish, as useless, the Indians voluntarily assume the care of it, and place it in this house, which is full of infirm, decrepid cows, sheep, rabbits, hens, pigeons, &c. I saw in it a great tortoise, which was blind and helpless, and, as I was told, 125 years of age. The charitable Indians keep a physician of purpose for these animals.

The environs of Surat are not without gardens, which are the property either of Europeans, or of natives of the country. The finest of those belonging to Europeans, is the property of the Dutch East India Company. Its aspect is rich and charming.

To get an idea of the character of an Indian garden, I went to see one which was formed by a late Nabob, at the expence of 500,000 rupees. This garden is of a considerable extent, but has not the least appearance of regularity in the design, and has in it nothing in the fashion of our gardens, but a few ponds and fountains: the rest is a confused medley of buildings and small orchards. Among the buildings is one of great dimensions, having baths and saloons, and ornamented with the magnificence of India, which bears no resemblance to ours. The other buildings are harems for the Nabob's wives, entirely separate from each other, so that each lady can hold her little court apart. Every harem has some one good apartment; but all the rest of it consists of very narrow chambers for the slaves. What struck me particularly in this garden, was the passage from one suite of rooms to another, by paths so narrow, so winding, and so blocked up by doors, as to afford a strong instance of the distrust with which the unfortunate great in despotic countries regard all about them; so that they are never free from anxiety, and are obliged to stand continually on their guard against surprise.

I should have wished to draw a plan of Surat. But I soon found that the Europeans in India would not leave me so much at liberty, in this respect, as the Turks and Arabians had done. The climate of hot countries, and the nature of the government of settlements so distant from the mother country, seem to alter the national character of the people of Europe. The English government of Surat would not allow a Frenchman to live in a high apartment from which he had a view of the citadel. At Mokha, I was told of an Arabian merchant who had languished some years in the prisons of Batavia, for having had the curiosity to measure the dimensions of a cannon.

CHAP. CLII. — *Of the Inhabitants of Surat, and some peculiar Customs.*

A GREAT commercial city must be peopled by men of different nations. The principal inhabitants of Surat are Mahometans, and mostly strangers, although employed in the service of the government. They are equally zealous in the observance of their law as the Turks and Arabians. Although of the sect of the Sunnites, they tolerate the Shiites, and even permit them to celebrate the festival of Hassen. They make no scruple of drinking wine publicly, or of lending money upon interest.

All people of distinction in Surat, and through the rest of India, speak and write the Persian language. Hence has this language been received at the courts, and the knowledge of it is very useful for the dispatch of business. In trade, corrupt

Portuguese is the language used; and this is in India what the *Lingua Franca* is in the Levant.

The Mussulmans of Surat bring about them a great many Fakirs of their own religion, who are the most insolent beggars in the world. Those Fakirs will often sit down before a house, and continue there till the owner pay the sum they ask, or make a composition with them. As the police interferes not to check these insolent mendicants, people must be content with getting quit of them at any price.

At Surat, I had occasion to witness the Mussulman procession at the festival of Bairam. The counsellor from Bombay, who resides in the citadel of Surat, and represents a Nabob, is obliged to announce this ceremony by a discharge of cannons, and to assist at it in person. It is a strange sight, to see an English merchant in the European dress, attended by a party of British soldiers, and with the train of an Indian prince, conduct and regulate a religious festival of the Mahometans. The English director made the Indians sensible of his importance upon this occasion, by refusing to discharge his cannons in the night; a favour requested of him by the Nabob of the city, in order to give the people timely warning of the approach of the festival.

In this procession there was nothing remarkable, except the numbers of kakkris, palanquins, and horses, a few cannons, a great deal of martial music, and the Nabob's soldiers. The governor rode upon an elephant, on the back of which he sat on a sort of throne, raised upon four pillars. This elephant was, like most of the horses and oxen which drew the kakkris, painted red.

Kakkris, the carriages most common through India, are of a very simple construction, run upon two wheels, and are drawn by oxen: the driver sits on a large pole, consisting of several bamboos. It is not in any ornaments about these vehicles, but in the cattle which draw them, that the object of pride and expence to the Indian lies; a pair of white oxen for one of these carriages will cost 600 rupees. These oxen have the points of their horns ornamented with silver; their pace is quick, but less so than that of horses.

The citizens of Surat display their magnificence likewise in their palanquins. A palanquin is known to be a sort of couch suspended from a bamboo, and borne by four men. The traveller reclines in this vehicle, and is shaded from the sun by a curtain. A palanquin, completely ornamented with silver, covered with rich stuffs, and suspended upon a handsome bamboo properly bent, will cost above 200 pounds sterling. The bamboo only of the governor of Bombay's palanquin, exclusive of the other ornaments, cost 125 pounds sterling. The bearers of the palanquins are Indian servants, who wear no clothes, except a small linen cloth about their loins, with close flat bonnets on their heads, as liveries, and are commonly employed in keeping the rooms clean within the houses. The European ladies are at first shocked at the indecency of being carried by naked men, but soon learn to accustom themselves to it. The palanquins of the Mahometan ladies are incommodious wooden boxes, entirely close, and fixed upon a straight pole.

The Hindoos, the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, of whom I shall soon speak more at length, compose the most considerable part of the population of Surat. They are almost all of the cast of the Banians; and hence their skill and dexterity in matters of calculation and economy often raise them to places of considerable trust, in the collection of the taxes and customs for the Mahometans. These Banians, being born to trade, have engrossed the commerce of India to such a degree, that all foreign nations are obliged to employ them as brokers; in which employment they give

give better satisfaction than the Jews in Turkey. Europeans have never found reason to repent the intrusting even of their whole fortune to the Banians, who continue to give astonishing proofs of their probity and fidelity. Some of them are very rich; but they live all in a style of moderate simplicity, wearing for dress only a plain robe of white cotton.

At Surat are numbers of Perses or Persians, who are skilful merchants, industrious artificers, and good servants. In the same city are also Armenians, Georgians, and Jews; but of none of these any considerable number. The Indian Catholics, commonly called Portuguese, from their speaking the India dialect of the Portuguese language, are numerous here. At Surat the day is reckoned from sunset to sunset, and is divided not into 24 hours, but into 60 garri. Here are no clocks; the progress of the day is measured by different means. In a conspicuous situation, a man stands to put a cup of copper, pierced with a hole in the bottom, from time to time under water; every time the cup sinks, a garri is counted, and the man announces its lapse by striking the number which it makes upon a plate of metal that sounds like a clock. Each garri consists of 24 of our minutes. In the houses of the great, too, where clocks and watches are not wanting, this old fashion of measuring time is still kept up.

CHAP. CLIII. — *Of the Government of Surat, and the Revolutions it has undergone.*

SURAT, and the great district of which it is the capital, belonged for a long time to the great Mogul, who, to keep so distant a province the more effectually in obedience, put it under the government of two Nabobs independent on one another. The one resided in the city, and was properly the governor of the province. The other had the command of the citadel, and enjoyed the title of admiral, with a small revenue appropriated to the maintenance of a small fleet, for the defence of the coast against pirates.

After Shah Nadir's expedition into Indostan, the distant Nabobs of this vast empire aimed all at independence, and left the Mogul nothing but a shadow of authority, asking him only for form's sake to confirm them in their places. Teg beg Khan, Nabob of Surat, a rich and powerful man, followed this example, and procured his brother to be declared Nabob of the citadel. The two brothers then looked upon the whole province as their patrimony, and acquired immense wealth.

Teg beg Khan dying in 1746, without children, left his fortune to his relations, by which several of them were raised to a condition which enabled them to aspire to the government of the city. His brother died on the following year; and his widow, a woman extremely rich and ambitious, strove to make her son-in-law Nabob at once of the town and of the citadel.

The controul of the different competitors for the supreme authority produced a civil war in the town of Surat, like that which arises from time to time among the Begs of Cairo, and of which we in Europe can form no idea. Each of the rivals raised as many troops as he possibly could; with these he cantoned and intrenched himself in his houses and gardens, and from time to time endeavoured to surprize or drive away his opponents. During these hostile operations, which were not attended with great slaughter, the inhabitants were content with shutting the gates nearest to the scene of action, and continued to go about their ordinary affairs, without fear of being pillaged. Nay, they were sure of receiving compensation whenever any casual injury was done to any person through means of the disturbances. Hence trade suffered no interruption.

Some of the rival candidates imprudently called in the Mahrattas; and they, without doing any thing for any party, made the victors pay for their assistance, although they had apparently favoured the vanquished. Since that time, the Mahrattas have enjoyed a third part of the amount of the customs of Surat; and one of their officers constantly attends to receive this tribute.

The English and Dutch had always kept their factories in a state of defence, and on the occasion of the disturbances, they increased their military preparations. The nobles of the country then had recourse to those powerful traders. Each of the two European nations took part with one of the competitors, furnished him with ammunition, intrenched themselves in their factories, and fought against each other, although not openly at war. The Nabob, protected by the English, was at last expelled from the city. But, in 1758, he returned; and his mother-in-law, the rich widow above mentioned, made so good an use of her treasures, that the Nabob for whom he had been expelled was obliged to yield to him the government of the city.

When the English saw the city in the hands of their creature, they began to think seriously of gaining possession of the citadel. The council of Bombay, in 1759, sent Mr. Spencer, one of their number, a man of abilities, and beloved by the Indians, to Surat, with a considerable force. The Nabob opened the gates of the city to the English, and allowed them to lay siege to the citadel undisturbed. It was taken in a few days. To avoid giving offence to the Indians, the English declared, that they made the conquest in the name of the great Mogul, and waved his flag from the walls of the citadel.

This expedition thus accomplished, Mr. Spencer sent a long representation to the court of Delhi, in which he stated the reasons which had induced the merchants of Surat to put themselves under the protection of the English, and to expel the usurper Nabob from the citadel. He asserted, that those petty tyrants had suffered the fleet necessary for the protection of the trade to fall into a state of decay, and that none but the English could restore it. He offered, at the same time, that if the Mogul would grant to the Company the post of Admiral, with the revenues annexed to it, they would maintain a fleet which should give full security to trade. These facts were attested, and the proposals seconded by the principal inhabitants of Surat, who signed the memorial. The great Mogul, who in his present weakness durst not send a governor to the province, but considered it as lost, readily granted the Company's request; and a member of the council of Bombay now discharges the office of Nabob and Admiral at Surat. Upon this title, the Company enjoy a third of the revenue from the customs of this city, with other funds of income still more considerable; which enables them to keep on foot a body of troops, with some small ships of war.

The English are, at present, the actual sovereigns of Surat. They keep the Nabob of the city in a state of absolute dependence; allowing him only an income on which he may live suitably to his dignity. The Indians are in part content with their new masters. The merchants are no longer in danger of the avaricious extortions of the Nabobs; yet they complain of the selfish spirit of those masters. The Indians dare not sail without a passport from the admiral. When the English wish to send goods to any port, the Indians are denied passports to that port till the season of the monsoon is over; whereas the English are favoured, so that they have all the time necessary to pre-occupy the market. Of this I have seen instances; which, if frequently repeated, must undoubtedly ruin the trade of the natives.

CHAP. CLIV. — *Trade of Surat.*

THE great trade carried on at Surat renders this city the store-house of the most precious productions of Indostan. Hither is brought from the interior parts of the empire an immense quantity of goods, which the merchants carry in their ships to the Arabic Gulph, the Persian Gulph, the coast of Malabar, the coast of Coromandel, and even to China. The provinces near this city are full of manufactures of all sorts.

Ship-building is a branch of the business carried on here. In this art, indeed, the Indians are servile imitators of the Europeans, but they have in great plenty, and at a low price, that excellent wood called *Tak*, which is not liable to be attacked by worms, and is so lasting, that at Surat there are to be seen ships 90 years old, which are still in a condition to sail the sea.

Of foreign nations, the Dutch have next, after the English, the most considerable establishment at Surat. They have here a director, several merchants, a number of writers and servants, and a few soldiers. Their trade has, however, declined till it has become trifling. The affairs of this nation in India seem to be rather in disorder, since the English obtained possession of the citadel. The Nabob of the city has obliged the Dutch to pay him 90,000 rupees, and send away the cannons of their factory.

The affairs of the French are yet in a worse state. Since the loss of Pondicherry, their director has been so neglected, that he can hardly find credit for the means of a scanty subsistence. This nation are here in no estimation, but what is paid to their capuchin friars, who are generally beloved and respected at Surat. These good regular clergy have done essential service to the public, by keeping a register of all events that have happened in Indostan, from 1676 to the present time.

Such nearly is also the condition of the Portuguese in India. In my time, they had a Jesuit of Hamburg for their director. I have been told, however, that, since I left Surat, they have raised their trade, by sending thither a director of their own nation who was born at Goa.

There sometimes arrive at Surat ships belonging to nations who have no permanent establishment in that city. A Danish vessel put in here while the citadel was besieged, and was favoured with the protection of the English, to whom the captain did good service upon the occasion. In consequence of the favour which he thus obtained, he accomplished his business in a manner very much to his advantage. A Swede, who came hither some years after, was less fortunate, although the Nabob had, for the payment of a moderate duty, allowed him freedom of trade. Selling his iron and copper at a lower rate than the English, he soon disposed of his whole cargo advantageously as he thought. But, when he was preparing to depart, the Nabob demanded from him an extraordinary duty of 100,000 rupees, and put him under arrest till it was paid. The Swede not daring to apply to the English, with whom he suspected his mischance to originate, directed his ship to sail for China, and remained under arrest. At last he compounded with the Nabob, who for 20,000 rupees set him at liberty. Such treatment must deter other nations from trying their fortune at Surat.

In all appearance, the English must shortly engross the whole trade of this city. Being at once sovereigns and rich merchants, they have every means in their power by which foreign nations can be excluded, or the Indians restrained from this source of opulence.

CHAP. CLV. — *Manners of the Hindoos.*

THE Hindoos are the primary inhabitants of the vast empire of Indostan. Having lived among these people at Bombay and Surat, I shall here bring together some observations which I made upon the Hindoos in those two cities, and also upon the Perses, a stranger colony settled in this part of India.

This people, perhaps the earliest civilized nation in the world, are mild, laborious, and naturally virtuous in their dispositions. All who have opportunities of observing the lives of the Hindoos, admire their patience, probity, and benevolence; but they are at the same time the most unsocial people in the world. By their manners and religious principles, the Hindoos detach themselves not only from other nations, whom they consider as impure races; but even the different casts or tribes of themselves have little mutual intercourse. No Hindoo will eat with a stranger; nor any Hindoo of a superior cast with another of a cast that is inferior. A poor servant, if a Bramin, would think himself dishonoured by sitting down at table with a Rajaput or Banian, although his master.

It is generally known, that the Indians are distributed into a number of tribes or casts. As far as I could learn there are four principal casts; the Bramins, or priests; the Rajaputs, or men of the sword; the Banians, or merchants; and that of the artificers and labourers. These four general casts are subdivided into more than 80 others, each of which has its own ceremonies, and patron deities, as I have been assured by several persons.

Those permanent divisions have led some travellers into the mistake that the son was always obliged to embrace his father's profession. The son may not quit his native cast, but may choose among the employments which are practised by that cast. There are Bramins who hold sovereign authority; as, for instance, the prince of the Mahrattas. These same Bramins become magistrates under the government of Rajaput princes, and farmers of the revenue under the Mahometans. I have been acquainted with Bramins who were merchants, and with Rajaputs and Banians who were artificers.

This liberty is the more necessary, as it is impossible for a Hindoo to be received from an inferior into a superior cast. I was told of a singular instance of such a promotion; but even it I will not warrant as true. A Rajaput sovereign desiring to be admitted into the cast of the Bramins, the priests, after a long refusal, at length granted his request, on the condition of his setting up in the temple the statue of a cow, of such a size, that a man might enter it behind, and go out by its mouth. The sovereign, after passing several times through this golden cow, was supposed to be regenerated, and received into the cast of the Bramins.

This custom hinders strangers from being naturalized among the Hindoos, or embracing their religion; and there is no people less inclined to make proselytes. But it is their rigorous observation of their ancient laws of separation which has reduced these people to their present humiliated state. If, at the time of the conquest, the Hindoos had suffered the Tartars to incorporate with the vanquished nation; the conquerors must have adopted the manners and the religion of their new subjects. Their conduct in China gives probability to this idea. But the Hindoos expressing so great an aversion for their new masters, made them prefer Mahometism, and forced them to bring in from time to time foreign Mahometans, to govern the conquered people. Since

that period, the Hindoos have been an abject herd of slaves, subject to the vexatious oppression of a despot, who returns the contempt which they have expressed for him.

The power of the Mahometans indeed becomes daily less; and there are at present some Hindoo princes who may restore the nation to its ancient splendour. The Mahrattas have successfully begun a project which has this aspect. It is the exorbitant power of the English that at present retards the progressive improvement of the Hindoos. But, when this colossal statue, whose feet are of clay, and which has been raised by conquering merchants, shall be broken in pieces, an event which may fall out sooner than is supposed, then shall Indostan become again a flourishing country.

In almost all the circumstances of their mode of life, the Hindoos distinguish themselves from the rest of mankind. Their usual diet consists of rice, milk, and fruits. The law, however, which forbids them to eat animal food, seems to have been rather suggested by the climate, than by religious consideration. The Rajaputs eat mutton, as well as the flesh of some other animals; but all the casts alike respect the cow, and abstain from eating beef. None of the casts are so much straitened in respect to food as the Bramins; they deny themselves the use of most leguminous vegetables which are eaten by the other Hindoos; nor will they eat of any dish that has not been dressed by a man of their own cast, or drink water which a Bramin has not drawn. They observe frequent fasts, insomuch that I was told by a Bramin, that it was almost impossible for any person to confine himself to a strict obedience to the precepts of their religion in respect to regimen.

These priests also impose upon the people a multiplicity of minute observances in their eating, which are all founded on the chimerical notion of the possibility of contracting pollution by communication in this way. The Hindoos in common are averse to use the same dish with a stranger, or with a man of a different cast. They will rather use broad leaves for plates, and drink out of the hollow of the hand.

All the parts of the Hindoo dress differ in form from those used among the Turks and Arabians. Merchants, however, wear a turban, the cap, and a long robe of white cotton cloth. Their slippers are fitted with metal clasps. The lower people go naked, wearing only a piece of linen round the loins, and a turban on the head. Under rain the peasants put on a hood, which is formed of the leaves of the palm tree. This custom of India has been already mentioned by Herodotus.

The dress of the ordinary women consists of a large linen cloth, striped red, which they wrap about the loins, and another still larger, which they fold round the body and bring over the head. They wear all two wooden cases upon their breasts; which hinders the neck from being ever drawn down among the Hindoo as among the Mahometan women. These good Hindoo females are very industrious. At Bombay, I saw women earn a livelihood by the hardest labour, who yet wore rings in their nose, and in their ears, on their fingers, on their arms, and on their feet. But these were ornaments of luxury which descend from generation to generation.

The Hindoos still retain the practice of burning their dead. But the European and Mahometan governments prohibit, and the Mahrattas seldom allow the living wife to burn herself on the funeral pile of her deceased husband. A Bramin told me, that his family had been highly distinguished, by his grandmother having, in honour of her virtue, obtained permission to burn herself with her husband.

CHAP. CLVI. — *Of the Religion of the Hindoos.*

AN European wishing to acquire a knowledge of the religion of these people, cannot gain much information from the Bramins, who never study any of our languages. I was acquainted with some Banians who spoke English, and from them I received some knowledge on this head.

They all unanimously assured me, that the most sensible and enlightened of the Hindoos acknowledged and worshipped only one Supreme Being. But the Bramins have found out inferior deities, accommodated to the weak conceptions of the people, who could not comprehend abstract ideas, if they were not represented by images. They agreed too, that the Bramins had, for their own purposes, clogged, by degrees, the original simplicity of their religion, with absurd fables, and ridiculous pieces of superstition. I mentioned their passionate veneration for the cow, and their various representations of her. As to this, they replied, that in those images they revered only the divine goodness, which had given man an animal so gentle, and of such indispensable utility.

I could learn nothing concerning their inferior deities, whom they seem to revere rather as saints and patrons. A Banian compared their three principal deities, Brama, Vishnou, and Medeo, to the Christian Trinity.

The Hindoos believe all in the doctrines of the metempsychosis, and of the purification of souls by their passage through several different bodies. This doctrine is not, however, the only cause of their abstinence from every thing that has life in it. In hot countries, the flesh of animals in general, and of the ox in particular, is thought very unwholesome food. The Rajaputs eat flesh, and the Mahrattas furnish the Europeans whom they take prisoners in war, with animal food, without scruple. It might be supposed, that the singular charity of the Indians for animals takes its origin from this opinion.

The precept of purification with water is rigidly observed through all India. At Surat, I saw every morning crowds of women and young girls going out to bathe in the Tappi. They gave their clothes to some Bramins who sat on the banks, and, after washing, changed their wet clothes for those dry dresses, with such dexterity, that not the smallest part of the body could be seen. The Bramins then made a red mark on the brow of each, and, after a short prayer, they returned all to town.

This daily sanctification seems to be the chief employment of the Bramins. They are also called in, on the occasion of the birth of a child; they tie round his arm a small cord, which he wears through life as a mark of his extraction. They assist also at nuptials; but only by fixing the hour which is favourable for the contract, not by pronouncing any nuptial benediction.

The Hindoo festivals are sufficiently numerous, and are partly civil, partly religious. They celebrate the return of the new year with illuminations, and rejoicings of all sorts. The festival of the cocoa-nut seems to have originated with the most remote antiquity. At another festival, in commemoration of a certain hero, they bedaub one another with red paint, to represent the hero returning from battle, covered over with blood.

They have likewise two orders of Fakirs or mendicant pilgrims, the Bargais and the Gulleins, who travel about armed, and in troops of some thousands. These two orders are sworn enemies; and whenever they meet, bloody combats ensue. During

my stay at Surat, a little army of these Fakirs encamped near the city. The government did not like their visit; and would permit them to enter only in small numbers.

The stories of the ridiculous penitence of the Fakirs are well known. Their fanaticism has not yet become cold; and there died lately at Surat one of these madmen, who had lived shut up in a cage for twenty years, with his arms constantly raised above his head.

CHAP. CLVII. — *Of the Persees.*

AT Bombay, at Surat, and in the vicinity of these cities, is a colony of ancient Persians, who took refuge in India, when their country was conquered by the Mahometan Arabs, eleven centuries since. They are called Persees. Being beloved by the Hindoos, they multiply exceedingly; whereas their countrymen in the province of Kerman, are visibly diminishing under the yoke of the Moslem Persians.

They are a gentle, quiet, and industrious race. They live in great harmony among themselves, make common contributions for the aid of their poor, and suffer none of their number to ask alms from people of a different religion. They are equally ready to employ their money and credit to screen a brother of their fraternity from the abuses of justice. When a Persee behaves ill, he is expelled from their communion. They apply to trade, and exercise all sorts of professions.

The Persees have as little knowledge of circumcision as the Hindoos. Among them a man marries only one wife, nor ever takes a second, unless when the first happens to be barren. They give their children in marriage at six years of age; but the young couple continue to live separate in the houses of their parents, till they attain the age of puberty. Their dress is the same as that of the Hindoos, except that they wear under each ear a tuft of hair, like the modern Persians. They are much addicted to astrology, although very little skilled in astronomy.

They retain the singular custom of exposing their dead to be eaten by birds of prey, instead of interring or burning them. I saw on a hill at Bombay a round tower, covered with planks of wood, on which the Persees lay out their dead bodies. When the flesh is devoured, they remove the bones into two chambers at the bottom of the tower.

The Persees, followers of the religion of Zerdusi or Zoroaster, adore one God only, Eternal and Almighty. They pay, however, a certain worship to the sun, the moon, the stars, and to fire, as visible images of the invisible divinity. Their veneration for the element of fire induces them to keep a sacred fire constantly burning, which they feed with odoriferous wood, both in the temples, and in the houses of private persons, who are in easy circumstances. In one of their temples at Bombay, I saw a fire which had burnt unextinguished for two centuries. They never blow out a light, lest their breath should soil the purity of the fire.

The religion of the Persees enjoins purifications as strictly as that of the Hindoos. The disciples of Zerdusi are not, however, obliged to abstain from animal food. They have accustomed themselves to refrain from the flesh of the ox, because their ancestors promised the Indian prince who received them into his dominions never to kill horned cattle. This promise they continue to observe under the dominion of Christians and Mahometans. The horse is by them considered as the most impure of all animals, and regarded with extreme aversion.

Their

Their festivals, denominated Ghumbars, which return frequently, and last upon each occasion five days, are all commemorations of some part of the work of Creation. They celebrate them not with splendour, or with any particular ceremonies; but only dress better during those five days, perform some acts of devotion in their houses, and visit their friends.

Not having had opportunity to make any continued train of observations on the manners and religion of the Persees, I must refer the reader to the memoirs subjoined by Mr. Anquetil du Perron to his translation of the Zendavesta, or sacred book of Zoroaster. It is well known that this learned Frenchman went to India of purpose to study the language and religion of the Persees.

The diversity of opinions and manners among the inhabitants of India is inconvenient for Europeans, who cannot have countrymen of their own for servants; which is the case with almost all foreign merchants. An European, who has none but natives of the country in his service, if he should wish to eat a hare and bacon, would find it no easy matter to procure these dishes. The Hindoo would not bring them to him, for he dares not touch a dead body; nor the Persee, because the hare is an unclean animal; nor yet the Mussulman, for he dares not touch such dishes.

A VOYAGE INTO THE LEVANT,

By HENRY BLOUNT, Esq. 1634.*

INTELLECTUAL complections have no desire so strong, as that of knowledge; nor is any knowledge unto man so certain and pertinent, as that of human affairs: this experience advances best, in observing of people whose institutions must differ from ours; for customs conformable to our own, or to such wherewith we are already acquainted, do but repeat our old observations, with little acquit of new: so my former time spent in viewing Italy, France, and some little of Spain, being countries of Christian institution, did but represent, in a several drefs, the effect of what I knew before.

Then seeing the customs of men are much swayed by their natural dispositions, which are originally inspired and composed by the climate whose air and influence they receive, it seems natural, that to our north-west part of the world, no people should be more averse, and strange of behaviour, than those of the south-east. Moreover, those parts being now possessed by the Turks, who are the only modern people great in action, and whose empire hath so suddenly invaded the world, and fixed itself on such firm foundations as no other ever did; I was of opinion, that he who would behold these times in their greatest glory, could not find a better scene than Turkey. These considerations sent me thither, where my general purpose gave me four particular cares; first, to observe the religion, manners, and policy of the Turks, not perfectly (which were a task for an inhabitant rather than a passenger), but so far forth, as might satisfy this scruple (to wit), whether to an impartial conceit, the Turkish way appear absolutely barbarous, as we are given to understand, or rather another kind of civility, different from ours, but no less pretending; secondly, in some measure to acquaint myself with those other sects which live under the Turks, as Greeks, Armenians, Freinks, and Zinganaes, but especially the Jews, a race from all others so averse both in nature and institution, as glorying to single itself out of the rest of mankind, remains obstinate, contemptible, and infamous; thirdly, to see the Turkish army, then going against Poland, and therein to note, whether their military discipline incline to ours, or else be of a new mould, though not without some touch from the countries they have subdued; and whether it be of a frame apt to confront the Christians, or not. The last and choice piece of my intent, was to view Grand Cairo, and that for two causes; first, it being clearly the greatest concourse of mankind in these times, and perhaps that ever was; there must needs be some proportionable spirit in the government; for such vast multitudes, and those of wits so deeply malicious, would soon breed confusion, famine, and utter desolation, if in the Turkish domination there were nothing but sottish sensuality, as most Christians conceive. Lastly, because Egypt is held to have been the fountain of all science and civil arts, therefore I did hope to find some spark of those cinders not yet put out; or else in the extreme contrary, I

* Harl. Coll. i. 513.

should receive an impression as important, from the ocular view of so great a revolution ; for above all other senses, the eye having the most immediate and quick commerce with the soul, gives it a more smart touch than the rest, leaving in the fancy somewhat unutterable ; so that an eye-witness of things conceives them with an imagination more compleat, strong, and intuitive, than he can either apprehend, or deliver by way of relation ; for relations are not only in great part false, out of the relator's misinformation, vanity, or interest ; but which is unavoidable, their choice and frame agrees more naturally with his judgment, whose issue they are, than with his readers ; so as the reader is like one feasted with dishes fitter for another man's stomach than his own ; but a traveller takes with his eye and ear, only such occurrences into observation, as his own apprehension affects ; and through that sympathy can digest them into an experience more natural for himself, than he could have done the notes of another ; wherefore I desiring somewhat to inform myself of the Turkish nation, would not sit down with a book-knowledge thereof, but rather (through all the hazard and endurance of travel) receive it from mine own eye, not dazzled with any affection, prejudice, or mist of education, which pre-occupate the mind, and delude it with partial ideas, as with a false glass, representing the object in colours and proportions untrue ; for the just censure of things is to be drawn from their end whereto they are aimed, without requiring them to our customs and ordinances, or other impertinent respects, which they acknowledge not for their touch-stone ; wherefore he who passes through the several educations of men, must not try them by his own, but weaning his mind from all former habit of opinion, should, as it were putting off the old man, come fresh and sincere to consider them. This preparation was the cause why the superstition, policy, entertainments, diet, lodging, and other manners of the Turks, never provoked me so far, as usually they do those who catechize the world by their own home ; and this also bars these observations from appearing beyond my own closet ; for to a mind possessed with any set doctrine, their unconformity must needs make them seem un-found and extravagant, nor can they comply to a rule by which they were not made. Nevertheless, considering that experience, forgotten as if it never had been, and knowing how much I ventured for it, as little as it is, I could not but esteem it worth retaining in my own memory, though not transferring to others. Hereupon I have in these lines registered to myself whatsoever most took me in my journey from Venice into Turkey.

First, I agreed with a Janissary at Venice, to find me diet, horse, coach, passage, and all other usual charges, as far as Constantinople ; then upon the 7th of May 1634, I embarked on a Venetian galley with a caravan of Turks and Jews bound for the Levant, not having any Christians with them besides myself : this occasion was right to my purpose, for the familiarity of bed, board, and passage together, is more opportune to disclose the customs of men, than a much longer habitation in cities, where society is not so linked, and behaviour more personate, than in travel, whose common sufferings endear men, laying them open and obnoxious to one another. The not having any other Christian in the caravan, gave me two notable advantages ; first, that no other man's errors could draw either hatred or engagement upon me ; then I had a freedom of complying upon occasion of questions by them made, whereby I became all things to all men, which let me into the breasts of many.

The galley lying that day and night in port at Lio, set sail the next morn, and in twenty-four hours arrived at Rovinio, a Venetian city in Istria. It stands in a creek of the Adriatic, upon a hill promontory, which hath two thirds washed by the sea ; the south east side joined to the continent, the soil rocky and barren, as all that side along the

the gulph. It is an hundred miles from Venice, and therefore being so far within the gulph, is not fortified as against much danger, yet hath it a pretty wall, and fortress, with a small garrison. From thence we came to Zara. This city stands in Dalmatia, and of all others within the gulph, is, by reason of the situation, most apt to command the whole Adriatic, and therefore has formerly been attempted by the Turk; wherefore the Venetians have fortified it extraordinarily, and now, though in times of firm peace, keep it with strong companies both of horse and foot. The general of the horse came in another galley with us; he was first welcomed with a volley of great and small shot from the walls; then by three nobles therein, several officers commanding, he was accompanied to the town hall, where his brief patent once read, he had the staff and precedence of his predecessor. After a day's view of this place, we sailed to Spalatro, a city of Sclavonia, kept by the Venetians as the only emporium, plied successively with two gallies, which carry between Venice and that place such merchandize as are transported into Turkey, or from thence brought in. It stands in a most pleasant valley on the south side of great mountains. In the wall, towards the sea, appears a great remainder of a gallery in Dioclesian's palace: southward of the town is the sea, which makes an open port capable of holding ten or twelve gallies: without is an unsecure bay for great ships, at the entrance above half a mile broad; yet not so renowned for the skill of Octavius, who chained it up when he besieged Salonæ, as for the fierce resolution of Vulteius and his company there taken. In this town the Venetians allow the great Turk to take custom of the merchandize; whereupon there resides his Emir or treasurer, who pays him thirty-five thousand dollars a year, as himself and others told me. There are high walls and strong companies to guard this city, yet I heard their chief safety to be in having so unuseful and small an haven; wherefore the Turk esteems Spalatro in effect but as a land town, nor so much worth as his present custom, and so covets it not like Sara; for if he did, he has a terrible advantage upon it, having taken from the Venetians Clysli, not above four miles off, which is the strongest land fortress that I ever beheld.

At Spalatro having staid three days, our caravan was furnished with horses; the first journey we began about sun-set; our lodging, two miles off, we pitched upon a little hill; town over with juniper, once the seat of Salonæ, a city famous for their bravery against Octavius: there is not now so much as a ruin left, excepting a poor piece of Dioclesian's aqueduct. Hence we passed the hills of Dogliana, far higher than the Alps, and so steep, as in our descent for three days together, it was a greater precipice, than is of half a day's coming down from mount Cenis into Piemont. Having for the most part rode thus nine days, we came into a spacious and fruitful plain, which at the west, where we entered, at least ten miles over, is on the north and south sides immured with ridges of easy and pleasant hills, still by degrees streightning the plain, till after six or seven miles riding it grows not above a mile broad; there we found the city Samih, which extends from the one side to the other, and takes up part of both ascents. At the east end stands a castle upon a steep rock, commanding the town and passage eastward: this is the metropolis of the kingdom of Bosnah; it is but meanly built, and not great, reckoning about fourscore meschetees, and twenty thousand houses.

In my three days abode, the most notable things I found, was the goodness of the water, and vast, almost giant-like, stature of the men, which, with their bordering upon Germany, made me suppose them to be the offspring of those old Germans noted by Cæsar and Tacitus for their huge size, which in other places is now degenerate into the ordinary proportions of men. Hence at our departure we went along with the

bashaw of Bosnah, his troops going for the war of Poland; they were, of horse and foot, between six or seven thousand, but went scattering; the bashaw not yet in person, and the taking leave of their friends, spirited many with drink, discontent, and insolvency, which made them fitter company for the devil than for a Christian: myself, after many launces and knives threatened upon me, was invaded by a drunken Janissary, whose iron mace, entangled in his other furniture, gave me time to flee among the rocks, whereby I escaped untouched. Thus we marched ten days through a hilly country, cold, not inhabited, and in a manner a continued wood, most of pine trees. At length we reached Valliovah, a pretty little town upon the confines of Hungary; where the camp staying some days, we left them behind, and being to pass a wood near the Christian country, doubting it to be (as confines are) full of thieves, we divided our caravan of six score horse in two parts; half with the persons, and goods of least esteem, we sent a day before the rest, that so the thieves, having a booty, might be gone before we came, which happened accordingly; they were robbed; one thief, and two of ours slain; some hundred dollars worth of goods lost. The next day we passed, and found sixteen thieves in a narrow passage, before whom we set a good guard of harquebuzes and pistols, till the weaker sort passed by; so in three days we came safe to Belgrada.

This city, anciently called Taurunum, or Alba Græca, was the metropolis of Hungary, till won by sultan Soliman the second, in the year 1525. It is one of the most pleasant, stately, and commodious situations that I have seen; it stands most in a bottom, encompassed eastward by gentle and pleasant ascents, employed in orchards or vines; southward is an easy hill, part possessed with buildings, the rest a burying-place of well nigh three miles in compass, so full of graves as one can be by another; the west end yields a right magnificent aspect, by reason of an eminency of land jetting out further than the rest, and bearing a goodly strong castle, whose walls are two miles about, excellently fortified with a dry ditch and out works. This castle on the west side is washed by the great river Sava, which on the north of the city loses itself in the Danubius, of old called Ister, now Duny, and is held the greatest river in the world, deep and dangerous for navigation, runs eastward into the Euxine or Black Sea, in its passage receiving fifty and odd rivers, most of them navigable. Two rarities, I was told of this river, and with my own experience found true; one was, that at mid-day and mid-night, the stream runs slower by much than at other times; this they find by the noise of those boat-mills, whereof there are about twenty, like those upon the Rhoane at Lions; their clackers beat much slower at those times than else, which argues like difference in the motion of the wheel, and by consequence of the stream; the cause is neither any reflux, nor stop of current by wind or otherwise, for there is no encrease of water observed. The other wonder is, that where those two great currents meet, their waters mingle no more than water and oil; not that either floats above other, but join unmixed; so that near the middle of the river, I have gone in a boat, and tasted of the Danuby as clear and pure as a well; then putting my hand not an inch further, I have taken of the Sava as troubled as a street channel, tasting the gravel in my teeth; yet did it not taste unctious, as I expected, but hath some other secret ground of the antipathy, which though not easily found out, is very effectual; for they run thus threecore miles together, and for a day's journey I have been an eye witness thereof.

The castle is excellently furnished with artillery, and at the entrance there stands an arsenal with some forty or fifty fair brass pieces, most bearing the arms and inscription of Ferdinand the emperor. That which to me seemed strangest in this castle (for I

had free liberty to pry up and down) was a round tower called the Zindana, a cruelty not by them devised, and seldom practised; it is like old Rome's Gemoniæ: the tower is large and round, but within severed into many squares of long beams, set on end about four feet asunder; each beam was stuck frequently with great flesh hooks; the person condemned was naked, let fall amongst those hooks, which gave him a quick or lasting misery, as he chanced to light; then at the bottom the river is let in by grates, whereby all putrefaction was washed away. Within this great castle is another little one, with works of its own; I had like to have miscarried with approaching the entrance, but the rude noise, and worse looks of the guard, gave me a timely apprehension with sudden passage, and humiliation, to sweeten them, and get off; for, as I after learned, there is kept great part of the Grand Seignior's treasure, to be ready when he wars on that side the empire: it is death for any Turk or Christian to enter; and the captain is never to go forth without particular license from the emperor. Here the bashaw of Temeswar, joining the people of Buda, and his own with those of Belgrade and Bosnah, they were held encamped on the south side of the town, yet not so severely, but the Spahies, Janissaries, and Venturiers, had leave to go before to the general rendezvous, as they pleased, though most of them staid to attend the bashaws; they there expected Murath bashaw; he, five days after our arrival, came in with few foot, but four thousand horse, of the Spahy Timariot's; such brave horses, and men so dexterous in the use of the launce, I had not seen. Then was made public proclamation to hang all such Janissaries as should be found behind these forces. With them the next day we set forward for Sophia, which in twelve days we reached. The bashaws did not go all in company, but setting forth about an hour one after another, drew out their troops in length without confusion, not in much exact order of file and rank, as near no enemy. In this and our former march, I much admired that we had a caravan loaded with clothes, silks, tissues, and other rich commodities, were so safe, not only in the main army, but in straggling troops, amongst whom we often wandered, by reason of recovering the Jews sabbath; but I found the cause to be the cruelty of justice; for thieves upon the way are empaled without delay, or mercy; and there was a Saniack, with two hundred horse, who did nothing but coast up and down the country, and every man who could not give a fair account of his being where he found him, was presently strangled, though not known to have offended; for their justice, although not so rash as we suppose, yet will rather cut off two innocent men, than let one offender escape; for in the execution of an innocent, they think if he be held guilty, the example works as well as if he were guilty indeed; and where a constant denial makes the fact doubted, in that execution, the resentment so violent terrifies the more: therefore to prevent disorders sometimes, in the beginnings of war, colourable punishments are used, where just ones are wanting. This speedy and remorseless severity makes that when their great armies lie about any town or pass, no man is endamaged or troubled to secure his goods; in which respect it pretends more effect upon a bad age than our Christian compassion, which is so easily abused, as we cannot raise two or three companies of soldiers, but they pilfer and rattle wheresoever they pass; wherein the want of cruelty upon delinquents, causes much more oppression of the innocent, which is the greatest cruelty of all. Yet without their army there want not scandals, for in the way we passed by a Palanga, which is a village fortified with mud walls against thieves, where we found a small caravan to have been assaulted the day before, and divers remaining sore wounded; for through all Turkey, especially in desert places, there are many mountaineers, or outlaws, like the Wild Irish, who live upon spoil, and are not held members

of the state, but enemies, and used accordingly. In all our march, though I could not perceive much discipline, as not near an adverse party, yet I wondered to see such a multitude so clear of confusion, violence, want, sickness, or any other disorder; and, though we were almost three score thousand, and sometimes found not a town in seven or eight days, yet was there such plenty of good biscuit, rice, and mutton, as wheresoever I passed up and down to view the Spahies and others in their tents, they would often make me sit and eat with them very plentifully and well. The several courts of the bashaws were served in great state, each of them having three or four score camels, besides six or seven score carts to carry the baggage; and when the bashaw himself took horse, he had five or six coaches, covered with cloth of gold or rich tapestry, to carry his wives; some had with them twelve or sixteen, the least ten; who, when they entered the coach, there were men set on each side, holding up a row of tapestry to cover them from being seen by the people, although they were after the Turkish manner muffled, that nothing but the eye could appear. Besides these wives each bashaw hath as many, or likely more, Catamites, which are their serious loves; for their wives are used (as the Turks themselves told me), but to dress their meat, to laundresses, and for reputation. The boys, likely of twelve or fourteen years old, some of them not above nine or ten, are usually clad in velvet or scarlet, with gilt scymeters, and bravely mounted, with sumptuous furniture; to each of them a squire appointed, who walks by his bridle for his safety. When they are all in order, there are excellent sherbets given to any who will drink; then the bashaw takes horse, before whom ride a dozen or more; who with ugly drums, brass dishes, and wind-instruments, noise along most part of the journey. Before all these go officers, who pitch his tent where he shall dine or lodge; when meat is served up, especially at night, all the people give three great shouts. These are the chief ceremonies I remember.

That which secured and emboldened my enquiry and passage these twelve days march, was an accident the first night, which was thus: the camp being pitched on the shore of Danubius, I went (but timorously) to view the service about Murath bashaw's court, where one of his favourite boys espying me to be a stranger, gave me a cup of sherbet; I, in thanks, and to make friends in court, presented him with a pocket looking-glass, in a little ivory case, with a comb, such as are sold at Westminster-hall for four or five shillings a piece. The youth, much taken therewith, ran and shewed it to the bashaw, who presently sent for me, and making me sit and drink coffee in his presence, called for one that spoke Italian; then demanding of my condition, purpose, country, and many other particulars, it was my fortune to hit his humour so right, as at last he asked, if my law did permit me to serve under them going against the Polack, who is a Christian; promising, with his hand upon his breast, that if I would, I should be enrolled of his companies, furnished with a good horse, and of other necessities be provided with the rest of his household. I but shyly thanked him for his favour, and told him, that to an Englishman it was lawful to serve under any who were in league with our king, and that our King had not only a league with the Grand Seignior, but continually held an ambassador at his court, esteeming him the greatest monarch in the world; so that my service there, especially if I behaved myself not unworthy of my nation, would be exceedingly well received in England; and the Polack, though in name a Christian, yet was a heathen, who for idolatry, and many other points, we much abhorred; wherefore the English had of late helped the Muscovite against him, and would be forward to do the same, whom we not only honoured for their glorious actions in the world, but also loved

for the kind commerce of trade which we find amongst them : but as for my present engagement to the war, with much sorrow I acknowledged my incapacity, by reason I wanted language, which would not only render me incapable of commands, and so unserviceable, but also endanger me in tumults, where I appearing a stranger, and not able to express my affection, might be mistaken, and used accordingly ; wherefore I humbly entreated his highness's leave to follow my poor affairs, with an eternal obligation to blazon this honourable favour wheresoever I came. He forthwith bid me do as liked me best ; wherewith I took my leave, but had much confidence in his favour, and went often to observe his court. In this journey we passed through a pretty little town called Nisse, where we staid while the Jews kept their sabbath. Here, a little before night, wine having possessed a Janizary, and one other Turk, who rode in my coach, they fell out with two country fellows, and by violence took an axe from one of them, not to rob him, but for present use thereof ; which being done, I gave him his axe again, as not willing, in that place, to have so much as the beholder's part in a quarrel. These fellows dogged us, the Janizary they missed, but at midnight came to our coach where we slept, and opened the cover ; whereat I speaking in Italian, they knew me ; wherefore leaving me, they drew the Turk by the neck and shoulders, and gave him two blows with scymeters, one over the arm, the other upon the head, in such sort as we left him behind in great danger of death : they fled, I was found there all bloody ; and so taken, had surely the next day been executed, but that within less than half an hour the hurt person, coming to his senses, cleared me, telling how it came, and by whom.

Thus in twelve days we came to Sophia, the chief city (after the Turkish division) of Bulgary, but, according to the other geography, it stands in Macedonia, upon the confines of Thessaly ; nor hath it yet lost the old Grecian civility, for of all the cities I ever passed, either in Christendom or without, I never saw any where a stranger is less troubled either with affronts or gaping. It stands almost in the midst of a long and fruitful valley ; on the north side about four miles distant, runs a ridge of low hills ; southward, three miles off, stands an high and steep mountain, where snow appears all the year. The Jews and Christians have here the doors of their houses little above three feet high, which they told me was, that the Turks might not bring in their horses, who else would use them for stables in their travel ; which I noted for a sign of greater slavery than in other places.

Here is the seat of the Beglerbeg, or Viceroy of all Greece, by the Turks called Rumely, with many brave mescheetoos, especially the great one in the middle of the town, and another on the south side, with a magnificent college. It hath many stately hanes or kirevanferahs, and exquisite baths ; the principal hath a hot fountain. Here the business of our caravan ended, nor had my Janizary much desire to take any of new ; for he naturally having more of the merchant in him than of the soldier, would not go further for fear of being forced to the war ; wherefore he staid twenty days at Sophia, till the camp was removed, and the Grand Seignior returned to Constantinople. Thus I never saw the emperor's person, nor the main body of the army ; only herein was my success short. As soon as the Janizary thought the coast clear, we went four coaches in three days to Potarzeeke ; the passage is famous for antiquities. Sixteen or eighteen miles eastward of Sophia, we passed over the hill Rhodope, where Orpheus lamented his Euridice. It hath divers inequalities of ground, none very steep, all covered with low woods, now watched with divers, who by reason of the frequent robberies there committed, do by little drums give the inhabitants warning of all suspicious passengers. In the lowest of those descents runs a little brook, of which I conjectured, and a learned

Jew (to whom I owe most of my information) confirmed, that the old poets had made the river Strymon, where the disconsolate Orpheus was torn in pieces by the Thracian dames; for that place hath ever been uncertainly reckoned to Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly.

At last we came to an high and large mountain, of a day's journey over; the Jew held it to be the Thermopylæ, a place as stoutly contested for of old, as now the Valto-line with us; herewith he told me that eastern custom of wearing turbands came from thence; and that how once the barbarous people having the Grecian army at a great advantage, there was no other remedy, but that some few should make good that narrow passage, while the main of the army might escape away: there were brave spirits who undertook it; and knowing they went to an inevitable death, they had care of nothing but sepulture, which of old was much regarded; wherefore each of them carried his winding sheet wrapped about his head, and then with loss of their own lives saved their fellows; whereupon, for an honourable memorial of that exploit, the Levantines used to wrap white linen about their heads, and the fashion so derived upon the Turk.

This may be the story of Leonidas with his three hundred Spartans, but corrupted by time and tradition. When I had considered the passage, it seemed capable of his relation; and this might well be the Thermopylæ, if they were so near the Philippick fields; for besides his confession, the tradition of divers there inhabiting, and all concordance of stories assure us, that the champaign between this mountain and Philippopolis, of about forty or fifty miles long, was from that city built by Philip, called Campi Philipici, famous for the Roman civil wars, there decided in two battles, the first between Cæsar and Pompey, the other between Augustus and Mark Anthony, against Brutus and Cassius. The plain, but that it is a valley, much resembles our downs of Marlborough, where the Saxons, as it is thought, had a great battle; for just in that manner there yet remained the heaps where the slain were buried, and good part of the trenches: the two battles were fought sixteen or eighteen miles asunder, as appears by the sepulchres and the trenches; Cæsar's was next the hill, the other nearer Philippopolis; which, for want of other authority, I conjectured thus: first, in Cæsar's battle there died but fifteen thousand two hundred, in the other almost twice as many; this proportion is made good in the heaps, those towards Philippopolis being greater, and much more in number than the other: then Cæsar writes, that after Pompey, and the main of his army was fled, a residue not yet dispersed, retired to a hill six miles off, which had a river run under it; this squares right with a hill on the south side of Potarzeeke, a little town between the two camps, and where my two days' abode gave me leisure to read Cæsar's commentary thereon, which on purpose I carried to confer upon the place, for the better impression; this Potarzeeke, had it not been remarkable for the place, was not worth mentioning, for it is but a small town, reckoning not above four thousand houses, but is very pleasant with hills, and a river southward.

Hence we passed eastward, through the rest of the plain along the monuments of Brutus and Cassius's defeat. The tumuli are many, some great, some small, more or less close together, as the slaughter happened, and reach at least eight or nine miles in length, extending, as it seems the flight did, towards Philippopolis, now in Turkish called Philibee, where in two days we arrived.

A little before the city, on the north side, we saw the Grand Seignior's stable of camels, where is place and order for five thousand camels, which carry his provision when he wars on this side his empire; and then the general rendezvous uses to be in these Philippick fields, now termed the plain of Potarzeeke, through which also runs the river Mariûla, in some places called Hebrus, shallow, but very broad: over this
river,

river, at the north entry of Phylibee, is a vast wooden bridge, more than a quarter of a mile long : through the midst of this city, from north to south, runs a ridge of rocky hills, partly taken up with buildings, the rest with sepulchres ; among which I found a little Greek chapel, built in the old Gentilisme, as a Greek told me, and it appears also by the round form, with equal division of altars ; there remains nothing remarkable : after five days stay, we went four days journey through many pretty towns of Thrace, till we came to the chief city thereof, and one of the principal in all Turkey : this is Adrianople in Turkish Heidriance, of Hadrian, who repaired it : originally it was styled Orestæ from its founder ; for as the Greeks there pretend, it was built by Orestes son to Agamemnon : until the conquest of Constantinople, it was the Turks imperial seat. North-east, north, and north west, lie certain low and easy hills, amongst which glides the little river Tuny, from the north side of the city to the west, where meeting a branch of the Marissa, it passes a mile or more south-east, where joining with the other branch, it runs stately through the adjoining plain, on which Xerxes first mustered his vast army, when he had passed the Hellespont.

This city, among divers other names, hath been called Trimontium, because it stands upon three little hills, or rather one low hill with three eminences ; the midst is the highest and largest, upon the top whereof, as the crown and glory of the other buildings, stands a stately meskeeto built by Sultan Solymán the second, with four high and curious spires, at each corner one, as the manner of Turkey is ; not upon the church like our steeples, but from the ground ; each of them hath three rounds on the outside, for the priests walk, and at the top a great globe and half-moon of gold : the body of the meskeeto like those of Constantinople (though far more curious) is at the bottom quadrangular, having four stories in heighth ; the two uppermost so contracted, as that division which quarters the two lowest into four angles a-piece, casts each of them into eight ; at either angle of the upper story is a great round pyramid : they support the roof, in form round and eminent, all covered with lead, upon the top whereof is set a globe of gold, whereon stands a golden pillar and an half moon : at the bottom of this building are made ten conduits with cocks, on the north side, and as many on the south, for people to wash before divine service ; to which use also, on the west side in the churchyard, are thirty or forty cocks under a fountain so sumptuous, as excepting one at Palermo, I have not seen a better in Christendom ; on the east side are the chief priests lodgings and garden ; round the churchyard are cloisters, baths, a college with lodgings for priests, and other necessary offices, all covered with large round tunnels of lead. This edifice is not great, but of structure so neat, and that so advantageous by situation, as renders it not only stately and magnificent, but with such a delicacy as I have not seen in any other place, no not in Italy. Beside this meskeeto, there is another brave one with four spires, built by Sultan Selym, and many other of two a-piece, with fair colleges, cloisters, and baths, equal to the monasteries of any one city in Christendom for quality, though not in number : it hath also many fair hanes, all covered in like manner, so likewise are their besesteins or exchanges, whereof it hath four or five, some not much inferior to ours in London, especially one which I guessed half a mile in length, and richly furnished with wares : the chief bridges are four, vast and high, all of stone : from the south bridge is the best view of the city, where it makes a gallant shew. There yet remain the walls of the old town, which now contain the fourth and worst part, inhabited by Zinganaes, Christians, Jews, and others esteemed as refuse people : a little without the city northward, stands the Grand Seignior's seraglio, with a park walled, some three miles in compass ; the palace is very low, all covered with lead rising up for a flat, into a sharp round, and seems but

but like a garden-house for pleasure: it is kept by his Agemogians, to entertain not only the Grand Seignior, but, in his absence, any bashaw or other principal minister.

After ten days stay at Adrianople, we rode up and down as business required, to Burgaz, Churlo, and divers other pretty towns, all of them adorned with dainty meeketoos, colleges, hospitals, hanes, and bridges: for it is in Turkey as in other kingdoms, the nearer to the imperial city, the more stately is the country inhabited: having thus travelled six days, we came to Selibre, of old Selymbria; no great town, but bigger than the rest, and very antient; the old castle and walls not quite demolished: it stands upon the south end of a long but low hill: the other three points are encompassed by sea, with a rocky and unsafe port; from whence on the other side of the bay, you may discern a round hill, upon which remain some ruins of the old city Heraclea: here we staid two days, then with some diversion, in three more we reached Constantinople: thus had we made from Spalatra fifty-two days journey, and as many in several abodes; ever lodging upon the ground, for the most part in open fields; and passing by land fifteen hundred miles English; not in the direct way, for that had been shorter, but as led by the business of the Jews, who were patrons of the caravan: Constantinople, by the Turks called Stamboule (which as they told me signifies faith and plenty) hath an uncertain original, is famous for its ruin under the emperor Severus, and its reparation by Constantine: at other times it hath been sacked, but finally ann. 1453, lost by another Constantine, as the former son to another Helen: in this loss it may be said to gain; for it is since at an higher glory than it had before, being made head of a far greater empire: of old it was ever baited, by the Thracians on the one side, and Grecians on the other; but now it commands over both: I staid here but five days, wherefore I had not leisure for much observation; in this haste. I put my thoughts upon two points; first, to view the chief public sights, then to consider the judgement of those ancient emperors, who so often thought of transferring the seat of the empire from Rome thither: for the first; the emperor's person I could not see, who was then at Scutari, which is as it were part of Constantinople, though severed by the mouth of the Black Sea a mile over. The seraglio I saw as far as strangers used to do, having access only into the second court: a building low, and outwardly but mean; with a low cloister of many small pillars: the inside I saw not; but an infinite swarm of officers and attendants I found, with a silence and reverence so wonderful, as shewed in what awe they stand of their sovereign: a stone's cast from the outermost entrance stands that famous old church Sancta Sophia; thence went I to see the other meeketoos, that of Mahomet the second, who won the town; that of Achmat, which is the most splendid of all; into that of Sultan Solymán I went to view it throughout, but found it no way equal to his other at Adrianople, which in my eye is much more magnificent than any of those at Constantinople. Then saw I the Egyptian obelisk, the brazen pillar of three snakes, the aqueduct, and many other things, with that horrid gap made by fire ann. 1633, where they report seventy thousand houses to have perished. The other, and chief part of my contemplation, consisted in the situation; which of all places that I ever beheld, is the most apt to command the world; for by land it hath immediate commerce with Greece, Thrace, and from Scutari with Asia: by sea the Pontus or Black Sea, and the Marmora or Hellespont, not only furnish it with infinite store of fish in port, but readily carry their commodities abroad, and bring others home; and, which is above all, the mouths of both those seas are so narrow that no passage can be forced against the ebb; so as for strength, plenty, and commodity, no place can equal it: then it stands almost in the middle of the world, and thereby capable of performing commands over many countries, without
any

any great prejudice of distance; the want whereof caused that the authority of Rome could never reach the Parthians, and hardly Germany, and raised that maxim left by Augustus—*Coercendos imperii terminos*: for he who considers the sudden accidents of state, with the difficulties of remote forces, and other dispatches, must needs acknowledge the necessity of, as it were, a mathematical correspondence from the center to the circumference. This perhaps the crown of Spain finds too true, whose greatness could not else, in the skirts of its empire, receive such blows from such petty enemies as it does. In that I observed no more of so great a city, I do not much accuse myself; for the chief time I had to view was my first two days, when I lodged with the Turks in the hane of Mahomet Bashaw; afterward I shifted into Christian habit, and went over to Galata, where I was very courteously entertained in the house of an English gentleman, to whom I was recommended; next, after I had kissed the hands of the right honourable Sir Peter Weych, Lord Ambassador for his Majesty of England, I took an instant opportunity of passage for Egypt, upon the Black Sea fleet, which three days after departed for Alexandria: here I found the company of a French gentleman and a Flemish; we embarked upon the admiral's galleon, hiring to ourselves the gunner's room, of the masters thereof, who were two renegadoes that spake good Italian. Strait we set sail forth of the Marmora down the Hellespont, in all 86 vessels; in two days arrived at Gallipoly, so named of the French, whose fury hath many old monuments in the Levant; here we lay at anchor that night, staying for some commissions which were to come after, or as I rather conjectured, for news of the Rhodian galleys, which the next day met us a little below the castles, to be our convoy against piracy or Christians. Some thirty miles beneath Gallipoly is the straightest passage of the Hellespont, not above half a mile broad; a place formerly famous for Xerxes' bridge, but much more glorious in the loves of Hero and Leander. These castles, called the Dardanelli, command the passage, and are the security of Constantinople on that side: that upon Europe, antiently Sestos, is made with two towers, one within the other; the inmost highest, by reason of the rising ground upon which they stand, each bearing the form of three semicircles, with the out-wall triangular: the other, upon the Asian shore, is far stronger, standing on the marsh level: it is of form square, with four round turrets, at each corner one; in the middle before stands an high square tower commanding over all. This formerly was named Abydos, not that the buildings remain the same, but often re-edified in the same place. We passed so leisurely as gave me time to note the artillery, which I found thin aloft, but plentiful at the bottom upon the ground, looking out at several holes made in the foundation of the walls, which striking in a level, hits a ship between wind and water, and is a plantation much more effectual than that above. About some forty miles sail forth of that straight, on the Asian side, we reached Cape Janizar, antiently Promontorium Sigæum, where Troy stood, of which nothing remains to be seen but a piece of an old wall some forty or fifty paces long, hard by the sea, and therefore said by Virgil to have been built by Neptune. So hath that famed town now put on immortality, having no existence but in poetry; whose fictions, by complying with the fancy of man, uphold themselves beyond the reality of their subject. Beside the conceit of such a ruin, I took care to consider the judgement of antiquity in the situation, which I find not to have been extraordinary, either for pleasure, commodity, or strength. The promontory makes an angle which hath two sides encompassed by sea; from south west to west, with a compass turning from west to north; on the other side lies a barren sandy plain now termed Troade, which, some fifteen or twenty miles from sea, is environed by a ridge of hills, the most eminent whereof the Turks at this day call Ide, whereby I acknowledged it for that Ida, where prince Paris retiring from

from all wise affairs of state, and preferment of court, lived an effeminate and luxurious life; which, clad in fable, fames him there to have preferred Venus before Minerva, and Juno; and to have given her the golden fruit of his youth, for which she favoured him in the rape of Helen; but because neither Minerva nor Juno assisted that imprevise, therefore it proved both unwise and dishonourable. About two leagues westward, is the little island Tenedos, known for concealing the Grecian navy at the taking of Troy. Hence we sailed down the Archipelago, through those islands so famed for antiquities—*Nullum sine nomine faxum*: among them my eye selected Samos, Scio, and Pathmos; for the wind steering larboard, drove us within discovery thereof. Samos is the only place in the world under whose rocks grow sponges. The people, from their infancy, are bred up with dry biscuit, and other extenuating diet, to make them extreme lean; then taking a sponge wet in oil, they hold it, part in their mouths and part without, so they go under water, where, at first they cannot stay long; but, after practice, some of the leanest stay above an hour and a half, even till all the oil of the sponge be corrupted; and by the law of the island, none of that trade is suffered to marry, until he have stayed half an hour under water. Thus, they gather sponges from the bottom of rocks, more than an hundred fathom deep; which, with many stories of these islands, was told me by certain Greeks in our galleon. Scio is remarkable for mastic, not elsewhere found, and there only upon the south side of the hill, which I thought to be as a plant not enduring the cold winds, or contrary vapours of the north; they imputed it to St. Theodore's tears, when led that way to martyrdom. Yet, unless he traversed much ground, many of those trees grow where he never came. I applauded their belief, but kept my own. Pathmos is renowned for many actions of Saint John: I fancied none, till the Greeks pointed out a rock, under which they affirmed to be a grot, wherein he wrote his Apocalypse. In some points, things consecrated are imitated by the ordinary ways of men; to instance, in profane pieces. Mahomet was two years in a grot, writing his Alcoran; the Sybils mostly lived and prophesied in grots, as myself have seen her's at Cumæ; as also the study and habitation of Virgil, in a grot at mount Posilipo. Many old oracles were delivered out of caverns or grots; in some the highest fancies of men have been produced in such places; which, in those who have no divine credit, I impute partly to the privacy and aspect of those retreats, which being gloomy, still, and solemn, settle and contract the mind into profound speculation; but especially to the quality of the air, a thing of main importance to dispose the wit. The air of those rocky caverns is not so damp and earthy as that of dungeons, not so immaterial or wafting, to unsettle and transport the phantasy, as that above ground; but of a middle temper, wherewith it affects the brain in such a sort as is fittest to exercise its intellectual faculty, to the height of what its composition bears. Thus, after we had in eleven days passed the southern, and greatest part of Ulysses's ten years voyage, we came before Rhodes, at the east end of the island, where we entered the wind-mill port, so named by reason of many wind-mills standing before it. Hard by there is another port more inward, for the galleys, and of entrance so shallow, as is not capable of deep vessels. Here we stayed three days, which gave me some view of the place, and that so much the more, by being taken for a spy; for in Rhodes there is no pretence of merchandize for a christian; and but that my excuse of going upon a wager into Egypt seemed possible, I had here been lost. Yet, in that suspicion, some of them, out of such bravery as I had once before found in their camp, showed me the palace or fortress of the grand master formerly, with the out-works, and three great deep ditches, all cut in the quick rock round the castle, except one part where it joins with the chief street. Then they shewed me a high window towards the west, telling me this story:

that when Sultan Solymán besieged the town, there stood in that window, the grand master, with a nephew of his, and a chief engineer. They, considering the camp, the engineer told him they were happy that the enemy knew not the advantage of such a place, pointing to the side of a hill, where certain wind-mills stand; for, quoth he, if they should plant the artillery there, we were lost. Herewith, the young nephew, in hopes of preferment, took secretly some Turkish arrows, and from the window, shot them into the camp, having first writ upon them this discovery, and his name. They being found, the advice was approved, and put in execution, which forced the town in three days to surrender. Solymán, according to the rule of princes, more brave than politic, caused the traitor to be put to death. This city, on the east and north, is encompassed by sea; the south and west join by land to the rest of the island. It stands upon a little hill, reaching to the bottom thereof; it is four miles from the old city, which stood upon a steep high hill, where now remain part of the walls, and a poor village.

I took a boat to view the place where the Colossus stood, at the entry of that haven. There is not left any remainder of that statue; but the rocks whereon his footing was, are wide enough for two great ships to pass both together. Why the Cavaliers did transfer their seat from the old city to the new, I could not learn, unless it were for the port, which being obvious to all comers, they had rather occupy it themselves than leave it to an invader. Within the city, the arms of France are very frequent; the Spanish and Imperial not in more than two or three places; ours not at all; whereby I proportioned the old national interest in that order. The most egregious monuments of any one grand master is of Peter d'Aubisson, a Frenchman there, governing above two hundred years since; he, amongst other notable works, built a round tower, with many retired circles for combatants. In the wall before the haven, to scour the mouth thereof, he made two huge brass pieces, so large as I never saw any six cannons whose metal could make the least of them. In this island, the sun is so powerful and constant, that it was anciently dedicated to Phœbus. They have a kind of grape as big as a damson, and of that colour; the vines, if watered, bear all the year, both ripe grapes, half ripe, and knots, all together upon the same vine; yet, that they may not wear out too soon, they use to forbear watering of them in December and January, during which time they bear not, till after a while that they are watered again. Upon my first landing, I had espied, among divers very honourable sepulchres, one more brave than the rest, and new. I enquired whose it was; a Turk, not knowing whence I was, told me it was the captain bashaw, slain the year before by two English ships, and therewith gave such a language of our nation, and threatening all whom they should light upon, as made me, upon all demands, profess myself a Scotchman, which being a name unknown to them, saved me; nor did I suppose it any quitting of my country, but rather a retreat from one corner to the other; and when they enquired more particularly, I, intending my own safety more than their instruction, related the truth both of my king and country, but in the old obsolete Greek and Latin titles, which was as dark to them as a discourse of Isis and Osyris. Yet, the third day, in the morning, I, prying up and down alone, met a Turk, who, in Italian, told me, Ah! are you an Englishman; and, with a kind of malicious posture, laying his forefinger under his eye, methought he had the looks of a design: he presently departed, I got to my galleon, and durst go to land no more. The next morn we departed for Alexandria, in Egypt, accompanied with ten ordinary gallies of Rhodes, and three old ones, which went to be sold for fuel. The weather, although right in stern, grew so high, as the three old gallies perished, two in the night with all their people, the third by day, in our sight; but despairing, by times made

made up to a galleon, near ours, and saved such of her men who were neither chained nor otherwise incumbered. After three days full sail, we arrived in port. Alexandria, first built by Alexander the Great, was, after, beautified by many, but especially by Pompey: it bears yet the monuments of its ancient glory, pillars in great number and size, both above ground and below, most of porphyry, and other marble as firm. The ancient Egyptians had a custom, now not in use, that was, to make as great a part of the house beneath ground as above; that below was the most costly, with pillars and rich pavements for refreshment, being their summer habitation; the upper part had the larger pillars for shew, but not the neatest. Above all the rest, there are three far beyond any that I ever saw elsewhere; that of Pompey, where his ashes were laid, upon the rocky shore hard-by, where he was slain in a boat at sea; it is round, all of one stone, a kind of reddish grey marble, so wonderfully large, as made me salute his memory with the poet's prophetic hail—*Templis auroque sepultus vilior umbra fores*. It stands upon a four-square rocky foundation, on the south-side of the town, without the walls. Within, on the north towards the sea, are two square obelisks, each of one entire stone, full of Egyptian hieroglyphicks, the one standing, the other fallen. I think either of them thrice as big as that at Constantinople, or the other at Rome; and, therefore, left behind as too heavy for transportation. Near these obelisks are the ruins of Cleopatra's palace, high upon the shore, with the private gate, whereat she received her Mark Antony after their overthrow at Actium. Two stones-cast further, upon another rock over the shore, is yet a round tower, one part of Alexander's palace, where yet, in the walls, remains a passage of brick pipes, part of a vendiduct. The town is now almost nothing but a white heap of ruins, especially the east and south parts. The walls were high, and frequently set with small turrets, but not very strong, except toward the sea, where they stand upon great steep rocks. The north and west are washed by the sea, which makes two ports, each in form of a half-moon; between them runs a long narrow neck of land, joined once by a bridge, but now made firm land with that then an island, called the Pharos; a place which, in Cæsar's judgment, did command both the port and town; of which opinion the Turks now are; and, therefore, contrary to their usual custom, they have there built a brave new castle, which answers another little one on the other point of the haven: these command the broad entry at least a mile and a half; but how it could be done before artillery came up, as Cæsar affirms, I wonder; nor are the banks wider by time, as appears by the walls and old circuit of buildings upon the shore, on the west-side of the Pharos; and under protection thereof, is the other port only for gallies, as too full of shelves and rocks for deep bottoms. Fresh water is brought to Alexandria in a large and deep channel cut by men, almost fourscore miles, through the wilderness, to the Nile. This channel is dry till the river overflows, then it runs into the city, but so low as they are forced to get it up by chained buckets, and wheels drawn with oxen; so it is conveyed and kept in cisterns, whereof now there remain but six hundred of two thousand at the first. The earth cast out of those cisterns, hath made two fair mounts, upon one whereof is set a watch-tower, to give warning of ships. Upon the south of the town lies that vast sandy plain, great part taken up with the salt lake Marcotis. Eastward, not far from the sea, we rode through a sandy desert, some forty miles to Rosetta. All Egypt, where the Nile arrives not, is nothing but whited sand, bearing no grass, but two little weeds called Suhit and Gazull, which, burnt to ashes, and conveyed to Venice, make the finest chrystal glasses; yet are there many sort of trees, nourished by no moisture but the night dew, which is abundant, for in Egypt it scarce rains once in three or four ages. Above all, infinite number of palms grow every where, with dates as big as both one's thumbs. In the plain, the wind

drives the sand into folds, like snow with us, so, as if any wind stir, no track of man or beaſts laſts a quarter of an hour; wherefore, to direct paſſengers, there are ſet up round brick pillars, five or ſix yards high, one within a mile of another, which put me in mind of the Iſraelites being guided forth of Egypt by pillars. Thus, in a day and an half, came we to Roſetta, formerly Canopus, a pretty little city. It ſtands upon the Nile, four miles from its entry into the ſea; once it was famous for all manner of luxury, now it wants nothing thereto but art and a ſoft government. Here we hired a boat for Grand Cairo, three hundred and ſixty miles off. In five days we arrived, though againſt the ſtream, and about the higheſt of the inundation, for the north-weſt wind helped us well. All that long way, we ſcarce paſſed four miles, but we found a pretty town upon the banks, likely one of each ſide oppoſite, which, if Turkiſh, they were high built, of brick or other firm ſtone; but if Arabic and Egyptian, the houſes were moſt of mud, juſt in form of beehives. The Nile, at the higheſt, is ordinarily near a mile and a quarter over, ſometimes making a great plaſh of profitable ground. Much benefit of the overflow is made by ditches, and gardens watered with wheels drawn by oxen. As far as the river waters, is a black mould ſo fruitful, as they do but throw in the ſeed, and have four rich harveſts in leſs than four months. Moſt part of the banks is ſet with dainty ſugar-canes, flax, and rice. In the way, the wind failing, our watermen drawing the boat with ropes from land, there came ſix of the wild Arabs, five on horſeback, one on foot, each with a lance, which they can uſe in hand, or dart very dexterouſly. Our boat-men, rogues of the ſame race, ſtood ſtill that they might take the ropes, whereat the Janiſſary, a ſtout and honeſt Turk, diſcharged his harquebuze at the horſemen, who, wheeling about, came ſpeedily again, where, finding two of us with piſtols guarding the ropes, and awing our boat-men, they durſt not come on; nor were they ſudden in flight, but that the Janiſſary let fly once more, and, as ſeemed to us, tuſſed through one of their turbans; then away they ran. Finally, we arrived at that part of Grand Cairo called Bulakho, where we got direction to the palace of a Venetian gentleman, the Illuſtriſſimo Seignior Santo Seghezzi, whoſe noble way of living gives reputation to his country, and protection to all travellers in thoſe parts. Here my late companions ſtayed but few days; for, overcome with heat, and ſpirited by devotion, they haſtened to return by Jeruſalem. I, not ſo impatient of the climate, nor loving company of Chriſtians in Turkey, and but reaſonably affected to relics, left them, and preſumed to receive a longer entertainment; whereto I found an invitation freely noble of itſelf, and with much regard to an honourable recommendation of me, ſent by his Excellency the Lord Ambaſſador of Holland, at Conſtantinople, Sir Cornelius Haga, who, having known my kinfman, Sir James Blount, and ſome others of our name, was pleaſed, in me, to honour their memory. Here my abode, in a family which had there been reſident twenty-five years, informed me of many things with much certainty. Firſt, I muſt remember things upon record conſtantly renewed in office, as the multitude of the meſkeetoës, that is, churches and chapels, five and thirty thouſand; then the noted ſtreets, four and twenty thouſand, beſides petty turnings and diviſions. Some of thoſe ſtreets I have found two miles in length, ſome not a quarter ſo long; every one of them is locked up in the night, with a door at each end, and guarded by a muſketeer, whereby fire, robberies, tumults, and other diſorders are prevented.

Without the city, toward the wilderneſs, to ſtop ſudden incurſions of the Arabs from abroad, there watch on horſeback four ſaniacks, with each of them a thouſand horſe-men. Thus is this city every night in the year guarded with eight and twenty thouſand men.

Theſe extravagant proportions argued ſuch a ſize of the main body, as made me deſire an entire view thereof, which I got in ſeveral places, but beſt of all from the top of the

castle, which is founded upon a rocky ascent on the east side of the city; it is not quite decayed, nor diligently kept, but held rather as the bashaw's palace, than a fortress; nor did I discern any artillery therein. It was built by the old Soldans and their Mamelukes, and that in such a fort as testifies their government to have been tyrannous and stately. There yet remain in one arched place, forty pillars of porphyry, as big as those two of St. Mark at Venice. At the foot of this hill is a place about half a mile long, where they exercise their great horse. Hard by stands a little house and garden, all under the castle's view; therein the bashaws of Grand Cairo, when deposed, are kept, until they are either preferred or strangled. So potent is that office esteemed, and so full of state secrets, as may not be left unassured, but by satisfaction or death. Beyond this castle lies the plain sandy desert, which encompasses the east, north, and north-west of the city. From the castle to the Nile, about three miles through Old Cairo, extends an aqueduct far more stately and large than either that of Constantinople or the other at Rome. The Nile runs along the south of the town to the west, making at its first arrival, a dainty little island; where, amongst many fine buildings, stand the Nilescope, which is a little castle, wherein is set a pillar, with several notes declaring the inundation all over Egypt, according to each degree which the water reaches upon the pillar; then they foresee the future year's increase, and rate provision accordingly.

The day when the flood begins, is constantly the summer solstice; the increase is usually between fourscore and a hundred days; then, suddenly it abates, and by the end of November, is within its narrowest banks, about a quarter of a mile broad. The cause of this admirable inundation I am not credulous enough to understand. The whole circuit of the city seemed to me between thirty-five or forty miles. A Venetian, who was with me, affirmed it to be much more; he proportioned it by Italian measure, I by English. This large compass helps other concurrences to justify the Turkish reports, how that after Selim's first entry of the town, he spent four days in combat before he passed quite thorough. Those relations which restrain Cairo, intend but of one principal part thereof, named Elkhayre, from the founder's habitation therein; according to which division, that burgh is but one of five principal, beside ten or eleven more of less name, and all joined as London and Westminster. This city is built after the Egyptian manner, high and of large rough stone, part of brick, the streets narrow. It hath not been yet above an hundred years in the Turks possession, wherefore the old buildings remain; but as they decay, the new begin to be after the Turkish manner, poor, low, much of mud and timber: yet of the modern fabrics, I must except divers new palaces, which I there have seen, both of Turks, and such Egyptians as most engage against their own country, and so flourish in its oppression. I have often gone to view them and their entertainments, sometimes attending the Illustrissimo with whom I lived, otherwhil's accompanied with some of his gentlemen. The palaces I found large and high, no state or flourish outwardly; the first court spacious, set with fair trees for shade, where were several beasts and rare birds, and wonderful even in those parts, the inner court joined to delicious gardens, watered with fountains and rivulets; beside the infinite variety of strange plants, there wanted no shade from trees of cassia, oranges, lemons, figs of Pharaoh, tamarinds, palms, and others, amongst which pass very frequently camellions. The entry into the house, and all the rooms throughout, are paved with many several coloured marbles, put into fine figures; so likewise are the walls, but in Mosaic of a less cut; the roof layed with thwart beams, a foot and a half distant, all carved, great, and double gilt; the windows with grates of iron, few with glass, as not desiring to keep out the wind, and to avoid the glimmering of the sun, which, in those hot countries, glass would break, with too much dazzling upon the eye;

the floor is made with some elevations a foot high, where they sit to eat and drink; those are covered with rich tapestry; the lower pavement is to walk upon, where, in the chief dining chamber, according to the capacity of the room, is made one or more richly gilt fountains in the upper end of the chamber, which, through secret pipes, supplies in the middle of the room a dainty pool, either round, four-square, triangular, or of other figure, as the place requires, usually twenty or twenty-four yards about, and almost two in depth, so neatly kept, the water so clear, as makes apparent the exquisite Mosaic at the bottom. Herein are preserved a kind of fish of two or three feet long, like barbles, which have often taken bread out of my hand, sucking it from my fingers at the top of the water. But that which to me seemed more magnificent than all this, was my entertainment. Entering one of these rooms, I saw at the upper end, amongst others sitting cross-legged, the Lord of the palace, who, beckoning to me to come, I first put off my shoes, as the rest had done; then bowing often, with my hand upon my breast, came near; where he, making me sit down, there attended ten or twelve handsome young pages, all clad in scarlet, with crooked daggers and scimitars richly gilt. Four of them came with a sheet of taffety, and covered me; another held a golden incense with rich perfume, wherewith, being a little smoaked, they took all away. Next came two with sweet water, and besprinkled me; after that, one brought a porcelain dish of coffee, which, when I had drank, another served up a draught of excellent sherbet. Then began our discourse, which passed by an interpreter, by reason of my ignorance in the Arabic there spoken. In their questions and replies, I noted the Egyptians to have a touch of the merchant or Jew, with a spirit not so soldier-like and open as the Turks, but more discerning and pertinent. In some remote part of the house they have their stables of horses, such for shape, as they say, are not in the world, and I easily believe it, but unuseful in other countries, by reason of their tender hoofs never used to any ground but sand. They have one sort of a peculiar race, not a jot outwardly different from other horses, nor always the handsomest; but they are rare and in such esteem, as there is an officer appointed to see the foal when any of that race is foaled, to register it, with the colour, and to take testimony of the right brood. One of these at three years old is ordinarily sold for a thousand pieces of eight, sometimes more. The reason is, because they will run without eating or drinking one jot four days and nights together; which some Egyptians, wound about the body, and helped with little meat, and less sleep, are able to ride. This is of infinite consequence upon sudden dispatches to pass the wilderness, where neither water nor grass is found. From these, perhaps, grew the fable of those pardo-cameli, or dromedaries; for seldom does any rarity of nature escape the fabulous attacks of fancy. There are many spacious places in the city, which in the rivers overflow, are dainty pools called birkhaes, and of great refreshment, as also the calhis, which is a channel cut through part of the city, from the Nile into a plain on the north, where it makes a fruitful plash of at least ten or twelve miles compass, affording also many rivulets to the gardens. In these birkhaes and calhis, towards evening, are many hundreds washing themselves; in the mean while, divers pass up and down with pipes and roguish fiddles, in boats full of fruits, sherbets, and good banqueting stuff to sell. After the rivers fall, those places are green for a while, then burnt to sand. Notwithstanding the excessive compass of this city, it is populous beyond all proportion; for, as we rode up and down, the principal streets were so thronged with people, as the masters of our asses went always before, shoving and crying Bdaharack, that is, make room; such infinite swarms of Arabs and Indians flock to the plenty and pleasures of Grand Cairo. So as I there heard, from divers honourable persons, that not long since they had a plague, which, in one year,

ſwept away eighteen hundred thouſand and odd; yet within leſs than five years after, there was more throng of people than ever they had known. All diſeaſes there are riſe in winter, eſpecially the plague, which at the ſummer ſolſtice ſuddenly ceaſes.

When the wind ſets ſouthward, (whether it be the ſpices of Ethiopia, or not, is uncertain), it is as odoriferous as any Spaniſh glove, and ſo hot, as when it was held long, it ſo corrupted my ſtomach, as, till the wind changed, no meat went through me ſometimes nine or ten days together. On the ſouth end of the city is yet remaining the round tower, wherein Pharaoh's daughter lived when ſhe found Moſes in the river, which runs not above a bow's-ſhoot off. Hard by are Joſeph's ſeven granaries, or rather ſome of their ruined walls left, and four of them ſo repaired, as ſerve to keep the public corn. Three or four miles out of town northward, is a place called Materea, with a tree of Pharaoh figs, under which it is reported, that the Virgin Mary reſted with Chriſt in her lap, and waſhed him in a well thereby, when the fear of Herod made her fly into Egypt: there is in the memory thereof a chapel built of no long time; I thought the tree ſeemed the oldeſt in the garden, and ſo moſt probably choſe for the ſtory. I aſked my Janiſſary how long thoſe kind of fig-trees uſed to laſt; he told me half an hundred years, or thereabout: yet I noted that if this tree ſhould fail, nevertheleſs that place hath many others of the ſame kind, ready to take the reputation upon them; many rarities of living creatures I ſaw in Grand Cairo; but the moſt ingenious was a neſt of four-legged ſerpents of two feet long, black, and ugly, kept by a French man, who when he came to handle them, they would not endure him, but ran and hid in their hole; then would he take his citern, and play upon it; they hearing the muſic came all crawling to his feet, and began to climb up him, till he gave over playing, then away they ran. Nor is this ſtranger in nature, to ſee ſuch creatures delight in ſounds delightful to us, than to ſee them reliſh ſuch meats, as reliſh with us: the one argues a conformity to our compoſition in one of our ſenſes; the other in another.

Twelve miles ſouth weſt of the city, on the other ſide of the river, ſtand the three oldeſt, and yet moſt entire pyramids: the largeſt I entered into down a deſcent, ſome thirty paces, then creeping through a paſſage almoſt choaked up with ſand, we found a dark aſcent through a paſſage between great marble ſtones, without ſtairs, only a little footing cut on each ſide; here we paſſed with every one a candle in one hand, and a piſtol in the other, for fear of rogues, who often murder, and riſe in thoſe caverns: I found two large ſquare chambers in the middle, the one empty, the other had in the miſt a ſepulture, open and empty about a yard and an half high, as much wide, and within not above two yards long: the ſtone ſeems a kind of red porphyry, but is not, for it ſounds better than a bell: it is fixed in the foundation, nor can ever be born away, as too big for the paſſage. This being the ancienteſt monument in the world, encouraged me againſt the opinion of our decay in ſtature from our forefathers. The Jews pretend thoſe three pyramids to have been built by Pharaoh, who was drowned in the Red Sea; the little one for an only daughter of his, the greater for his wife; but the faireſt intended for himſelf, miſſed of his body, loſt in the ſea. I ſuſpected them to affect a glory in the renown of their enemy: for Herodotus, much more authentic, fathers the chief upon Cheops, nor is there any brick, whereof Pharaoh's buildings conſiſted.

The form is quadrangular, leſſening by equal degrees, from almoſt a quarter of a mile each ſide at the bottom, unto a ſquare at the top a little more than three yards ſquare: the ſtones are exceſſive great, and as big above as beneath; all of an even

four square : that which made the building easy, and held it so long together, is the posture of the stones, not laid in an even flat upon one another, as in other fabrics, but begun at the basis upon firm rock, with the first row of stones laid sloping, their outside a foot higher than the inside ; which continues the same posture to the very top, and makes the whole building set inward, and so without mortar fasten of itself : each upper stone retires some half a foot short of that whereon it lies ; this sharpens the bulk by just degrees upward, and makes the outward ascent very easy : but in a country where there were any rain, it would settle the water, and decay the building.

There are about sixteen or eighteen other pyramids, extending fourthward, a matter of twelve or fourteen miles : they are said to be of kings far less antient than this, and yet though of the same stone ruined extremely, only wanting that posture of the stones. This wonderful pyramid is recorded to have been twenty years a building, with three hundred thousand men and more, in continual employment, which if the stone came from the Red Sea, is very credible ; but perhaps part was cut from those rocks under the sand hard by where it stands : within two bows shoot hereof, is a rock of some forty yards circumference, and twelve or fourteen high, cut in the form of a man's head ; perhaps Memnon's, famous for its founding at the sun-rise. The Egyptians and Jews with us, told us it gave oracles of old, and also that it was hollow at the top ; wherein they had seen some enter, and come out at the pyramid : then I soon believed the oracle, and esteem all the rest to have been such, rather than either by vapour, though not impossible, or demoniac, which requires too much credulity for me. All that part of the plain, for bewteen twenty or thirty miles in length, and little less in breadth, hath ever been the place of sepulture for those three cities where now is Grand Cairo ; that is, Babylon (not that of Persia), Memphis, and Cairo : the southern part belonging to Memphis, which was the antientest, and stood most part on that side of the Nile : whose bodies are the best mummy, and were buried before the Israelites departure ; one of which sepultures being opened, I went down, tied by a cord, descending as into a well, ten or twelve fathom, leaving a Janissary, and two of our company at the top, to awe the Arabs, who often leave strangers within, and return when they are starved, to rifle them ; the place so low as I was fain to creep, and all full of a dry sand, where moisture never comes : that preserves the bodies, as much as the embalming, insomuch as I have seen some of the linen, not touched by the embalming, to remain perfect white and found ; so many thousand years will things endure, when untouched by moisture, the sole cause of putrifaction. The bodies lie, most of them in the sand, some in an open stone, with an hollow hewed therein : they are not beyond our ordinary proportions ; in the pitch of the breast, is set a little idol, the head of human shape, with a prop under the chin : they are as big as one's middle finger, with hieroglyphics on the back, and made of stone, or rather baked mortar ; their being among the dead, made me suppose them religious pieces ; which with their old hieroglyphics, in vain I searched to interpret.

Above all the antiquities of Egypt, I sought to understand that admirable table of Isis, not mentioned in Plutarch, and slenderly unfolded by Pignoria, but completely expressed in the antique Egyptian monument of brass, lately printed in Italy : it is thought under the ceremonies of Isis and Osiris, to contain that three-fold wisdom of the old Egyptian kings, and priests ; the one about the nature of their Nile, and soil ; the other concerning the policy of their state : in the third was veiled the most important pieces of their philosophy.

To get information hereof, I followed the old examples, first used by Herodotus, then by Julius Cæsar, and after by Germanicus ; which was to enquire of priests, who,

if

if any, were like to know somewhat in their own antiquities: I was helped by an interpreter, to the speech of three Egyptian priests, but found them utterly ignorant of all things not Mahometan: nor can I wonder, for in the course of vicissitude, the Egyptian superstition as the antientest in the world, is likely to be the most clean lost; and all superstitions, being in effect but jugglings, have the fate of such tricks, that is, while new to be admired, but in time to grow ridiculous to such as discern their knavery, and stale to those who do not; thereupon the priests, like other impostors, when their devices began to take but coldly, changed them: this caused among the heathen new doctrines, and ecclesiastic ceremonies in several ages; seldom all at a clap, but by degrees as occasion offered, and the people's gust required; nor ever happens a more sudden occasion of innovation herein, than that of conquest; therefore whatsoever little memory of old ceremonies, might have been left in Egypt, hath utterly perished in their frequent oppressions, especially in those two of late ages: this of the Turks, and the former of the Circassian Mamalukes; which beside the change of ceremony, have corrupted all the ingenious fancies of that nation into ignorance and malice: thus is failed that succession of knowledge, which by word of mouth useth to be delivered from one generation to another; nor is there any reparation made by way of books: the main reasons why the naked mythological part of the heathen religions was not expressed in writing, were two: first, it would have exposed them to the expositions of many; whereby the several fancies and interests of men, either out of opinion, or design, would have raised pernicious heresies, as appears in the Alcoran and Talmud: therefore Numa Pompilius, having writ books of that kind, caused them to be buried with him; and when (many ages after) they happened to be found, the prætor protested to the senate, that they would destroy the religion, if published; whereupon they were burnt: the other reason was, because the institutions of their religions were addressed, not to the wise, who are so few as not to be reckoned of, but to the multitude, which are passionate, not judicious: wherefore they were not put into a rational way of discourse, which had served them up to the understanding; but rather acted in such manner, as might move the senses, thereby raising such passions as were to the advantage of their religion: hence came the perfumes, and dainty music in their temples; the fantastic vestment of their priests; their solemn sacrifices, pictures, statues, and processions; which in new superstitions, were altered, with contempt of the former; yet in the main point they all agreed; that was to amuse, and entertain the imaginative part of the mind, befooling the intellectual; so the ceremonies renewed not always utterly different, nor the same, but following the state reasons, and popular gust; just like the weeds of each year, not ever of the former kind, but according to the soil, and season: now for these passions, those sensible solemnities were excellently fitted: yet because there were some discerning souls; to engage them they were admitted to the inside of their devices, and called *Sacris initiati*, and so were either taken with the mystery, or at least, with the favour to themselves, and profit of the republic, the latter sort in love connived; the others were conjured, as they dreaded the revenge of the gods, never to divulge those mystical secrets; which also was, because they were either cruel, impure, and horrid, (for with such humours they complied, as well as with the virtuous), or that they contained some profound reach of state, or philosophy beyond vulgar capacity, which adores easily, but pierces not; and that credulous reverence is much advanced by a solemn concealment—*Cupidine humani ingenii, libentius obscura creduntur*: therefore it is not hypocrisy, but a necessary regard to the vain nature of man, which forces most religions to muffle toward the vulgar, concealing some of their inside, either in hieroglyphics, fables, types, parables,

or school distinctions, and strange language; all which do equally obscure to popular capacity, and are chosen according to the genius of the age, or doctrine: hereby were all sort of wits entertained with reverend satisfaction; the deeper in the kernel, the shallower in the shell: thus is all light of Egypt's old devotion almost quite extinct: now as for the justice, and government, it is perfectly Turkish, and therefore not to be set down apart; only it exceeds all other parts of Turkey for rigour, and extortion; the reason is, because the Turks well know the Egyptian nature, above all other nations, to be malicious, treacherous, and effeminate, and therefore dangerous, not fit for armies, or any other truil; not capable of being ruled by a sweet hand: wherefore, among them are more frequent and horrid executions, than in the rest of Turkey, as empaling, gauching, flaying alive, cutting off by the waist with a red hot iron, anointing with honey in the sun, hanging by the foot, planting in burning lime, and the like. In my two months stay, I saw divers fearful examples, especially two; one at Grand Cairo, of a fellow, who in in the fired his neighbour's house: he was first flayed alive, with such art, as he was more than three hours a dying; then was his skin stuffed with chaff, and born straddling upon an ass up and down the town.

The other was of three Arabs, who robbed in the wilderness between Rossetto and Alexandria; they were taken at a place called Maidyah, where at my return I saw them executed in this manner: they were laid naked upon the ground, their faces downward, their hands and legs tied abroad to stakes; then came the hangman, who putting their own halberds in at the fundament, did with a beetle, drive them up leisurely, till they came out at the head, or shoulder; two of them died suddenly, but the third whom the pike had not touched either in the heart, or brain, would have lived longer, had not the flanders by dashed out his brains. Then were they tied upright to stakes driven in the highway, and so left. Now the Turk, to break the spirits of this people the more, oppresses them with a heavier poverty than any of his other Mahometan subjects; and therefore, if there be one Vizier more ravenous than other, he sends him thither, and connives at all his extortions, though afterwards, according to the Turkish polity, he knows how to squeeze him into the treasury; so satisfying the people, the prince drains them, and they discern him no otherwise than as their revenger.

This Vizier Bashaw who now governs, carried with him from Constantinople a ship laden with tin: at his arrival, he took a catalogue of all wealthy persons; then to every man, excepting such as were engaged in favour of the state, he sent a piece of tin, more or less, according to the ability of the person, and demanded of each so excessive a price, as generally it was not worth the fifth part of what they paid. It is the custom of the Ottoman crown, to preserve the old liberties to all countries who come in voluntarily; which in Scio, and other islands of the arches it hath, for examples sake, maintained very honourably, till just cause was shewn to the contrary: but those whom they take by conquest, they use as a booty, without pretending any humanity, more than what is for the profit of the conqueror; which most conquerors do in effect, although not being so absolute as the Grand Seigneur, they are feign to give the world more satisfaction in the poor counterfeits of justice, zeal, clemency, public good, and the like. The Egyptians, under their Circassian Memalukes, were defended against Sultan Selim, like a flock of sheep kept by fierce mastiffs from the wolf: wherefore his bloody victory made him rage the more; so that after he had slain all the Circassians, and topped the rest, he was not like Pharaoh content with the fifth part, but took all, leaving no man owner of a foot of ground, and divided the land into farms. The least farm pays one purse, some two or three according to its pro-

portion; each purse is eight hundred pieces of eight: the fixed rent the *Bashaw* must constantly make good to the crown; he every year places or displaces the farmers, as they out-vie one another in gift to him: the set rent never alters, and is eighteen hundred thousand zeccheens yearly: a zeccheen Turkish I value at nine shillings sterling.

This is proportioned into three equal portions; one is set out to furnish the annual pilgrimage to Mecca; the second pays the soldiery, with all other offices, and public services for that kingdom; the last third goes clear into the exchequer. These farms are most in the hands of Egyptians; besides which, there want not *Timars*, that is Feudes given to Turkish horsemen with obligation of service in war, and to awe both neighbours and subjects.

When *Selim* had conquered this kingdom, he boasted he had taken a farm to feed his *Agemogians*; wherein his judgment was the same with the Romans, who esteemed it the granary of their republic; wherefore the Turk, at this day employs the Egyptians rather that way, than to arms; for he hath of those enrolled soldiers but fourteen thousand, and when any of those die, he continues the pay to his wife and children: whereby, without scandal, the nation is made effeminate and disarmed; which is the maxim he holds upon that false and dangerous people: he used, till within these fifteen or twenty years, to make (as in his other kingdoms) most of their judges of the natives; but they, according to that climate, were found damnably corrupt and disaffectionate to the Turkish affairs; wherefore now having made sure of that country, he hath, without any further respect of them, made a decree, that none shall be capable of being a judge amongst them, but a natural born Turk, whereby the justice is excellently reformed; especially towards strangers, who before had no protection beside poverty, to save them from false witness, which shared them as a booty between the judge and the accusers. Having thus, at Grand Cairo, enquired of such points as are peculiar to that kingdom, I thought of my departure, which I purposed to direct in search of some further antiquity. First, I asked for the famous old temple of Vulcan, but could not hear of any remainder of it, nor any acknowledgment of Jupiter Ammon, who gave oracles in the west of Egypt. Then I desired to view the passage of Moses into the Red Sea, not above three days off; but the Jews told me that the precise place is not now known within less than the space of a day's journey along the shore; wherefore I left that as too uncertain for any observation, and went by Camel two days journey south east, to see certain great ruins about fifteen miles from the river. I had hoped they might have proved the remainder of the labyrinth, or pyramids built by the twelve kings in the lake of Mæris; but I rather, by the pillars and turrets, guessed them to have been some regal palace. In our going thither, there happened a little whirlwind which drove the sand so upon us, as we were almost lost; for divers times passengers therewith overwhelmed, man and beast are not found, till many ages after, when another wind discovers them. Our only remedy was to turn our camels' buttocks to the wind, till the place where they stood was become a pit, as deep as they could well get out of; then removing a little forward made another flood, till we grew again environed, in this manner passing out an hour, till the wind ceased. This fright made us return nearer the Nile, where I saw two *canals* running together, in a muddy place, the one about four feet long, the other not above two.

At my coming back, I began to think of going down to Alexandria, and from thence by sea to Joppa, purposing to return home by Jerusalem, which by land is just fifteen days journey on this side of Grand Cairo: then I took my leave of the *Illustrissimo*

Seignior Sancto Seghezzi, whose usage of me all this while, and now at my departure, was so honourable as might serve for a pattern to each noble spirit.

It being now forward in November, with the water's abatement began Egypt's spring; all the banks so green, fragrant and delicious, as if a new paradise were up. The river shrunk generally into little more than a quarter of a mile broad, which caused one unpleasant spectacle; that was, of many wild Arabs, often ten or twelve together, swimming across to rob villages and passengers. They first wrap their thin blue coat about their head, then tie their lance to their side, so swim over the river naked, which I had also seen at my going up, when the flood was nigh a mile and a quarter over, but not so frequent. My two Janizaries, with their harquebuzes, and I with a pistol, awed them, that they durst not assault the boat; nor were they able to use the lance swimming, more than with one hand, and that but weakly. In these four days passage to Rossetto, I enquired of the Delta, and the Nile's seven streams. The Delta is so named, from the form of that letter, and is all that part of Egypt which lies between the two branches of Rossetto and Damiata; the first parting of which streams is about twenty miles below Grand Cairo. Part of this Delta, I had often heard by some of the learned Jews, to have been the land of Goshen.

Nile had of old seven streams, five natural, and two cut by labour, to serve only in the overflow; there now remain only three, one artificial, which, in the inundation, serves Alexandria. The two natural ones are that of Pelusium, now called Damiata, and the other of Canopus, now Rossetto. This latter is, of late, so choaked, that, at the entrance into the sea, ships are feign to unload, and after a small passage, to load again. Another hath quite furred up within less than thirty years, whereof there are three causes doubted, first, the gravel born down in the flood, for then the water is as gravelly as a puddle in the high way; secondly, the sand blown therein, by the wind from the banks. If it be either of these, it may alter the course of the river, as, in part, it hath done formerly, which might be the ruin of the cities, but not of the kingdom. The third reason is, some defect or diversion from above towards the fountain, that would be the destruction of all, but is not generally believed; yet, methinks, might well be suspected, because, though so many streams are stopped, the rest run not higher than before; which, they say, the many ditches made of late ages, are the cause of. The water tastes just like new milk, but somewhat nitrous, and if drank as in the river, troubled, it causes, in strangers, a flux; which, to prevent, they take a gallon or more of that water, and if they have not time to let it settle, they cast therein three or four bruised almonds, which, in less than an hour, clarifies it like crystal; which effect they have upon no other water, and therein is shewn the perfection of that.

At last arrived at Rossetto, and so by mule passed to Alexandria, I purposed from thence to take a voyage for Joppa; which passage I rather chose than the other of Damiata, much nearer, but more infested with pirates. Here, one day, I went to view the port of galleys, but was severely prohibited. 'Tis seeming contrary to the usual freedom of Turkey, made me suspect some notable defect in that harbour, which might hereafter be made use of; whereupon I went the next day secretly, unto a high decayed piece of a turret, upon the wall over that haven, to take a confederate view thereof. My access was espied, and I was dogged by an Egyptian, one, as I think, of the garrison hard by, whose violence produced an accident that made me forget all my other designs, and fly for safety of my life, unto a little French bark, which I knew was that day to depart for Sicily. We had not sailed above five or six leagues, but we saw a spectacle of a strain beyond the spirit of these times. It was thus: a Maltese gave chase to a Greek vessel, in search of Turks, or Turkish goods; the Greek laden with Turkish goods, made up

to us, who, carrying no flag, he judged us to be Turks; but when at hand, we appeared Christians, and from us no help to be had, he yielded. In the vessel were four Turks; three suffered themselves to be taken prisoners, the fourth, we all looking on, ran up to the stern, where taking a piece of cord, he tied his feet and one of his hands together, then threw himself headlong into the sea; in which resolute end, he shewed by what a short passage many a years misery may be prevented, where other reasons, or fear masked in them, enthrall not.

Our bark had twice before been taken by the Turks, and ransomed. This voyage met none, nor any notable danger, excepting one storm, wherein we had like to have split upon the rocks of Candy. Finally, after twelve days, we came to Siragossa in Sicily, from whence we went to Messina, and so to Palermo; whose delicacies, with my noble entertainment in the house of a French gentleman there, consoling general for his nation, stayed me to take a leisureable view of that kingdom, whose customs and government are so perfectly Spanish, as need not be set down apart; especially, this memorial, having not undertaken any thing beyond the affairs of Turkey, must not meddle with those of Christendom; only I may upon this country, remember an item given me by a very understanding Turk. In one part of the Archipelago, our captain, who went admiral to the whole armada, caused many of the galleons to be linked with cables: this I knew dangerous among so many islands, and at length we began to fall foul one upon another: whereupon I asked the Turk why we rode so linked; he replied, for to be ready altogether, if we light upon the Maltese. With that, under colour of magnifying them, I desired to learn how they understood Malta, and so told him, I wondered they would suffer such a spot of earth to trouble them, and not rather destroy it, when they had some spare time from greater enterprizes. He answered, that they would no more attempt Malta, but rather Sicily, which had better landing, and was able to maintain an army; and whose people having suffered under the French and Spaniard extremely, and finding no hopes in any other Christian prince, are not much averse to the Turkish government. Then, quoth he, if Sicily were ours, Malta must come in without blows, as victualled from Sicily, and be no way able to subsist, when we were on both sides of it. This discourse I could never esteem to the full, till I had been in Sicily, and principally once, when I heard some of them not stick to say, that the Greeks lived happier under the Turks, than they under the Spaniards. Yet I must note also, that of all the Christian states, the Turks are the worst provided to deal with the Spanish; for, of all others, that most subsists on the fortresses, which would prove hard knots to the Turk, whose nature and military orders are not in any one point so much defective as in that of siege. From Palermo I rode to Trapani, from thence I embarked for Naples, whose rarities entertained me some days; then went I by Rome; so by Florence and Bologna to Venice; where I arrived the eleventh month after my departure from thence; having in that time, according to the most received divisions of Turkey, been in nine kingdoms thereof, and passed six thousand miles and upward, most part by land.

Thus I have set down such observations as were of local passage, and naturally born along with the places whereon I took them. Now follow the more abstract and general, concerning the institutions of the whole empire; wherein I take but the accounts of a reckoning made in haste, and therefore subject to the disadvantage of a hasty view, that is, to overslip many things, and to see the rest but superficially; yet, usually quick glances take in the most eminent pieces; amongst which there are some like the dye of scarlet, better discerned by a passing eye than a fixed one. Of this nature I esteem the moral

moral points of behaviour; a new comer apprehends them with a judgment fresh and sincere, which further familiarity corrupts with affection or hatred, according as it meets a disposition conform or contrary. The most important parts of all states are four; arms, religion, justice, and moral customs. In treating of these, most men set down what they should be, and used to regulate that by their own silly education, and received opinions guided by sublimities, and imaginary moralities. This I leave to Utopians, who, doating on their phantastic supposals, shew their own capacity or hypocrisy, and no more. I, in remembering the Turkish institutions, will only register what I found them, nor censure them by any rule, but that of more or less sufficiency to their aim, which I suppose the empire's advancement. First, then, I note their arms, because in the sway of men's affairs it is found—*Omnia esse gladii potestate*; in that fear, as the strongest of our passions, awes all the rest. Their infantry consists of two sorts: first, such as are levied upon particular cities, they are more or less, according to occasion; the ability of the town, and distance from whence summoned. Many of them are Christians, and are sent forth much better furnished with cloaths, than with us; each town in several colours, and their arms sufficient. They are lodged and exercised without the city, almost a month before they begin to march. The other part and chief strength is of the Janizaries, whose number, at my being in Turkey, were four and forty thousand; which, as it fails, they used to supply upon occasion, but never exceed. The manner is to reinforce these bands thus; ever now and then there are sent out officers into divers provinces, especially the northern, who, out of all the Christian children, from the age of ten to eighteen, or twenty, chuse without stint or exception, such as they think fit, and carry them to Constantinople. These they call Agemoglans; then, after some observation of their persons, those of most promising parts are selected for the Grand Seignior's seraglios, either that of Constantinople or his other of Adrianople, where they are taught to read and write, to understand Arabic, to use their bow, with other weapons. Then cull they out the choicest sparks; who, as their capacities grow approved, are instructed in state affairs, and by degrees, taken into the highest preferments: these are called Ichoglans. The worst, and of least quality, are assigned to the drudgery of the household, to the gardens, and other base offices: some are made mariners, and galeots. The general sort, neither rare nor contemptible, are, by the Aga of the Janizaries, distributed abroad, where, without charge to the prince, they earn their living by hard labour, till the age of two and twenty; then so inured to endurance besitting a soldier, they are brought back, taught their arms, and prepared for service: these are enrolled Janizaries. This choice and education of persons, apt to each use, must needs make it excellently performed, as being more natural than the course of Christendom, where princes put arms into the hands of men, neither by spirit or education, martial, and entrust their chief employments with respect of birth, riches, or friends; which, to the service intended, are qualities not so proper as those personal abilities which prevail in the Turkish election. These, though the sons of Christians, hate that name above all others, and are found, as I have seen some of them, without any natural affection to their parents, as it were transplanted, acknowledging themselves the creatures of the Ottoman family; so much are the present engagements of life too strong for all former ties of blood. Their pay is perpetual, both in peace and war, more or less according to personal merit, which excites to notable attempts. Other preferment they receive none, unless it be a Timarre; for if any of them should be in honour, he might be too much regarded by his fellows, whom the prince will not permit to acknowledge any besides himself; for which respect this emperor, at Adrianople, as it were in face of the

army,

army, caused a great person once of this order, to be strangled, and proclaimed traitor, when I was in Hungary; whereat I heard many of the Janizaries speak insolently in public, yet durst they do no more, finding this prince's spirit too great for them.

They are never cast off; for when old or maimed, they are kept in garrison. This company was held devised in imitation of the Roman Prætorian Cohorts, or rather of the Macedonian Phalanx, and hath performed as bravely as either, but is now in great part corrupt; for, contrary to their primitive institutions, many of them marry, others follow merchandize. And whereas, heretofore, they were all chosen out of the sons of Christians, whereby that cause was kept under, and the Turkish so much increased, now the Christians are permitted, for money, to excuse their children, and the Turks to prefer theirs. Some hold this an error, a pernicious one, as lessening that due proportion which should be maintained between the compellers and the compelled. The Turks rather think the Christians now not so strong as heretofore, and therefore not to need the former diminution. Experience made me of this opinion, considering that it is many years since most of his Christian countries were taken in, and how every age dyes them of a more deep Mahometan than other; but should he win any Christian province anew, he would not spare, in this way, to exhaust it, till it were sufficiently enervated. The mortalest corruption of this order hath happened of late years; that is, knowing their own strength, and grown saucy with familiarity at court, they proceeded to such insolency as hath shed them in the blood of their Sovereign Sultan Osman; and in Mufapha, they have learnt that damnable secret of making and unmaking their king at pleasure; whereby the foundation of all monarchy, that is, the due awe towards the blood royal, is so irreparably decayed in them as, like the lost state of innocence, can never be restored.

This requires an erection of new bands, never tainted, to supplant these Janizaries, who else will grow to such a military anarchy as did the Prætorians of Rome in their empire, till they reduced it to nothing. Wherefore some think, that the expedition wherein the Grand Seignior hath now engaged his person against Persia, is designed with a resolution to spend the Janizaries very freely.

The cavalry is made up of two sorts; first, of Spahyglans, to the number of two and thirty thousand: these are continually near the court; out of them are chose troops to guard his royal person upon all removes: they used not to go to war except he went himself, but of late they are often sent with the Grand Vizier. The other sort of Spahies are termed Spahi-Timariots, from certain Timars or Feuds, given them for term of life, with obligation to serve on horseback, well accouered, wheresoever they shall be summoned. This is not much unlike our old tenures of knight-service or vicuage, but not hereditary. According to the value of the Timar, the Timariot is to come in with one, two, three, or more horses. I have seen many bring in five or six. This reason, till I was informed of, I wondered to see Cavaliers carry to the war such superfluous retinue, as frequently to have men riding after them, some bearing a coat, some a fiddle, many nothing. These Spahi-Timariots, besides their service in war, have another use no less important; that is, to awe the provinces wherein they live, and cause them to be well cultivated; wherefore, in all expeditions, many are left at home. They are bravely horrid, managing their lance and bow with much dexterity. Their number is uncertain, as ever multiplying, either upon better population of old possessions or conquest of new; so both peace and war increase them. Nothing but the loss of a province doth diminish them, for their death is but the pretermment of new defenders.

At this time the owners of the Timars are about three hundred thousand, whereto adding their companions, which they are obliged and never fail to bring in, they make in

in all above seven hundred thousand; which number was told me, with many other of their notes, by some of the Timariots in the army; where, though held a spy, they scorned to allict me, but rather chusing to glorify their state in my relation at home, informed me of all, and much against my will, forced me in their presence to write it down, which I did in Italian, and in terms so respective, as when the interpreter expounded, they received me exceeding kindly, making me eat, drink, and lodge in their tents all night. Besides the Spahies, there are another sort of horsemen, who are volunteers, serving at their own charge: they are of three sorts; some come in hopes of present booty, others to merit a Timar, the third in mere devotion to gain paradise, by dying for the Mahometan cause.

The first, of all others the basest, mixed of Turks and Christians, usually go before the army to spy and pillage. They, having rather the spirits of freebooters than of soldiers, would never stand one stroke of an encounter, but that the desperate bravery of their companies does often engage them irrevocably. The second sort are forward enough, especially where the service is eminent. The third are the most resolute troops of the army; they come like so many Decii, men vowed for the public; nor are they known ever to return home unless with victory. Some of them are daily seen singly to invade a whole squadron; others, after much assay of valour, open their breasts, and stand a volley of muskets. These men are heavy upon the enemy, for—*Vincitur laud gratis jugulo qui provocat hostem.*

This resolution is not the child of reason or honour, but bred by way of religion; for Mahomet, knowing he had not to deal with a scholastic and speculative generation, but with a people rude and sensual, made not his paradise to consist in visions and hallelujahs, but in delicious fare, pleasant gardens, and wenches with great eyes, who were ever peculiarly affected in the Levant. Now, to such as die in wars for the Mahometan faith, he promises that their souls shall suddenly have given them young lusty bodies, and set in paradise, eternally to enjoy those pleasures, notwithstanding any former sins. To those who die other deaths, he assigns a purgatory tedious, and at last, not such an height of pleasure. It is scarce credible what numbers these hopes bring in: I have seen troops sometimes above an hundred together. So effectual an instrument of state is superstition, and such deep impressions does it make, when fitted to the passions of the subject, and that useful in those whom neither reason nor honour could possess. The chief auxiliaries of the Turks are the Tartars, who live on this side mount Taurus; they are by us called the Petit Tartars, to distinguish them from those others of Chriem, who have much vaster dominions beyond the mountain, but thereby of difficult commerce with these parts of the world.

The great Turk hath made frequent affinity and league with these Petit Tartars, and hath entailed the crown upon them, in case the Ottoman line should fail; not only because when a small nation inherits a greater, the lesser is immersed in the access of the greater, which, under colour of losing itself, makes an acquest of its inheritor; but for other regards peculiar to that nation, especially for their situation upon the Black Sea, in such manner as they may at pleasure make sudden excursions to the very point of Constantinople itself; nor had the Turk any remedy, when absent, in impresses from home; wherefore he casts many ties upon them, and seldom goes to war without some of their troops; which, beside the aid and reputation they afford him, are a kind of hostage. In this preparation against Poland, there came down forty thousand of them to the camp, but were marched forward with the army before my arrival, so that I saw none of them, save some few sick and cashiered persons, who seemed more fallow and ill-favoured people than the Turks, not so well cloathed, nor so civil; and those Turks
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who wished me well, forewarned me from going amongst them, telling me their hatred to Christians was such, as they would go near to captive or rille me. When I entered the skirts of the empire, the same of their army, then marching for Poland, was, as some uses to be, excessive, threatening no less than seven hundred thousand; but upon nearer access, it scarce held up one hundred and fourscore thousand, reckoning in the Tartars; whereupon I much enquired why the Turkish armies were not now so numerous as in former times. Among many answers, the wisest hit upon three points: first, that the enemies now (excepting the Persian) were not so potent as heretofore: secondly, experience had taught them, that multitudes over-large are neither capable of order nor provision; wherefore, to avoid confusion and famine, they bring no more into the field than are necessary: the third was, before their dominions were enlarged, they thought it better to employ their multitudes in new conquests than to leave them idle, necessitous, and dangerous at home; but since their enlarged territories, they are distributed into colonies to people, and manage them, which thereby will, in time, become more populous and potent than ever. Thus did none of them acknowledge any diminution of people, as is plainly supposed by many who never viewed their great swarms and large plantations. The Turkish arms differ much from ours; their harquebuzze like our caliver; their scimeter, a crooked flat back-sword; at sea amongst ropes, or on horse-back, against armour, it excels a rapier, but in open fight is much inferior; it hath ever been the eastern weapon, as likewise their iron mace, which they use both for stroke and hurl: they are admirable with their bow and arrows. There is, among other trophies, at the castle-gate of Belgrade, set up a head-piece, which I hold petronel proof, shot clean through both sides, (and, as they say,) head and all, with one of their bows: the arrow, as all theirs are, like those little red ones which our children use, I saw yet sticking in the head-piece. They bear no weapons but in travel, then some of them seem like a moving armory; first, the girdle stuck with three or four pistols; then on each side a knife as long as my arm, with another of a foot long, for ordinary uses, tucked to his coat; an harquebuzze on his shoulder, on his thigh a scimeter; on the one side of the saddle-pommel a petronel, on the other a strait sword, the blade hollow, long, and four-square; by that either a little axe or an Hungarian mace, or both; at his back hang bow and arrows. When he comes to his lodging, all these, with his bridle full of brass gilt bosses, he fastens to the tree or wall where he rests; after, upon the ground spreads a blanket, whereon he first sups, then sleeps in his cloaths with his saddle instead of a pillow. Armour I think they have not so plentiful and compleat as we, yet I know not well, for it was ever packed up on horse or waggon; to three horsemen was allowed one waggon. I saw no musters nor marches near an enemy, and therefore have little experience of their discipline in that point. They march in rank and file with wonderful silence, which makes commands received readily; they are always provided with biscuit, dried flesh, and store of rice, with a kind of coarse butter, so as in the greatest desarts they are in plenty. Thus their armies pass the sandy barren countries towards Persia, with less fatigue than did the Romans in small numbers of old. One notable piece of their discipline they told me, that is, excepting none but the Janizaries to encompass all their other foot battalions in the rear, with the greatest part of the horse in form of a half-moon. They have orders not to meddle with the enemy, but only to necessitate their own forward, till they have gone through the opposite forces, and in case of flight to hold them out to slaughter; which done, themselves begin upon the enemy. Thus, that necessity which is the mother of all brave performances in vulgar spirits, and which the ancients so much sought to cast upon the soldier, by hills, rivers, and such situations, the Turks carry along in all places, thereby forcing valour even out of fear; so serving themselves

themselves effectually of people neither valiant nor affectionate, and that without intreaties, donations, or other inconvenient indulgence of government. Thus much of their land forces. Their navies are provided for the seas within their own dominions; the chief are the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. The Hellespont I esteem but a passage from the one to the other. Their Bosphoran fleet trades into the Black Sea upon several services, as to invade the Muscovites, Circassies, Cossacks, with others, returning in July or August, laden with honey, wax, and especially wood and slaves, which it transports to Alexandria, buying therewith flax, sugar, sherbets, rice, tapestry, corn, and other Egyptian commodities; with which, and part of the tribute in January, they return for Constantinople; so enjoying the trade-winds, which in those parts usually in summer sit northerly, and in winter southerly.

The other part of their navy serves upon the Mediterranean; it is called the Barbary fleet: it is the more warlike, and acknowledges the Grand Signior, but not so absolute, for the gains of the other fleet goes to his coffers; but what the Moors get is their own, which makes them more earnest in piracy, and desirous to be held as pirates, to gain a kind of liberty, and that all Christians may be prize, without any impediment by league at court. This the Turk grants under their excuse of their disobedience and piracy; he infects those Christians who, being in league with him, he could by no other pretence weaken; and this also, in case of necessity, keeps him an exercised fleet for war. That this is connivance appears plain, for he claims and protects their cities, though not their persons; and they never make booty of Turkish goods or subject, though a Christian; and divers of them I saw sailing in the midst of the royal armado; yet they counterfeit the pirate so well, that the gallees and vessels of Algiers will not come within the Dardanelles; and myself, not then knowing this art, had at Rhodes, by a rash mistake, almost lost my liberty; where the admiral's galleon of Tripoly, coming for fresh water, rode in the mouth of the port above three hours, without casting anchor, as pretending fear of being within command: this made me judge it an English ship, as likewise the colours, which so far off I took for the king's. Wherefore, desirous to see my countrymen, I hired a Greek boatman to carry me thither, where being almost arrived, I perceived my desperate error; from whence I was forced with entreaty, money, and my dagger at his breast, to make him row me off.

The Turks are but ill provided with seamen; for besides renegadoes, they have but few skilful sailors, and would have had fewer, but that, as of old, the Carthaginian hostility exercised the Romans at sea, who else had not so early learned navigation, and by consequence could not so soon have mastered the world. Just so (though in a far weaker manner) doth Florence and Malta contest with the Turk at sea, enough to practice but not defeat him. To which effect I have heard some of them say, by way of jeer, that the Grand Duke and Malta did by the Grand Signior, like little barking dogs about a lion, keep him awake; and if sometimes they ventured to give him a nip, it did but rouse him, without any hurt of importance: for ought I knew, they had reason; for though resistance be necessary, yet when so insufficient it is worse than none.

Their terms of navigation are Italian, owing either to their slaves being most of that nation, or that themselves, inlanders originally, have a language defective in maritime affairs. Their vessels are either Turkish built or prizes; their own built they call *caramuzads*, many whereof are great ships; all have rounds on the outside like stairs, the stern and fore-castle built four or five stories high, so as I have seen some of them carry seven or eight hundred passengers. That form makes them slow of sail, unwarlike, and easily overfet by weather. Their gallees are light, of an excellent mould, and endure an high sea, especially those of Rhodes.

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The main strength of both their fleets, are tall ships taken from the Hollanders, where the cowardise of that nation is made a weapon against all Christendom, and teaches us what a virtuous cruelty it would be to bar ransom, or return to all who yield their ships, upon what odds soever. All great examples have a little of the unjust. Now though this might seem hard measure to such who yielded upon extreme odds, yet were it neither so general a mischief, nor so important as the contrary indulgence; and men would not only become more resolute in those necessities, but more wary of going ill provided.

Nothing makes the Hollanders so faint, as the Turkish known decree of impunity, and personal liberty to such as surrender without discharge of artillery; wherefore they seeing present safety in yielding, and no future destruction at home, do easily give up other men's goods for their own security. Upon these terms the admiral's galleon wherein I sailed, a goodly vessel of forty brave pieces, had been taken, as the Turks assured me, by two of their polakers of ten or twelve guns a piece. Our ships they do not willingly set upon, not only for their able defence, but also because the vessel, which used to be a considerable piece of the booty, is to them unuseful; for their employments being piracy, can make little use of an English bottom, whose mould is too slow for that purpose; wherewith they asked me how we did in war at sea, where our enemies might come on, or off, at leisure. I replied, those which came into their seas, were private merchants vessels of trade, flugs made only for burden and weather; but for war our king had a royal navy of another frame, the best for sail and fight in the world.

The strangest thing I found among the Turkish mariners, was their incredible civility: I, who had often proved the barbarism of other nations at sea, and above all others of our own, supposed myself amongst bears, till by experience I found the contrary; and that not only in ordinary civility, but with so ready service, such a patience, so sweet and gentle a way generally through them all, as made me doubt whether it was a dream or real. If at any time I stood in their way, or encumbered their ropes, they would call me with a *Janum*, or *Benum*, terms of greatest affection, and that with an incline, a voice, a gesture so respectful, as assured me their other words (which I understood not) were of the same strain. The captain's chief gain in this voyage is by passengers; yet if interest share in this behaviour, they are not quite void of it that can act it so well: nor are they irreligious, for all the voyage, morning and evening, they salute the sun with three general shouts, and a priest saying a kind of litany, every prayer ending with *Macree kichoon*, that is, be angels present; the people answer, in manner of a shout, *Homin*, that is, Amen.

Thus much of the military part of Turkey; to which I add the point of fortification: herein their proceeding is directly contrary to the Spaniards; he not having multitudes of his own sufficient to plant colonies, is forced in all his conquests (if he will have any people to govern over) to preserve the naturals. Now they not being assured in affection, must be awed by fortress, which is a way not only unsure, but so chargeable, as makes him gain but little by his winnings.

The Turk, on the other side, well stored with people, first considers what number of his own he will assign for Timariots to each province which he takes; then he destroys all its nobility, and so far of the vulgar, till there rest only such a proportion as may till the land, and be awed by those Timariots, with other forces ready; that remainder is kept to manure the land. This thus established, he needs not the fortress for himself, nor will he leave it a refuge for enemies or rebels: yet if it be a frontier,

he does not quite demolish it, but keeps it in such case as may hold out till he might send an army, ever supposing himself master of the field; wherefore, as it stands in more or less danger, so it is provided. Thus, in Hungary the castle of Belgrade is neither rased, nor carefully maintained; but that of Buda is guarded with a strong garrison: all those within the kingdom are pulled down, so it is in his other countries. His maritime fortifications, because of sudden access by sail, are held in the rule of frontiers, and withal to command the haven, yet is not the care of them so diligent as in Christendom. They every where gave me free access, excepting Egypt, where the extraordinary subtle malice of that people, makes more vigilance and restraint than elsewhere. Now follows their religion, wherein I noted only the politic institutions thereof: these observations moving only in that sphere, cannot jar with a higher, though the notion seem contrary. Mahomet, noting the outward solemnities wherewith other religions entertained the minds of men, he judged them perhaps in part effeminate, as those dainty pictures and music in churches, those strange vestures and processions; and partly chargeable, as those stately sacrifices, and other solemnities of the heathen, and all driven already to that heighth, as he could not outgo; wherefore he refused to build his sect thereon; nor did he much affect to support it with miracles, whose credit frequent impostors had rendered suspected to the world, but rather chose to build it upon the sword, which with more assurance commands mankind. Every novelty draws men in for a while; but where the gain is not great, they soon grow weary, unless compulsion hold them on; therefore, in his first beginnings, when he was asked what miracles he had to prove his doctrine, he, drawing forth his scimitar, said, that God having had his miracles so long slighted by the incredulity of men, would now plant his laws with a strong hand, and no more leave them to the discretion of ignorant and vain man; and that he had therefore sent him in the power of the sword, rather than of miracles. From hence it is, that now their boys ride to circumcision, bearing an iron club in their hands. Nevertheless he failed not to frame his sect so as might take human nature; not the intellectual part, for all superstition subsists on weak hypotheses, whose plausible reason may for a while prevail in the world, by possessing some shallow, rash, peremptory brains, but cannot hold out long, unless it had better root than that of argument: he therefore made it comply with the main parts of our nature, hope and fear; to the one he set out a paradise; to the other, though not a hell, yet a shrewd purgatory. His preaching of paradise more than hell, favours hope above fear, thereby filling the mind with good courage, which was much to his military purpose; for he finding the sword to be the foundation of empires, and that to manage the sword, the rude and sensual are more vigorous than wits softened in a mild rational way of civility, did first frame his institutions to a rude, insolent sensuality: after which education, he fitted his future pretences just unto such capacities. Wherefore seeing that men's opinions are in great part complexional and habitual, it is no wonder to see them taken with promises, which to us seem beastly and ridiculous. They as much despise ours; and in a more natural way every thing is received, not at the rate of its own worth, but as it agrees with the receiver's humour, whereby their hopes and fears, though false, prevail as strongly as if true, and serve the state as effectually, because, opinion, which moves all our actions, is governed by the apparancy of things, not by the reality. Now, to the intent that the most notable fancies of men might be entertained, there are four several orders in their religion, all very malicious against Christians: otherwise I had not noted them vicious, excepting their professed sodomy, which in the Levant is not held a vice. Each order upholds its reputation upon some one peculiar virtue, which alone it professes, not pretending to any

any other. The Calenderim, upon chastity, wearing an iron ring through the skin of his yard; in some I have noted it capable of being taken off with small difficulty. The Haggiemlar, on music and love-songs. The Torlacchi, on revelation and enthusiasm, to fortel and divert divine wrath. The most rigid spirits are the Dervissar, like Baal's priests, launching themselves with knives. These Dervissar have murdered divers bashaws, and also attempted some of the emperors in the midst of their armies; so dangerous are violent spirits when seconded by religion, which being the only pretence, in its way glorified to umpire sovereign authority, is to be kept within its due limits, lest instead of co-operating with the state, it grow abused beyond that use.

All these sects are governed by one head, called the Mufti, whose authority unites and orders them, suppressing such disorders as the scruples or interest of men raise. This Mufti is created by the emperor, to whom he is held ever subordinate, which makes the Turkish theology excellently to correspond with the state, as depending thereon; and seems of reason more politic, than if this ecclesiastic head were of another country, or otherwise independent upon the prince; whereby having interests apart, he might often make God Almighty seem to decree more conformable thereto, than either to the occasions of the prince or commonwealth, for all heathenish gods are used like puppets; they seem to speak, yet it is not they, but the man who, in a concealed manner, speaks through them what he pleases: that part is acted by the expounders of their Alcoran now, as of the oracles or Sybils books of old. Hereby the Mufti serves to animate the soldiers, by colouring of public impressions with divine authority, and also to decide controversies, when they are too unruly for any arbitrament, not held divine; wherefore he frequently consults with the Grand Vizier, who, as the soul of the state, inspires him to the purpose thereof. Full of that god he gives his oracles; they pass for grounded upon the Alcoran, which is given out for the word of God; it is written in Arabic verse, in form of dialogue, between the angel Gabriel and their prophet; it is prohibited to be translated, which both preserves the Arabic tongue, and conceals religion. All set texts are obnoxious to several expositions, thence grows distraction: so hath this bred four different sets of Mahometans, each interpreting it according to the genius of its nation, the Tartars simply, the Moors and Arabs superstitiously, the Persians ingenuously, the Turks with most liberty; each nation scorns to yield unto other in opinion, for honour's sake, especially the Turk and Persian, who, intending the conquest of one another, do, after the old custom of princes, disaffect their people in religion towards the enemy, that they may be more fierce and obstinate against him. In this point the Turk grows disadvantaged, for of late his people begin to be infected with Persianism. I have heard many of them in public acknowledge the Persians better Mahometans than themselves; which makes the Turks much braver soldiers upon the Christian than upon the Persian: against the one, they are carried by zeal, malice, and disdain; but against the other, only by a national emulation. This impression is made deeper by many other circumstances, inasmuch as divers Janissaries have told me, that they go to the wars of Persia very unwillingly, but to those of Poland or Hungary as to pastimes. One of their priests told me of an old prophecy they have, That their emperor should win the red apple, and in the seventh year after, if they did not defend themselves bravely, the Christians should overcome them; but howsoever, in the twelfth, they should at the farthest be overcome by the Christians. The red apple, he said, was Constantinople, though some, quoth he, hold it to be Rome. I holding such prophecies rather cunning than true, searched after the plot thereof; wherefore I intreated him to tell me how much time

was contained in those years; he answered, that each year some had limited by the age of Mahomet; but, quoth he, in vain, for it is prohibited us to search into the times appointed: that clause gave me some light, for I remembered, among other causes of a state's preservation, one assigns proximity of danger: his reason is, because apprehension of danger causes vigilance and diligence, wherein lies safety. Hereupon this prophet, to make the Turks vigilant against the Christians, threatens them with the seventh year, yet not so inevitable, but valour may resist; and to make every year provided against, as that, therefore it is prohibited to fix the time determinate: then their fatal destruction, not to pass the twelfth year, makes them in the mean while use the Christians, as their future destroyers, with much hostility, as a revenge anticipated; which serves right to the purpose of the state. And when all comes to all, those years (as such prophetic times use) are like to prove very long ones.

Amongst other qualities whereby Mahometism possesses the minds of men, one is its pleasing doctrine. I remember when their prophet in the Alcoran asks the angel concerning venery, and some other delicacies of life, he tells him that God did not give man such appetites to have them frustrated, but enjoyed, as made for the gust of man, not his torment, wherein his creator delights not. These kind of opinions will ever be welcome to flesh and blood; when as the contrary over great severity of discipline would have pleased none, but some few austere complexions, and to the greater part would have seemed but a persecution of nature, or perhaps hypocritical, whose reputation might have soon been lost in scandal.

The cunning of that seconding human inclination, appears in the different success of two politic acts of the Alcoran; the one permits polygamy, to make a numerous people, which is the foundation of all great empires; the other pretending a devil in every grape, prohibits wine: thereby it hardens the soldier, prevents disorder, and facilitates public provision. The first, as pleasing to nature, is generally received; the other is borne down by appetite, so as more drink wine than forbear it. Thus, he maintaining his institutions by seconding of human disposition, succeeds more readily than those whose ordinances, by crossing it, go as it were against the grain. Now the greatest number of men being governed by passions, in all people they have been entertained, for the present life, with justice; for the future, with religion: yet there were ever found some few intellectual complexions, in whom the understanding prevailed above the passions. Those discerning wits could not receive the gross suppositions upon which the heathenish superstitions relied; wherefore, to train them in such ways as civil societies require, they were instructed in a seeming rational way, wherein they were amused about an intelligible world, stored with rewards of honour, virtue, and knowledge; with punishments of infamy, vice, and ignorance. These were to them instead of Elysian fields, or infernal rivers, and, as some scoffers think, but of little better assurance, only righter framed to such capacities. By these speculations, contemplative heads, who else might dangerously have busied themselves about state affairs, were finally moped and diverted. To which purpose I have often considered, whether learning is ever like to come in request among the Turks, and as far as conjecture may venture, I doubt not thereof, for learning is not admitted in the beginning of empires—*emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros*, and so weakeneth the sword: but when once that hath bred greatness and sloth, then with other effeminacies come in letters. Thus, in Rome, at the first, philosophers were banished as inactive, but upon the conquests of Carthage and Greece they crept in; and the Turkish empire consists much of those countries, whose air makes speculative wits, and which of old bred the greatest divines, philosophers, and poets in the world: wherefore, though for some ages the
Turkish

Turkish race may retain its own proper fierceness, yet in time those subtle climates and mixture in blood with the people thereof, will gentelize and infect it with the ancient softness natural to those places. I have often seen copies of love verses, and some few pieces of mathematics, pass amongst them with much applause. I saw one for singing, and composing of two or three sonnets, had at a feast in Belgrade or Hungary, a horse given him worth near twenty pounds English; and in the access of all arts, poets have ever made the first entry, as with their fictions and music, aptest to charm savage brains. Thus, Orpheus in Greece, and our bards in England, began the dance to all other sciences. Statuary and painting can never come into Turkey, by reason of their superstition, which not only abhors worshipping of such forms, but making of them. As for other learning, it is like to insinuate but by degrees, and with many repulses, as a corruption most pernicious to their religion, especially the searching parts of philosophy, which stomach that sensual paradise, as hath been noted in Averroes, Avicenna, and others who could not endure it: thereupon the academy, which began to rise up at Bagadat, was suppressed; yet let no man conclude that this can hinder philosophy, for there can never want wits able to bend it to religion with them, as well as Plato with the Grecians, and Aquinas with the Romanists.

Now the natural course of things much follows the sun, who gives life to all; wherefore this Cycloptedia hath been observed to run from east to west. Thus, have most civilities and sciences came, as some think, from the Indian gymnosophists into Egypt, from thence into Greece, so into Italy, and then over the Alps, into these faint north-west parts of the world, whence if the Inquisition hinder not, perhaps they may pass into those new plantations westward, and then return in their old circle among the Levantines, whose wits seem more abstruse, and better fixed for contemplation, but ours more nimble and ready, so as their discourses are more profound, ours more superficial and plausible; and were I to account for the loss of their ancient authors, I should not only accuse language, tyranny, war, and ecclesiastical interest but especially this different relish, and strain of our fancy from theirs, for I have found it in conceits, as in airs of music. In great part that takes not with them which much affects us: our very reason differs. Before I close this point of Turkish religion, I must remember two principal points; one is predetermination, the other purgatory: the first not meant in matters of salvation, but of fortune and success in this life, they peremptorily assert fixed destiny, and not avoidable by any act of ours. I had two notable examples, one was at Rhodes, where just as we entered the port, a French lackey of our company died with a great plague sore, which he had caught of the gunner's mate, who, with one running upon him, conversed, and slept amongst us. The rest were so far from fear at his death, as they sat presently eating and drinking by him, and within half an hour after his removal, slept on his blanket, with his cloaths instead of a pillow; which when I advised them not to do, they pointed to their foreheads, telling me it was written there at their birth when they should die. They escaped, yet divers of the passengers died thereof before we got to Egypt. The other was in my passage to Adrianople in Thrace: myself, the Janissary, and one more being in the coach, we passed by a man of good quality, and a soldier, who lying along, with his horse by him, could hardly speak so much as to intreat us to take him into the coach. The Janissary made our companion ride his horse, taking the man in, whose breast being open and full of plague tokens, I would not have had him received; but he in like manner, pointing to his own forehead and mine, told me we could not take hurt, unless it were written there, and that then we could not avoid it. The fellow died in the night by our sides; and in our indemnity approved this confidence to be sometimes fortunate.

fortunate, how wise soever; doubtless for the public it causes valour, and prevents that interruption if trade, wherewith the office of health in Italy ruins greater numbers daily, than any plague ever did. I thought this opinion of fate had usually taken men off from all industrious care of their own safety; but in dangers at sea, and other cases where diligence may evidently import, I have still found the contrary; and in such occurrence as these, where industry is not of manifest avail, this assurance does not so much hurt in leaving vain care, as good in strengthening the spirits, whose decay yields a man up to all bad impressions. They admit no hell for any but those who believe not Mahomet; their own people they affright with a purgatory, which holds but till dooms-day. It is acted in the grave; the pain is inflicted by a bad angel, whose force is lessened by a good one, according as the party's life was led. To strengthen this good angel, they do many works of charity. This furnisheth all Turkey with excellent banes, hospitals, and meskeetoes; this makes the best bridges, and highways that can be imagined, and stores them with fountains for the relief of passengers: These fair works so caused, seemed to me like dainty fruit growing out of a dung-hill; but the virtues of vulgar minds are of so base a nature, as must be manured with foolish hopes and fears, as being too gross for the finer nutriment of reason. These were the chief points I observed in their religion; only the manner of its exercise remains, which, in brief, is thus; to every meskeeto is adjoined a high slender spire steeple, on the outside whereof on high, is made round with a door opening south east, or east, as the country lies towards Mecca; here the priest entering, with his hands bowed over his ears, walking round, turning on the right hand, with a loud voice tells the people many times over, that there is but one God. This being done, all the devouter sort, which are not many, go to church, and say their prayers, and continually repeating—*Alloyh-Valloyh-Hibilloyp*, that is, the several names of God. Their gestures are first sitting cross-legged, waisting of the body; then prostrating themselves twice on their face, they kiss the earth; afterward they rise, and stand with their hands bowed over their ears, but never do they kneel, or uncover the head, holding those postures unmanly; so different are the opinions of nations in point of reverence and decency. This service is performed five times a day, first at day-break, then at mid-day, at midst of the afternoon, at sun-set, and more than an hour after. The first and last made a fine show, having all the meskeetoes hung full of burning lamps. This frequency of prayer requires none to the church but persons at leisure; others make their houses or highways serve, and was devised by Sergius the monk, as it is thought in imitation of his four times of *Pater noster*; knowing that religion runs no greater danger than of oblivion, and therefore should be often called to mind. Their chief day is Friday, yet it hinders no market for ought I could see, and seemed of no more regard, than a saint's day almost worn out. They have two solemn times, Byram and Ramdan; they are both Lents, the first lasts three days, the other a month; their fast is according to the Jewish manner, not in quantity or quality of meat, but in time; for all day long they may neither eat, drink, nor use any sort of venery; but at the appearing of the first star they make themselves amends in gluttonness, drunkenness, and lust. They have one piece of divinity, which I wonder is not transplanted to other countries; that is, a custom of the priests to sell their merit; some more, some less, according to the sanctimony of the seller, and time limited. I once, at Sophia, saw one sell the virtue of two years hermitage for a piece of blue cloth sufficient for two Turkish coats, and a quantity of rice, about five bushels English: price enough considering the wear in itself; and yet not dear, if we reckon the advantages of a religious reputation. Next their church, I must place the tribunal, for their judges are always ecclesiastical

persons; whereby both orders joined give reputation to one another, and not only reputation, but maintenance; for these places of judicature are the only preferment of the priesthood, wherewith the priest and judge being maintained in the same person, two gaps are stopped with one bush, without causing any part of the land to lie dead in the hands of the clergy, or otherwise impoverishing the people with tithes. There are divers orders of judges, especially two; the Cady, and over him the Moulacady, like a lord chief justice; the supreme head of judicature is the Musli. In great cases there lies appeal; but none beyond the Musli; his decrees the emperor himself will not question, for indeed they are secretly guided by his assent, and the Grand Vizier's. These judges are all, excepting the Musli, limited to set precincts, and when convicted of corruption, they are made horrid examples. The main points wherein the Turkish justice differs from that of other nations are three; it is more severe, speedy, and arbitrary. They hold the foundation of all empire to consist in exact obedience, and that in exemplary severity; which is undeniable in all the world, but more notable in their state, made up of several people different in blood, sect, and interest, one from another, not linked in affection, or any common engagement towards the public good, other than what mere terror puts them upon; a sweet hand were ineffectual upon such a subject, and would soon find itself slighted; therefore the Turkish justice curbs, and executes, without either remorse or respect, which succeeds better than ever the Romans did, with all their milder arts of civility. Compare their conquests with those made by the Turk, and you will find his to continue quiet and firm, theirs not secure for many ages; witness first Italy, then Greece, and France, always full of rebellions, conspiracies and new troubles, which were caused by their lenity, that did not humble the conquered so low as it should; for rebellion is nothing but bold discontent; so that as there is required discontent, so must there be also some strength of spirit, without which the discontent cannot quicken into rebellion, but faints into a stupified humility. All victory disgusts the subdued; a mild victor leaves that disgusted spirit for mischief, but the remorseless way of the Turk mortifies it, by an oppression which secures him: to this effect, I have heard divers of them boast, that God hath appointed them for an iron rod over other nations; and in most parts of Turkey, especially Slavonia, Bosnia, Hungary, Macedonia and Thrace, the fiercest people of that empire, over all public places he sets a great iron club, to intimate what they must trust to, nor does he so much rely upon the people's affection, which would tie him to a respectful, and less absolute domination, and then also be in their power to alter, as that strength which is in his own hand makes him more himself, and binds with the tie of fear, whereunto human nature is ever enthralled. The second point wherein their justice excels, is the quick dispatch. If the business be present matter of fact, then, upon the least complaint, the parties and testimonies are taken, and suddenly brought before the judge by certain Janizaries, who with great slaves guard each street, as our night watchmen at London. The cause is ever in less than two hours dispatched, execution instantly performed, unless it appear a cause so important, as is allowed an appeal to the Moulacady, where also it is as speedily decided. If it be matter of title or right, the parties name their witnesses, who shall presently be forced to come in; for they have no old deeds, or any other record or memory of man; in such cases possession and modern right carries it, without that tedious course of looking too far backward into the times past. This expedition avoids contention, and clears the court, whereby it becomes sufficient for many causes, and so for a great people. Now, as for the particular person, though sometimes he seems disadvantaged by the haste, which may make judgment rash; yet that haste not being passionate, it happens not

often; nor then likely is his damage therein worse than with us, where after the fuspence, delay, and charge of suit, the oversight of a lawyer may, with error of pleading, lose a good cause: so that after a man hath been miserably detained to such disadvantage of his other affairs, that he had better have lost his suit at first, then doth it finally depend not so much on its own bare right, as upon the advocate's sufficiency. The last notable point of their judicature is, they have little fixed laws, and therewith flourishing, make good that of Tacitus—in *peffima republica plurimæ leges*; yet they pretend to judge by the Alcoran; whereby the opinion of divine authority does countenance those arbitrary decisions, which without some authentic law to justify them, would hardly be endured. This Alcoran is manifestly no book of particular law cases, wherefore they pretend its study does not inform the judge literally, but by way of illumination, which not being given to secular persons, does neatly put losers off from referring themselves to the text. The justice being arbitrary, makes it in their opinion the more to the purpose of the public; for the judges knowing themselves but instruments of state, and that in its favour is their establishment, they will ever judge by the interest thereof, if not out of honesty, yet for their own advancement.

I must eternally remember the Turkish justice for honour to strangers, whereof I have had twice experience; first at Saraih in Bosnah, where I was forced to justice by a Christian, whom I had fore wounded, for threatening to buy me for a slave. When the cause was declared by two Turks, my companions, the judge not only freed me with words and gesture very respective, but fined my adversary in forty dollars, and menaced him with death if any mischief were plotted against me.

Another time, at Adrianople, eleven or twelve of us supping together, all Turks but myself, there was a foulack, who is an officer very eminent about the emperor's person; he got so beastly drunk, as in the night, he having a lodging in the top of the hane, mistook himself, tumbled off to the ground, and within few hours died. The next morning all the company were imprisoned but me, who in the night had escaped out at a decayed corner of the hane, and hid myself under a bridge without the city. Every man was fined as circumstance did either excuse or aggravate; the least paid four thousand aspers, some twice as much. The judge, by reason of my flight, suspected some extraordinary guilt in me, and had sent out Janizaries for my apprehension.

I, seeing the outrageous drunkenness of the Turks, had all my voyage pretended for little less than a commandment in the religion of my country, not to drink above three draughts at a meeting, whereby the respect of conscience gave me that privilege of sobriety, which no other excuse could have obtained; wherefore, when the judge was by the rest informed of my abstinence, and that I had no hand in the excess, he called back the officers, and pronounced me free; wherein, whether he regarded me as abstemious, or as a stranger, I could not learn. One custom in their justice I have found, which confutes our vulgar maxim, that says no commerce can be maintained without fidelity of oath, for all Turkey is but a miscellany of people, whose religions have little effect upon the conscience; and that drowned in faction against one another, some of them, as the Zinganaes, do not so much as pretend to any God: in this case an oath were of too slender credit for matters of importance; for he who will commit testimony to oath, must be sure to uphold in the people an awful and tender sense of divine power, or else in trusting oaths with trials, he exalts knavery in the oppression of truth; wherefore they put not the witnesses to oath, but examine them apart, wherein some wise Daniels may have such art of questions so unexpected, and of such secret consequence, as no premeditate agreement can prevent: a false witness endures what the accused should have done, had he been guilty. The word of a

known Turk, upon the faith of a Musselman, bears down all other testimony, unless relieved by strong circumstances. Three women make but one witness.

When any man dies, the land in most parts of Turkey is in the emperor's gift, who also hath the tenth of his moveables, the rest first pays the widows their jointure agreed and inrolled; then what remains is equally divided among his children. The son of any great commander neither inherits his father's dignity, nor is admitted to new. Thus are both riches and honour hindered from continuing in a family, wherely none hath any credit with the people, but as instruments to the Grand Seignior, who being sole giver of all, every man fits himself to his employments, without possibility of any greatness unserviceable, independant, or dangerous to the crown. For place, the right-hand they hold uppermost for the clergy, and the left for a soldier, because it gives a man possession of his companion's sword. Thus, do both orders converse without the depression of either. Upon this body of their laws, I will set one note concerning their head. Every state is then best fitted, when its laws and governors suit with the end whereto it is framed. A state ordered only to preservation, is then happy when its laws not only bid peace, for that is vain, but contrive it, and when the prince is of a peaceable nature; but the Turkish empire is originally composed to amplify by war, and for that purpose keeps the soldiery in continual pay, wherefore it is best fitted to a prince of nature violent and warlike, of which strain the Mahometan race used to be; and when any of them hath chanced to prove mild, though never so just and religious, it hath been found less profitable and glorious to the empire, than the violence of the others, although accompanied with much tyranny. Therefore the supposed errors of Sultan Murat, now reigning, being manifestly those of a stout spirit, agree with the violent nature of the government, wherein they are not so pernicious as the Christians imagine. To these better parts of their justice, I must attack the main disorder which defames it, that is, their insatiable covetousness, which, in a moral or theological way, this discourse cannot lay hold on; but in civil respects, it is a thing of dangerous effect, many times disappointing commands of greatest consequence. Charles the eighth of France lost the kingdom of Naples, not so much by any other error, as by the covetousness of his treasurer, the cardinal of San Malo, in detaining such disbursements as the king had appointed to the provisions thereof; nor can there be any greater defeat of public designs, than when the commands whereon they rely, are by the avarice of the inferior magistrate made frustrate: wherefore I noted it as a pernicious piece of government, that after the Bashas had at Sophia made public proclamation to hang all Janizaries who should be found behind them, yet did I see many very confidently stay behind, and make their peace for money with the governors of provinces. Some told me, that if it should come to the emperor's notice, he would put those governors to cruel deaths; and certainly such errors can have no less remedies: wherefore Polybius, and others, as they write, that the Africans were always more covetous than those of Europe, so also do they accuse them of more cruelty; and sometimes cruelty is not only the cure of their avarice, but the effect of it, for they gladly take any colour for execution upon those whose death affords a good consideration. The fourth point proposed, was their moral parts: those I compare to glasses; the education and laws of a country are the moulds wherein they are blown to this or that shape, but the metal is the spirit of a man, therefore with that I will begin. It hath been maintained, that men are naturally born, some for slavery, others to command; divers complexions make men timid, dextrous, patient, industrious, and of other qualities right for service; others are naturally magnanimous, considerate, rapacious, daring, and peremptory. No man can say, nature intends the one sort to obey, the other to rule;

for if nature hath intentions, yet it is vanity to argue them by our model—*quis illi à parata?* but sure the latter are very prone to invade the others, and they as apt to bear. This difference of spirit is manifest sometimes in whole nations; as to compare the Spanish with the Sicilian, the bravery of the one, and the pusillanimity of the other, seems naturally to mark out the one for domination, the other for bondage. Thus, if ever any race of men were born with spirits able to bear down the world before them, I think it to be the Turk; he is in his behaviour (howsoever otherwise) the right son of Ishmael; every man's hand is against him, and his against every man. Between Christendom and Persia, he hath all the world against him, he still designs one or both for his task, and that not, as other princes, for counterpoise, with intent of peace, but with a resolution, irrevocably engaged, to be all or nothing. Unto the greatness of their empire, I do much ascribe the greatness of their spirit. No man can expect in Luca or Genna such vast solid men as in old Rome, for mighty empires exercise their subjects in mighty employments, which makes them familiar with admirable examples and great victories, whereby their minds are enlarged; whereas petty states, with their petty employments, timid counsels, and frequent disgraces, impoverish, and enfeeble mens fancies, rendering them pusillanimous, and too strait for great thoughts. Now, as all constitutions of bodies are prone to several diseases peculiar to their frame, so have the minds of men to their divers abilities some proper way of error; the subtle use to be malicious, false, and superstitious; the timid incline to breach of promise, to base ways of revenge, and the like; the magnanimous are apt to be corrupted with an haughty insolency, though in some sort generous. This is the Turkish way, remorseless to those who bear up, and therefore mistaken for beastly; but such it is not, for it constantly receives humiliation with much sweetness: this to their honour and my satisfaction I ever found; I had almost hourly experience thereof, which my unfoiled success makes me not blush to remember: yet not to weary my pen, I will note only my second day's journey, which in the contrary entertainment of myself and a Rhagusean, gave me the first taste. I, clad in Turkish manner, rode with two Turks an hour before our caravan; we found four Spahi Timariots by a river, where we stayed; they were at dinner, and, seeing by my head I was a Christian, they called to me; I not understanding what they would have, stood still, till they, menacing their weapons, rose and came to me with very ugly looks; I, smiling, met them, and taking him who seemed of most port by the hand, layed it to my forehead, which with them is the greatest sign of love and honour; then often calling him Sultanum, spoke English, which though none of the kindest, yet I gave it such a sound, as, to them who understood no further, might seem affectionate, humble, and hearty, which so appeared them, as they made me sit and eat together, and parted lovingly. Presently after they met the caravan, where was the Rhagusean, a merchant of quality, who came in at Spalatra, to go for Constantinople; he being cloathed in the Italian fashion, and spruce, they jostled him: he not yet considering how the place had changed his condition, stood upon his terms, till they, with their axes and iron maces, the weapons of that country, broke two of his ribs, in which case we left him behind half dead, either to get back as he could, or be devoured of beasts. Not two hours after, I walking alone on the other side of the river, met six or seven more, who espying a dagger in my pocket, snatched it suddenly, and set it against my breast; wherewith, one of them speaking Italian, I won so far upon them with respectful words, that they had me into a house, where we eat, drank, and lodged together; and though some got very drunk, none offered me any injury, but kindly advised me to lay aside that weapon, and use such as the country permitted. Finally, after daily success in the like kind, I grew so confident of the

Turkish nature, as when lances or knives were often set against me, I doubted not myself, unless it were by a drunkard, or a soldier volunteer; for drink makes the fancy of the one uncertain, and the other going to merit paradise by killing of Christians, was no safe company for me; nor were my ways being framed only to receive insolency, able to entertain malice, especially a malice engaged by religion. This haughty disposition of others makes the fashions of other countries rather despised than imitated; so that in all the inland of Turkey, where Christian merchants use not, if I appeared in the least part clothed like a Christian, I was tufted like an owl among other birds. At first I imputed it to barbarism, but afterwards lamenting thereof to one of the better sort, to note how they understood it, he told me they would have no novelties, and therefore would disgrace all new examples. Then I perceived it to be a piece rather of institution than incivility; for they desiring perpetual hostility with the Christians, must estrange the people from their customs as much as may be. Now there is no innovation draws in foreign manners faster than that of apparel: besides that, it seems honourable for the Turkish nation to retain their ancient habit of cloathing; for as the French court gives this side of the world pattern of apparel, so does the Turkish to the Levant; yet they to this day vary but little from that long and loose manner of garment reported to have been ever used in the East. Their houses are generally made of brick dried in the sun, poor and low, that they may not be worth taking from the child when the father dies. The public buildings are large and stately afar off, and are also wonderfully beautified by the abundance of trees planted among the houses, so that each city seems rather a wood than a city; which beside the pleasant aspect, shelters against the summer's sun and winter's wind. The streets are not broad, but paved with an high foot-causey on each side; in the middle is a passage for carts and horses: from the eaves, on both sides, is made a boarded arch, not very close, yet much defensive against sun and rain. Upon the taking of any town, the first things they erect are public baths, which they establish with fair revenues; so that for less than two-pence any man or woman may be bathed with clean linen, and never attendant. It is death for any man to enter when women bathe, which he shall know by a bar before the door. He or she who bathe not twice or thrice a week, are held nasty: every time they make water, or other unclean exercise of nature, they wash those parts, little regarding who stands by. If a dog chance to touch their hand, they wash presently: before prayer they wash both face and hands, sometimes the head and privities. Many of their customs have been in Egypt thousands of years before Mahometism; so necessary a thing to prevent diseases is cleanliness in hot countries, and to men of gross food. To this Herodotus ascribes the old circumcision in Egypt, and so do I that of Mahomet, who had no diviner warrant, and cared not for bare imitation; for the authors of superstition, when they find customs very useful, knowing that reason suffices not to hold them in practice with the vulgar, they plant them amongst their other ceremonies, and make them conscientious, which is the only way to put them upon low capacities. In the skirts of each town, near some river, or other pleasing prospect, there used to be round open garden-houses, where any may sit and pass time. Besides all former respects, there is another feat, which furnishes Turkey with magnificent bridges, hanes, mesceeroes, highways, and other public structures; that is this: When any provincial governor is, both for riches and rapine, notorious, he is sure ere long to be circumvented, or else laid open to the accuser for a confiscation: he, to prevent this, hath no fairer way, than for the good, to make some work of eminent magnificence, wherein he gains two safe points of reputation, in being held pious and exhaust; the one stops the accuser, the other the exchequer. Their diet is

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very full and gross, they will refuse all dainties for a piece of fat mutton, that they seeth with rice, which is the most general food they use; they call that mixture *Pilawe*, over it they put milk made thick and sour, called *Yugurt*; with peas, rice, and mutton, they make their pottage *churbah*: these are the three ordinary dishes in Turkey; they want not others, as luxury or necessity require. Their mighty eating I impute to the drinking of water, which after a while makes a good stomach, as by experience I found. They abhor blood and things strangled, and care little for fish or fowl, but often buy them alive to let them go; whereto they pretend no metempsychosis, or any other reason but that of natural compassion; wherein they are so good, as to let fowl feed on their granaries, especially in those of Joseph, at Grand Cairo; a place is left open for birds, and some thousands of rials yearly scored off for the same to the *Basha*. Thus, in Turkey are all birds so tame, never used to violence, as I have thrown my coat upon turtle-doves in the highways, and quails would ordinarily hop upon our legs and arms as we slept in the fields. Every night they shut dogs and cats out of doors; that is a piece of their religion, and a cleanly one; the dogs go most together, making a hideous noise, and are dangerous by night to thieves and drunkards; others seldom walk among them after it is dark. The only beastly piece of injustice I found among the Turks, was their confidence to catch or buy up for a slave, any Christian they find in the country; nor can he escape, unless where he be a settled known merchant, or go with some protector. I met with many who in such voyages as mine had fallen short, and prophesied the like to me. I have divers times been put to defend myself with my knife, from being shovell into houses by those who would have kept me a slave; and scarce any day past, but some or other cheapened me with the Janizary, who, if he had sold me, I had no remedy besides what disdain of life might have happened. This I held the worst part of my danger, and against which there is no preparation of assurance but in a final resolution, yet as much as in me lay I used two ways of prevention; one was, when they questioned my condition and design, which was often, I gave them several accounts, as I noted the place and auditory, still in effect to shew me born rich, but fallen to poverty, without any fault of mine, my friends all dead; and that having no ability for gain, I had wagered the small remains of my fortune upon a return from Constantinople and Grand Cairo: this, though far below my fortunes, yet passed with them for truth, and such a one as, embellished with fit circumstances, procured me esteem and compassion; and which was above all, made me appear unprofitable to the buyer, for they buy more in hope of ransom than service, and therefore often enquired where I had any correspondence. My other way was to note the territories adjoining, with the ways for flight, to study our company, and giving wine to some, money to others, I ever kept in secret pension some of the caravan who understood the language, and told me all that passed. Then in each place of abode I acquainted myself with some renegade, whose story, after he had delivered, I knew how to make him so much my friend, as in case of danger would have helped me to fly or conceal; herein was the most expence and trouble of my voyage. This excepted, the Turkish disposition is generous, loving, and honest; so far from falsifying his promise, as if he do but lay his hand on his breast, beard, or head, as they use, or chiefly break bread with me, if I had an hundred lives I durst venture them upon his word, especially if he be a natural Turk, no Moor, Arab, or Egyptian: to those I never committed myself, till they had engaged wife and children for my safe delivery. They seldom travel single, but waiting for a great number bound for the same place, go and lodge together: this secures from thieves, unless they come in troops, and then the governor sends against them.

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Though great part of Turkey be but of new plantation, and therefore not yet populous, nevertheless, in every place of good pasturage, there are shepherds, some of them with flocks of two or three thousand, feeding from one city to another, which causes such plenty in town and country, as for an halfpenny, in most towns, they sell as much roasted mutton as one man can eat, and for two shillings and three-pence I have seen a life fat sheep bought in places two hundred miles from any city. In most towns an halfpenny loaf will suffice two or three men a meal. This plenty was first caused by depopulation, but will in time breed greater numbers of their own race. The natural Turks, and the renegadoes, are not subject to those taxes and tolls of Christendom; nor is their quiet and plenty fit to be published among the adjoining Christians, only vineyards, in whose hand soever, pay to the spahies, to the guardians, and others, because wine is a prohibited ware; yet after all those persecutions, it is much cheaper there than in Christendom, but not every where to be had; for though in that point Mahomet's wife order suffer violence, yet with the better part it prevails, and makes some drink with scruple, others with danger; the baser sort, when taken drunk, are often bastinadoed on the bare feet; and I have seen some, after a fit of drunkenness, lie a whole night crying and praying to Mahomet for intercession, that I could not sleep near them; so strong is conscience even where the foundation is but imaginary. This want of wine hath devised other drinks to their meat for the better sort, as *Ushaph*, which is water sodden with raisins, sometimes with honey; but above the rest, they esteem sherbets made with sugar, the juice of lemons, peaches, apricots, violets, or other flowers, fruits, and plumbs, as each country affords: these are dried together into a consistence reasonably hard and portable for their use in war, or elsewhere, mingling about a spoonful with a quart of water. They have another drink not good at meat, called coffee, made of a berry as big as a small bean, dried in a furnace, and beat to powder, of a foot colour, in taste a little bitterish; that they seeth, and drink hot as may be endured: it is good all hours of the day, but especially morning and evening, when to that purpose they entertain themselves two or three hours in coffee-houses, which in all Turkey abound more than inns and alehouses with us. It is thought to be the old black broth used so much by the Lacedemonians, and drieth ill humours in the stomach, comforteth the brain, never causeth drunkenness, or any other surfeit, and is a harmless entertainment of good-fellowship; for there, upon scaffolds half a yard high, and covered with mats, they sit cross-legged, after the Turkish manner, many times two or three hundred together, talking, and likely with some poor music passing up and down. The music of Turkey is worth consideration; through all those vast dominions there runs one tune, and for ought I heard, no more, nor can every man play that; yet scarce any but hath a fiddle with two strings, and at feasts, and other meetings, will confidently play upon it, but he knows not to what tune, nor can play the same twice over. This I am certain of; for to make experiment, I have ventured to play at divers meetings, pretending the airs of my country, to prove whether they had skill or not, and it took so well, that they have often made me play again: then I found their skill and mine alike, for I never understood the least touch of any instrument. Nothing could more disguise their genius unto me, who was used to guess at the fancies of men by the airs wherewith I found them most taken, almost as much as by their discourse. I must not forget to note their jealousy, wherein a Turk exceeds an Italian as far as he us; the cause is polygamy, which makes the husband guilty of insufficient correspondence, and therein fearful that his wife may seek a further satisfaction; therefore their women go muffled all but the eyes, nor are suffered to go to church, or so much as look out at the windows of their own houses. The man may divorce when he will,

with

with restitution of jointure, and some further satisfaction, as the judge pleases, yet not without some reasonable pretence against the woman. I saw at Adrianople a woman, with many of her friends, went weeping to a judge, where, in his presence, she took off her shoe, and held it, the sole upward, but spake nothing. I enquired what it meant, one told me it was the ceremony used when a married woman complains that her husband would abuse her against nature, which is the only cause for which they may sue a divorce, as she then did. That delivery, by way of emblem, seemed neat where the fact was too unclean for language. There are very few beggars in Turkey, by reason of the great plenty of victuals; only one sort I wondered at, that is, their Santones, who are able cunning rogues, much like our Toms of Bedlam, ever with some such disguise to pretend a crazy brain; but they act in a more grave, sublime, and meek way than ours. Why these are respected, I could never hear any reason other than compassion; but I observed such a reverence borne them as made me think it religious; nor is it strange that superstitions should honour all eclipse of understanding, whose light discovers them too far. There is no people more courteous of salutation than the Turks; in meeting upon the highway, one with a stoop and his hand upon his breast, bids *salaum aleek*; the other, with like obeisance, replies *aleek salaum*: and when any one comes into company, the rest salute him with a *Merabbah Sultanum*, ever sweetening their conversation with such accent of pronunciation, and so much respective gesture as favours of a genteel genius, free from that rudeness whereof they are accused. Their sepulchres are notable; those of princes or great men are covered over with silk, or cloth of gold, with a turbant at the head, and set under a vaulted arch supported by four marble pillars, some with a little cock of fountain-water, and lamps continually burning. They are made near the meskeeto, especially if they built one, but never within it: the more ordinary are buried in some pleasant place without the city, with an high stone standing at the head, and another at the feet; that at the head had sometimes an epitaph, and if it be a man of quality, is made at top in form of a turbant. Those who bestow a marble stone over them, have it in the middle cut through about a yard long and a foot broad; therein they plant such kind of plants or flowers as endure green all the year long, which seem to grow out of the dead body, thinking thereby to reduce it again into play, though not in the sense of sensible creatures, yet of those vegetables which is the next degree, and perhaps a preferment beyond the dust.

The Turkish nation cannot yet be generally abandoned to vice, having two such great enemies, the Christian on this side, the Persian on that. Were they once removed, it would soon corrupt, like Rome after the fall of Carthage and Antiochus, or worse; for then it would have a far greater empire than ever the Roman was, nor is it much less already, nor wanting so much in extent, as it exceeds in being more absolute and better compact. It hath ever been, and yet is the vanity of nations, to esteem themselves civiler and more ingenious, because more curious in superstitions than other people, whose moderation, diversity, or disdain of those follies they term barbarous and beastly stupidity, uncapable of such illuminations. Thus, of old the Egyptians despised the Grecians, they the Romans, the Romans all the world; and at this day the Papists us, the Jews them, the Mahometans all. After this discourse of the imperial party, I must not forget those other sects which it hath in its subjection; they are generally Christians and Jews.—Christian strangers they call Freink, but their own subjects are either Latines, Armenians, Greeks, or of another sort whereof I have seen infinite numbers in all that tract of Bulgary and Servia, who are baptized only in the name of St. John. Their theological difference I enquired not, but in faction I noted them so desperately malicious towards one another, as each loves the Turk better than they do either of the other, and serve

serve him for informers and instruments against one another. The hatred of the Greek church to the Romish was the loss of Belgrade in Hungary, and is at this day so implacable, as he who in any Christian war upon the Turk, should expect the least good wish from the Christians in those parts, would find himself utterly deceived. I often was helped by Turks and renegadoes against the malice of their Christians. At Rhodes they informed the Bashaw of us for burying a boy of our company, and but for a Spanish renegado, it had cost our liberty. The Latines are Papists, but so few and despised as not to be reckoned. The Armenians or Chaldeans are also Christians, but have a deeper tincture of Mahometanism than the rest. The Greek church seems little inferior in number to the Roman; for though the Catholics are thicker in France, Spain, Germany, and Italy, than the others in Turkey, Muscovy, and Persia, yet their provinces do so infinitely exceed those in extent, as will make the Greek church, though in thinner plantations, more numerous than the other. This proportion was assured clear before the loss of Constantinople, which to Rome itself, if not considered as a corival, was a deep blow. Now in all Turkey the number of Christians is wonderfully abated, for beside the slaughter in conquest, they are daily diminished by other arts. The Turk takes a more pernicious way to extinguish Christianity than ever the Heathen emperors did; their hot persecutions get them the envy which follows cruelty, and made the people compassionate the afflicted cause, whereby commiseration, which is a strong piece of human nature, blew the flame of zeal, and raised more affection to the cause than terror could suppress: thence came the saying, *Sanguis martyrum semen ecclesiae*. The Turk puts none to death for religion, whereby none from fire or gallows move compassion to their cause; he rather sucks the purse than unprofitable blood, and by perpetual poverty renders them low towards himself, and heavy to one another. He turns the Christian churches into meskeetoes, much suppressing the public exercise of religion, especially of the Romish, though not utterly; so that each generation becomes less instructed than other, insomuch that at this time, as by trial I found, many who profess themselves Christians scarce know what they mean by being so. Finally, perceiving themselves poor, wretched, taxed, disgraced, deprived of their children, and subject to the insolence of every rascal, they begin to consider and prefer this present world before that other, which they so little understand. This turns so many thousands to Mahometanism, and prevails with less scandal than fire and sword would do, inasmuch as it goes less harsh with a man to forget his religion than to defy it; for conscience wrought on by education, holds the mind of man as a lace wound about the body. The Turkish course unlaces it by degrees, as if it had been wound up, so bringing it off clear; but bloody persecution striving to pull it away at a snatch, is too sudden a violence, disordering and entangling things faster than they were. Thus, if we view these affairs no further than the eye of reason can reach, he seems in a probable way to taint all the Christians under his dominions, but it must be the work of time: in the mean while they serve to fill his coffers, and in effect supply him with Gibeonites and husbandmen to till his land, while his Musselmens are reserved to the commanding employment of the sword. Therefore he doth not much care for a general conversion, as appeared in Solymen the second, who seeing a company of many thousands fall down before him and hold up the forefinger, as their manner of conversion is, he asked what moved them to turn? They replied, it was to be eased of their heavy taxations. He, disdainingly that baseness, or not willing to lose in tribute, for an unsound accession in religion, rejected their conversion, and doubled their taxations. Nevertheless, particular converts, if serious, voluntary, and persons of important condition, are received with honour and large reward, especially strangers. I saw at Belgrade a feast carried by above threecore persons; and

after all, a horse worth at least thirty pounds, sent from the Bashaw to one of these at the day of his circumcision, and I was told he had near a thousand dollars given him by others; but he had borne good office in Transylvania. I once met at a feast a youth, whose father was governor of a neighbouring town in Transylvania; some, in a jesting manner, threatened circumcision to us both: I, knowing their interest lay all towards him, first severed my cause from his, and then jested myself off; but the next day they sent to apprehend him, and if some of his countrymen had not helped him over the Danubius by night, he had been shut up; for beside the interest of state, he was a handsome youth, and his father able to ransom him, which are two strong motives.— Unless it be upon such terms, there is seldom any compulsion of conscience, and then not by death, where no criminal offence gives occasion. I conversed much with renegadoes, and had good opportunity by their Italian tongue to sound what spirits they were of, and on what motives they fell off. Generally I found them Athenians, who left our cause for the Turkish, as the more thriving in the world, and full of preferment; these hate us not otherwise than in shew, unless where they find themselves abhorred for their apostacy: then take heed, for in your ruin they get both revenge and reputation of zeal. But with a more opportune behaviour, I have won much courtesy from them, and upon occasion put my life at one of their discretions, and found him noble: these are the voluntary renegadoes. There are another sort, whom hard usage and captivity brings in, rather than any ambition or disgust at home. These, though necessitated to hold on, yet they bear much good-will to Christians, and likely a deep grudge to the Turks. I first noted this by an eunuch of the garrison of Belgrade, whom I had with money made my friend against any necessity of flight. I, going to visit him in his house near the river Danubius, found him alone very drunk; he, out of that heat and experience of my engagement, fell to rail against the Turks, and withal shewing me how they had marred his game. Well, quoth he, do you see that river? there seldom hath passed a week since I have been in this city (which was half a year), but some night or other I have thrown some of their children therein; and told me that formerly, in other places, he had done many such secret revenges for their gelding of him. Before my experience of these apostates, I supposed that their paradise had won many from our side; but of all that I practised, there was none taken either with that, or other points of their doctrine, but manifestly with worldly respects; wherefore seeing how many daily go from us to them, and how few of theirs to us, it appears of what consequence the prosperity of a cause is to draw men unto it, and how uncertainly they judge of all other merit. The chief sect whereof I desired to be informed was the Jews, whose modern condition is more condemned than understood by Christian writers, and therefore by them delivered with such a zealous ignorance as never gave me satisfaction. Their primitive profession was shepherds, whose innocent kind of life had leisure for the study of that hierarchy, which in after-times their fabled possession of Canaan put into act; but, as we daily see, necessity makes thieves, and nothing corrupts clear wits more than desperate fortunes and foreign conversation; so it befel them in their frequent captivities, wherein the malice of their enemies, and corruptions of the Gentiles, did extremely debauch their old innocence, and from shepherds or tillers of land, turned them to what they now are, merchants, brokers, and cheaters. Hereto is added no small necessity from their religion, which as of old, so at this day, renders them more generally odious than any one sort of men, whereby they are driven to help themselves by shifts of wit, more than others are; and so as it were bandying their faction against the rest of mankind, they become better studied in malice and knavery than other men. This makes them thrive notwithstanding all their oppressions, in such excessive riches, as by

themselves I have heard alledged as a testimony of divine benediction. They are generally found the most nimble and mercurial wits in the world, which in part is defended from the original complexion of their forefathers, who gave notable testimonies of a subtle generation, and hath been much advantaged by their Mosaical institution of diet, a thing of no small effect to refine the blood and spirits in so many descents. Yet above all, I impute it to this incessant necessity and exercise of wit, which ever keeps it up, without growing too remiss and stupid, as usually happens when men are not quickened by such occasions. Hereupon it is that every Vizier and Bassaw of state uses to keep a Jew of his private council, whose malice, wit, and experience of Christendom, with their continual intelligence, is thought to devise most of that mischief which the Turk puts in execution against us. Nevertheless, in most of their conversation, I noted rather the dexterity of a cheater or mountebank than any solid wisdom; and so in their railings at Christ, few invade him by any staid politic way of atheism; most of them prophane him with beastly tales or superstitious accounts; divers of them read the New Testament maliciously to cavil and elude the miracles of Christ, wickedly imputing them to conspiracy among the actors, and partiality in the writers, as of a legend. Above all places in scripture they abuse that where it is said, that when he was to go up to the passover, but few days before his death, his kindred and those about him did not yet believe; whereby they (not knowing faith to be the gift of grace rather than of reason) slander his miracles for not being so manifest as we conceive. Once at their celebration of a sabbath at Nis in Servia, I was walking with divers of their Rabbins, especially one much revered by the rest, who was principal of the synagogue at Sophia. He would needs urge a discourse of christianity: where, after his malice had wearied itself, I asked him whether it were not an undeniable sign of divine aid to our cause, that with such a meek humility as that of Christ, had raised itself over all the proudest oppressors. He (as the nature of poison is to infect things of most contrary condition) perverting this reason, replied, that Christ came when the world had been tamed by the Romans, whose cruel victories and heavy yoke had broken the spirits of most nations; whereupon he would not build his religion, as the old Heathens had ever done, upon heroic brave acts, but, on the contrary, meek humility of contrite hearts; which, being the greatest number, especially by that time they came to govern, causes it to prevail so well. This seeming a cold atheism, he further made vain, with an addition concerning the several ages of the world, comparing the case with this microcosm of man, whose infancy is simple, youth brave, manhood firm, but his decaying age faints till the end shuts all up. Each of these periods he pretended were guided by suitable doctrines, and to the latter rejected Christianity, whose humble contempt of the world he ascribed to the world's old age, as in man, grown weary of itself. After answer hereto, I desired to understand somewhat of their Caball, which I had always held the great secret of the Jews; I demanded, whether it consisted in that arithmetical signification of letters as we suppose, telling him withall, that it seemed strange how letters and words, which were imposed differently by the humour of man, could touch upon the reality of things in themselves, which did not acknowledge our devices. He answered, that in part the Caball did depend upon letters and words, but only Hebrew, wherein Adam named things when he was in the state of innocence, and understood their nature; but in languages made since the fall, they wanted foundation; they, as the issue of confusion, assure nothing therein. Then he added the story of it, telling me that Caball signifies tradition, which was the way whereby it was transferred from one age to another, and that it was in some measure a reparation of our knowledge lost in the fall of Adam, and again revealed from God four times; first to Adam, who upon his ejection out of paradise, sitting very disconsolate,

God, quoth he, sent the angel Raguel to comfort him, and finding his chief sorrow to be in losing the knowledge of that dependency and punctual commerce which the creatures have with their creator, and amongst one another; the angel, for his illumination therein, instructed him in the peculiar moments of time natural and proper to each passage, wherein things else impossible might be brought to pass with felicity. Hereat I told him, that there was not in our Bible any mention of the angel Raguel's comforting or instructing of Adam: whereto he replied, like a cursed Jew, that the Popes had, not only in that place but in many other, clipped, amplified, and misrelated the Old Testament, the better to conform it with their New, for their civil and ecclesiastical institutions, which depend thereon. The Caball, said he, held in tradition many ages, till time, with the accidents of the flood and Babel, lost it. Then once more God discovered it to Moses in the bush: this he proved out of Esdras, a book in high esteem with them; where in the second book God is brought in, saying—*Enarravi ei multa mirabilia, & ostendi ei temporum secreta, ac finem, & præcepi ei dicens hæc palam facies verba; hæc abscondes*; therefore Moses published those *mirabilia*, the creation, the law, and the Israelites bringing forth of Egypt: but those—*secreta, ac fines temporum*, he disclosed to none beside his seventy rulers over Israel. These traditions soon failed in the oppressions under the Philistines; but the third time God revealed it again, that was to Solomon in a dream; for it is said of Solomon, that he knew—*initium, & consummationem, & medicamentum temporum*. By this art he wrote many books of all things, from the cedar to the hyssop, with divers others, all which were lost in the ensuing captivity. Therefore the last time he pretended it restored to Esdras, whom, as himself writes, God made to retire forty days, with five scribes, who in that space wrote 204 books. The first 134 God commanded to be public for the reading of all, both worthy and unworthy: the latter 70 were to pass private only among the wise of the people: these latter 70 they pretend cabalistic, and not yet all lost. When I considered this art, it put me in mind of what the prophet says to the church of Israel—Thy habitation is in the midst of deceivers:—for although in things of inferior natures, as well as in the passions of men, there are *molles aditus, & apta tempora*; wherein they are better disposed for this or that impression than at other times, yet do not these open them farther than to an agent that comes opportune, and in a way naturally proper to the pre-disposition of the subject: thus, a fever is easier cured at one time than at another, one medicine hits one access, another the next. The like may be observed in all things; but to extend this beyond its due limits, and to ways improper, as to wishing, writing, speaking, and other charms, which cannot reach the reality of things, comes to as profound a nothing as Hermes's Sigil, Paracelsus's spell against flies. Their great council of Sanhedrin, consisting of seventy-one, in imitation of Moses and his seventy elders, not being able to work such wonders, did nevertheless strive to continue the reputation of the old thearchy; to that purpose they glorified this device of Caball, whose pretence of secret information from God, even in their forsaken times, served them as Numa's pretended meetings with the nymph Egeria, Mahomet's raptures with the angel Gabriel, and the like, to countenance their ordinances with divine repute among the people. This device was well framed to take with the Jews, who generally have light, aerial, and fanatical brains, spirited much like our hot Apocalypse men, or fierce expounders of Daniel, apt to work themselves into the fool's paradise of a sublime dotage. They expect their Messiah with an unwearied assurance, and as all prophetic delays do easily find excuse, so have they, restoring their hope with augmentation of glory in the more perfect trial. At his coming they expect a temporal kingdom, whereof I heard them discourse with so much zeal, as seemed to have a touch of the Sadducy, whose appetite relishes a present fruition

better than the state of resurrection. To discover this fully, I told them, that methought it might seem to them but just, that all those who had lived and died constantly expecting the Messias, should not, by untimely death, lose the fruits of their constancy, but be restored to life at his coming, to enjoy and make up his kingdom. This they received with much applause, and, as flattery uses to be, it was by them held an illumination, which they, embracing of me, seconded with such a Romanzo of their future kingdom, as shewed a thirst of revenging their captivities, and therewith to enjoy the world in that timely resurrection. Above all blessings given of God, they prefer that of increase and multiply: to hold it a blessing they have reason; but why that should be thought the greatest I know not, unless because of their salacity, ever noted for *projectissima in libidinem gens*, and so apt to grow like the sands of the sea in number; or else for propagation of the kind, which is the chief act of those who consider themselves no higher than as parts of the world, and of that taken in the bare continuance, without any of its further operations. They may drink water alone, but not wine mingled therewith, unless they have a dispensation. That which is pure wine they call wine of the law: this, perhaps, was one among other reasons, why they were, of old, mistaken to have worshipped Bacchus. When they kill any living creature, they first turn the face of it eastward, then saying, Be it sanctified in the name of the great God, king of heaven and earth, they cut the throat with a knife, without any gap in the edge; if that be not observed, they will not eat of the meat, but hold it utterly prophane. Most of the fat they cast away, especially about the loin and kidneys: that of each, mutton or beef, they scarce eat half. These, with many other restrictions of diet, I urged as difficulties of victualling their armies when the Messias should come; but they readily solved it with the power of miracles, which shall save him all labour and care. He is expected of the tribe of Judah, which was settled in Portugal, where they boast, and in Spain, to have millions of their race, to whom they give compleat dispensation to counterfeit Christianity, even to the degree of priesthood, and that none are discovered but some hot spirits, whose zeal cannot temporize. This reverence to the Messias makes them throughout the whole world breed their children up in the Portugal speech, and make it their domestic tongue. The Jews of Italy, Germany, and the Levant, excepting the banditoees of Spain, are of Benjamin, the other ten tribes, in the destruction of Jeroboam's kingdom by Salmanasser, were led captives beyond the Euphrates, whence they never returned. In which destruction, perhaps worse than this of their brethren, they had the happiness never to persecute Christ. Then I asked; if they had there degenerated into the race and Gentilism of the Heathen, as our Christians have done in the Holy Land, whom now we know not from other Turks but by some touch of language. They, ashamed of such apostacy, told me, that those ten tribes are not found any where, but either swallowed like Coran's company, or as other Rabins write, blown away with a whirl-wind; so apt are light wits to imagine God less glorified in his own glorious ways of nature, because ordinary, than in the pulls of their own vain devised miracles, wherein, while they affect to seem grave and profound, they become fond and shallow, not knowing the ways of that virtue which moveth all things. In their divine service they make one of the best sort read a chapter of Moses, then some boy or radical reads a piece of the prophets. In the middle of the synagogue is a round place vaulted over, supported by pillars; therein sometimes one of their doctors walks up and down, and in Portugueze, exalts the Messias, comforts their captivity, and rails at Christ.

They have a cupboard made to represent the tabernacle, wherein they lay up the tables of the law, which now and then they take forth and kiss. They sing many tunes, but frequently

frequently that of Adonai, which is the ordinary name of God ; for Jehovah they mention not but on high occasions. At circumcision, boys are set to yaul out David's Psalms to loud sounds the infant's cry. The synagogue is hung round with glass lamps burning ; every man at his entrance puts on a linen cope, first kissing it ; but else they use no manner of reverence or sign of devotion. I, knowing discontent is apt to disclose secrets, got strait acquaintance with one of them who had a great mind to turn Turk. His chief scandal was, that he had often seen their elders in the midst of service fall together by the ears, and with holy candlesticks, incense-pans, and other consecrated instruments, break one another's pates. They suffer no woman to enter the synagogue, but appoint them a gallery without. I imputed it to jealousy, but they told me it was because women have not so divine a soul as men, and are of a lower creation, made only for the propagation and pleasure of man. This doctrine humbles their wives below that fierce behaviour whereto competition and opinion of equality might embolden them. When they turn Turk, which is often, they must first acknowledge Christ so far as the Turk doth, that is, for a great prophet, and no more. They seldom turn Christians, because of images and swine's flesh, which they hate worse than the name of Christ. They pretend, but maliciously, that those few we see turn in Italy are not of them, but poor Christians hired from other cities to personate that part. There is scarce any sect so poor spirited, but will sometimes pretend to a miracle, so did they ; for all the voyage they boasted of an apparition in form of an old man, to this Grand Seignior, whom he admonished in favour of the Jews, and then vanished ; but at Constantinople, where the scene of the fable lay, I could hear no such thing. If they were all united, I believe there would scarce be found any one race of men more numerous ; yet that they can never cement into a temporal government of their own, I reckon two causes, beside the many disadvantages in their religion : first, the Jewish complexion is so prodigiously timid as cannot be capable of arms ; for this reason they are no where made soldiers nor slaves, and in acknowledging the valour of David's worthies, so different from the modern Hebrews, appears how much a long thralldom may cow posterity beneath the spirits of their ancestors. The other impediment is their extreme corrupt love to private interest, which is notorious in the continual cheating and malice among themselves, so as there would want that justice and respect to common benefit without which no civil society can stand. These are the chief notes which I gathered in conversing with the Jews. Now there remains a word or two of the Zinganaes : they are like such as our gypsies ; I yield not to those who hold them a peculiar cursed stock ; sloth and nastiness single them out from other men, so that they are the dregs of the people, rather than of several descents. Wallowing in the dirt and sun makes them more swarthy than others ; they abound in all cities of Turkey, but steal not like ours, for fear of the cruel severity. They tell fortunes as cheatingly as ours, and enjoy as little ; their true use is for sordid offices, as broom-men, smiths, cobblers, tinkers, and the like, whereby the natural Turk is reserved for more noble employments ; few of them are circumcised, none christened ; they wear their rags affectedly, but wander not. Their habitations are hovels and poor houses in the suburbs, contempt secures them, and with that I leave them. By this discourse it appears that the Turkish empire is in effect divided into two parts, the Turks and other sects. Unto these are applied the two passions of men, love and fear ; so that the government is to keep the one sort so as they shall not desire mischief, and the other not able to effect it : to the Turks it is a sweet monarchy, maintaining them to command the rest. To the other sects it is heavy, holding them distracted with faction between themselves, disarming, rising, taking their goods and children from them, and awing them with as much insolency as may not quite make them

them run away. Nevertheless, the Grand Seignior hath not the inconveniency of tyrants, which is to secure themselves against their people by strangers, who are chargeable and perfidious : for he without charge is held up by plantations of his own people, who in descent and interest are linked with him ; neither hath he the uncertainty of a civil prince, who much subsists on fickle popular love, for he reigns by force, and his Turks are a number able to make it good ; wherefore he seems as absolute as a tyrant, as happy as a king, and more established than either ; yet hath he danger from both parts ; love makes men apt to grow insolent, therefore his governing multitudes are that way dangerous.

This hath shewed itself in the tumults of the Janizaries, even as deep as the royal blood ; his danger from the enthralled sects is not so great ; they are too far stupified and disunited for rebellion, there is more doubt of depopulation : yet to prevent that, when any province hath been overladen, he restores it with a gentle governor and slack exactions ; and the Timariots themselves, that their farms may be well managed, hold up the farmers with much care. There are two notable signs of this empire's strength ; one is, that most neighbouring states pay tribute, or frequent presents, which is but another name of tribute : the other is, that although it be generally observed that two or three successions of weak princes are enough to ruin any monarchy. This crown hath now had five weak princes, without any active one intervening, yet is it in no part diminished. This present emperor, though by reason of his age, and some other disadvantages not yet put into action, is of a spirit like to equal the bravest of his predecessors. Now, as all bodies, though never so strong, are subject to blows from without, and diseases within, so is this empire obnoxious to the Persian abroad, and errors of government at home : one hath happened of late years, which hath bred pernicious disorders ; that was the mercy of Achmat to his brother Mustapha, whom he, seeing a bookish man and weak, did not destroy. This was contrary to the Ottoman custom, and left a subject for ambition and disgust, which rather than be without, would make one of wax if it were possible ; much more dangerous was it to leave one of colourable pretext, where there was so insolent a faction as the Janizaries. They forthwith served their turn hereof, who else had not been provided of a king, and so forced to endure Osman, for fear of destroying that line, in whose defect they fall under the petit Tartars, which they abhor. This gave them occasion to taste the royal blood, whose reverence can never be restored without abolishing the order of the Janizaries, which hath been the sword-hand of the empire. If this discourse might speak in a moral way, it would title this act of Achmat a virtue, a high one ; but in such a fierce government, many virtues noble and safe in our states, are against the foundation of theirs. Thus have I set down what I noted in the Turkish customs ; all instruct, either as errors or by imitation : nor is the mind of man a perfect paradise, unless there be planted in it the tree of knowledge both of good and evil.

A VOYAGE TO MOUNT LIBANUS;

WHEREIN IS

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS, &c.
OF THE TURKS.

ALSO, A DESCRIPTION OF

CANDIA, NICOSIA, TRIPOLI, ALEXANDRETTA, &c*.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN ITALIAN, BY THE REV. FATHER JEROM DANDINI†.

CHAP. I. — *The Occasion of the Voyage, and of what passed at Rome with the Pope.*

AS I taught philosophy at Peruge, the capital city of Umbria, the F. Claudius Aquaviva, our general, writ unto me, that according to the resolution his holiness had had to send a faithful person to the patriarch of the Maronites, living in Mount Libanus in Syria, now called Sorie, I had been chosen for that purpose; and if I found no repugnance within myself to undertake that voyage, I should set forward as soon as possibly I could. I was gone then from Peruge to take the air, and give some relaxation to my spirits, being resolved to go visit our Lady of Agnes, and some other religious places adjacent to Peruge.

At my return I was presented with our general's letter, and when I had finished the reading of it, I rendered God thanks for his favours towards me in the undertaking of this voyage, and for the opportunity offered me to go render my devoirs in person to the glorious sepulchre of his Son, and to other sacred places of Palestine, since they were not far distant from the place I was to be sent unto.

Whereupon I returned answer, That notwithstanding I found some difficulty in the undertaking of this voyage, principally by reason of a long and dangerous navigation, as being not well accustomed to the sea, yet I would pursue, with all diligence, that which was desired of me, and put myself upon the road as soon as possible, in order to be at Rome the 15th of May for to wait upon his holiness, and receive his commands; which I punctually executed. For after having taken leave of my friends at Peruge, I took horse, and, by way of Boligni, rendered myself at Rome the day I had appointed, about two hours before sun-set; insomuch, that I had nothing to hinder my setting forwards on my journey but to see his holiness, for to receive of him the necessary instructions, and his benediction.

But as the feast of Pentecost approached, and that his holiness was wholly taken up with thoughts of the creation of some cardinals, I was retarded some days at Rome,

* Harris, vol. i. 831.

† Harl. Coll. i. 831. The first Edition is about 1680.

till a business so important to the church was finished. In the mean time, I failed not to confer with the cardinal Paleose, protector of the Maronites, and with our father-general, who informed me of the intentions of his holiness.

The Maronites had now for a long time past, been ill represented to the pope and cardinals; they were also accused of divers errors, and considerable heresies: and those of that nation, which were then at Rome, used all their efforts for to justify them. But, as some denied that which others affirmed, the verity of their circumstance could not be known with any certainty; however, they have been at the expence of founding of a college for them in this city, where they are instructed with much pains and industry. They have also sent, not long since, for a considerable number of young Maronites, out of their country, the major part of whom were not yet of age to study; which has been very expensive, not reckoning the hazards they run, in respect of the Turks, and displeasure they conceived to understand, that some of the young Maronites, sent back last year, were yet without employments, although they had run through all their philosophy and theology, and that the inhabitants stood in great need of the like artists, for the establishing of religion in a country where they spared no industry to effect it.

All which considerations together, moved his holiness to send into those parts a person, who at his return would make him a faithful report of the belief of those people; who should treat fairly with them, and put their affairs into that posture he judged convenient, conformable to the end proposed unto him. Who should regulate also the age and capacity of those that should be sent, for the time to come, to the college at Rome; who should give orders for their coming by safe ways; who should find profitable and proportionable employments for them who were already returned, and to others that should return for the future; and for that purpose he should establish, if it were necessary here, parishes, wherein he might assign them churches to which they should apply their cares.

The sacred college being augmented with six cardinals, by the last promotion, I presented myself on the 11th of June before his holiness, who received me kindly: after he had given me an account of that which he would have me undertake, I promised to serve him with all fidelity in every thing he was pleased to order me, and prayed him to tell me if he would add any further instructions. Moreover, as great difficulty must be rencountered with in the execution of what he had communicated unto me, particularly for to assign employments unto them that were already returned, and that these difficulties would not be removed but by his holiness, I spoke to him hereof, to the end that, these being surmounted, the way might remain free and facile, for to render the rest of the design successful. I demanded of him likewise, what power he was pleased to give me amongst the Levantines, as well to discharge cases and censures, which his holiness reserved for himself, as to dispense with the irregularities I should rencounter with; and as I was to go into a country adjacent to that of the land of Palestine, I intreated with a profound respect, that his holiness would grant me leave to go render my devoirs to the sepulchre of my Saviour. He gave me a favourable audience, and when I had done speaking he made me answer: "As for the journey you design to make to Jerusalem, we can no less than bear you envy, and if it were in our power, we would undertake it with all our heart! go then, pursue it with the grace of God, and pray for us." After I had rendered him thanks, I put him in mind of my first request, wherein I received satisfaction; however, he found some difficulty touching a kind of irregularity to be dispensed with, and gave me orders to treat about it with the cardinal St. Severine, grand penitentiary, who made him after-

wards a report thereof, that he might determine it himself, whereupon I had also granted me a very large power, and without reservations, as to the matter of irregularities. Finally, his holiness had the goodness to grant me all that I desired, in order to facilitate this enterprize; whereupon I took my leave of him.

CHAP. II. — *Journey from Rome to Venice, and from thence to Candia.*

THE pope's brief, whereof I had occasion, being dispatched, I departed from Rome on the 15th of June for Perugia, where I arrived the 17th about noon; the father Fabio Bruno, who was to accompany me in this voyage, joined me next day. On the 19th we took the way for Florence, and from thence, journeying along the mountains we discovered Bologna the 23d, Ferrara the 24th, and Venice the 26th. After we had travelled almost four hundred miles, I saw our design in a manner overthrown, for that having imprudently informed a friend of this departure from Rome, who was to go to the Levant, my design was not only divulged at Venice, but came also to be known by fifty-four Jews; as much as to say, so many spies, sworn enemies to Christians, who were also bound for Smyrna, in a new ship named Mosta. Besides, our fathers believing that it was dangerous for an envoy of the pope, to pass at such a juncture of time into those places, where the war was so violent between the Turks and Christians, writ to our general about that matter; he returned them answer, that he seriously deliberated upon it, and that, if there was any danger in it, we should advance no further. The fruit of my mission being no ways augmented since our arrival, I eagerly demanded permission to continue my voyage, and to change my ship, to the end I might perform the thing more exactly, and with as much secrecy as I could: all which I had granted unto me, and received information, with all diligence of what was necessary for that voyage. I changed my habit of Jesuit into that of a Pilgrim, and made no scruple to take the name of René Bucy, a Frenchman, upon me, my companion changing his for that of Fabio Daverto, a Venetian. I took along with me a young Maronite, named Joseph Eliam, for my domestic and interpreter; nevertheless, as our ship protracted her departure, we resolved to go for Padua, to pay a visit to some of our good friends there, and to divert ourselves with their company for two or three days.

At our return from Padua, we passed to the port of Malomocco, which is eighteen miles distant from Venice; it was there we embarked merrily on the 14th of July, in a ship called the Torniell, or Augustina. It was a vessel of 900 tuns, well manned, and had a brave commander: it seemed probable we had no occasion to fear any damage from the sea or corsairs. Nevertheless, we could not sail before the 17th, for that the weather was not auspicious unto us. The seamen carried us that same day out of port, by the means of shallops, wherein they rowed us; but as there is nothing so unconstant as the wind, it failed us forthwith; and as we were solicitous to repose ourselves, after all the fatigue we had in a season so hot, there happened so great a calm that we could not possibly advance any more than one hundred miles in four days time. We had afterwards a back wind, which helped us in a short space to finish our voyage: we discovered many islands and rocks on either side, which we left behind in a moment; and which rendered our passage very delightful.

We discovered Istria forthwith upon the left, which is under the dominion of the states of Venice, and on the right the high mountain of Arcona, which is on that side the boundary of the ecclesiastical estate. A little further we perceived on the left two inhabited rocks, the one called Pomo, and the other St. Madre; the first is subject to

none, the other is under the Venetians. There is also on the same hand Buzo and Elifa, which are inhabited by Christians, and belong to the same Venetians. We discovered afterwards on the same side Gaza, Aritta, Meleda, which belonged to the republic of Ragusa; Casaro and Budua, subject to the Venetians. And we saw also, at a great distance, the famous city of Ragusa; further are Cluticari, Deleigno, Durazzo, Salamo, Vallona and Cimarra, governed and inhabited by the Turks. A little further is also a rock called Fano, uninhabited, belonging to the signiory of Venice; as well as Corfu, Cefalonia, Zant, Strivalli: all these places are inhabited by Christian Greeks. A little further we discovered Navarino, Sapienza, Cavogallo, and Camatapano, which are subject to the Turks: and further again, upon the left is Cerigo, and on the right Cerigofo, depending upon the Venetians. Finally, as we continued to look on that side, we discovered the island of Candia, which we had longed to see, and where we arrived safe a little while after.

CHAP. III. — *Of the Isle and City of Candia.*

IN all the course of our sailing, we cast anchor no where but here, and that we were obliged to do, because our ship carried sixty Venetian soldiers, which were to be put there on shore; leaving therefore the cape St. John, or cape Lion, to the south, and following the cape Spada, which is to the north, sometime called Cimario, we anchored at Frashia on the 13th of the same month, half an hour after sun-set, being eight miles distant from the city of Candia, and as we were obliged to sojourn there for some time, we went ashore next day in a galley that came to fetch the soldiers.

This isle, called by the ancients Crete, is much famed for its bigness, for it is 560 miles in circumference, 250 long, and 60 miles over where it is broadest; it is much celebrated by the ancients, who believed, as did their poets, that it was the country of the Gods, and that Jupiter was nursed up there on Mount Ida, not to mention its famous labyrinth, which they hold to have been near to the ancient city of Cortina, and of the excellent laws of Rhadamanthus and Minos, who governed the people after Jupiter, and founded the republic of Crete.

This island had once an hundred cities, although Homer in his *Odyssey* allows it but 90; there remain not at this day but four, which are Canea, Retimo, Candia to the west, and Sittia to the east: Candia and Canea are the best; besides that, there are in it two ports, called Spina Longa, and Sude, not to speak of other places fit for anchorage.

The city of Candia stands in the middle of the island, a dozen miles distant from the grot of Minos, and very near to Mount Ida; it is, indeed, a very great and spacious city, but much ruined by earthquakes. The houses are almost all built with gravel, yet the buildings are not unhandsome; they have no tiles, but there, and in all the Levant, except at Antioch, have terrasses of lime, or of some other matter well made, with spouts on the sides for to let the water run out. Probably they use such sort of buildings, because they are not so curious and industrious as we: however, I believe they cover their houses in that manner out of frugality, to the end they may as well spread cloth and linen there for to be whitened, as to sleep in summer nights, thereon, for the coolness of the air, when the excessive heat hinders them to remain in their houses. When they would repose themselves upon the terrace, they spread thereon a mat, and sometimes over that a carpet, and sleep in that manner exposed to the air, which is very sweet in those parts, and no ways injurious to health. The use also of

their terraces, might proceed, in that they have seldom any rain, for there falls not oftentimes a drop of water for six months together; and I understood that they had no rain since the 2d day of February, neither did they expect any till November. The streets of that city are straight, but very nasty: the republic of Venice kept a garrison of two thousand soldiers about it, part of which were posted in a citadel upon the sea side, and the rest disposed in other places. There is also some garrison in Canea. The rest of the inhabitants are almost all Greeks, amongst whom there remain yet some noble Venetians, for that Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, having sold them that island in the year 1194, they transported thither some families of the nobility, and citizens, to inhabit the place. It was afterwards retaken in 1349. after a revolt, and since that time they have enjoyed it peaceably. The country is very mountainous, and almost barren; one can see there also but few trees and herbs, but yet it follows not but that it hath plains of many miles extent, fertile in grain, trees, olives, oranges, lemons, and all other sorts of commodities: moreover, there grow berries for to dye cloth withal, much wax there is, and honey, cheese, and medicinal herbs; so that it is very good living there. There is also a great quantity of excellent wines, whereof the most estimable is Muscadine, insomuch that those that know it not, take it for Malmsey; but they are mistaken, for it comes from a little island that bears the name of it. The goodness of the wines of Candia renders the natives great drunkards; and it happens sometimes, that two or three great drinkers will set themselves at the head of a tun of wine, from whence they will not stir till they have emptied it. There is no venomous animal to be found in that country, so that they are not afraid of scorpions, serpents, or toads; neither can you see there a wolf, tiger, nor any other the like beast, so that they live there in great repose both night and day. Persons of approved faith have told me a remarkable thing there, which hath also been written of by good authors; to wit, that there is growing upon mount Ida, which hath been shewed me at a distance, an herb whose virtue was to gild the teeth of those animals that eat of it: one may believe, and with good reason, that this proceeds from the golden mines which are in that ground. There grows also a certain herb called Alincos, which, being bitter, preventeth one's being hungry for a whole day; but that which is wonderfully surprizing, and beyond the force of nature, are certain pieces of money, which they call St. Helen's, that are found up and down the fields, where there is also brass, and other silver. They pretend that that saint, happening to be in this country without money, made some of brass, which in passing of time changed into silver: this money, they say, hath the virtue to this day, to cure the falling sickness in them that hold it to their hand, or apply it to their flesh.

The custom of the women of this island is not to go out of their houses in the day-time; no, not to hear mass or a sermon; nevertheless they run in great troops along the streets all night, and for the most part, with men, enter into the churches which they leave open on purpose for them. This custom is blame-worthy, not only because these women perform not their duties towards God, but also, because it is against modesty and good manners; for it would be a far more laudable thing for them to go civilly by day to church, than tumultuously in the night season.

I should have work to do to reckon up all the imperities of the prelates, priests, and other ecclesiastics of this nation; their separations from the Latin church, their maledictions and excommunications they fulminate upon the most sanctified days against it, when we pray for their welfare. I shall also say nothing of their right, pride, obstinacy, defection of faith; of the difficulty to treat with them, of their enchantments, superstitions, horrible and continual blasphemies, which cannot be heard with-

out horror. Finally, St. Paul had reason to say, according to one of their own poets, 'Those of Creet are always liars; they are wicked beasts, gluttons, and lazy.' The eight days I staid in this town would have been very wearisome unto me, because of the excessive and continual heats, if we had not received some relaxation from the charity and agreeable conversation of the fathers, Benedelto Benedetto, and Francisco Parofchetti, of our society, who resided there at that time.

CHAP. IV. — *Passage to Cyprus and Nicofia, with an Account of the City of Nicofia, and its Churches.*

WE parted from Candia, the 8th of August, two hours before day, in a little frigate, to go on board our ship, into which we entered at sun-rising; some time after we weighed anchor and sailed. The wind was favourable unto us in passing by the isle, which we left to the right; then we entered into the gulf of Settalia, a dangerous place for sailing, and so continuing our course through that gulf, we discovered on the left Callo and Scarpanto, which are inhabited by Greeks and Turks, and depending upon the lair. We left also on the same hand Rhodes, and all Caramania, without yet being able to see them, for we were too far wide; that was also the reason, that, after we had run for three days and three nights, without the sight of land, we arrived on the 12th of August at Cyprus. We anchored in the evening at Leniso, where the inhabitants, particularly the Turks, made a visit to our ship; we were there three days on board, for that there was nothing in that place worth the seeing, and no church to do our devotion in.

We parted about twelve on the 16th for Salina, whither a good wind brought us in a short time, and we arrived there two hours before sun-setting; from thence to Candia is about 600 miles. Next day very early, we went ashore, and on directly to Arnique, which is not past a mile distant; it is a monastery of religious Franciscans, who live there in a small number for the conveniency of some Italian merchants. Our ship continued its course for Alexandretta, which obliged us to see for another vessel to pass for Tripoli in Syria, and as we could not obtain that presently, we sojourned some days in that isle. That I might lose no time I left my companion, who had been constantly indisposed since we came from Candia, in the hands of these good religious; and the Maronite that we brought along with us, and I, accompanied an honest Venetian merchant, who lived in those parts, and were going to Nicofia, anciently called Letra, since Lencolto, and which was sometime the archbishopric and metropolis of this kingdom; it is twenty-four miles distant from Arnique. I undertook this journey to inform myself, as well as possibly I could, of the spiritual concerns of the Maronites, which are there in great numbers.

There are none but Turks that have liberty to enter thereinto on horseback, and to all other strong places: as for the Christians, and others, they are obliged to alight at the gate, and, when they are within, they have power to remount their horses, and ride to their lodgings. The Turks have made this order out of mere vanity: I entered then into the town, and that Venetian merchant did me the favour to conduct me with him into his lodging; having refreshed myself a little after the fatigues of the road, I went to see that which was worth viewing, and particularly the churches.

Nicofia is a large and very fair city, built after the eastern fashion; but it is ruined in divers places, because of the late wars, for the Turks have taken it by force of arms from the Venetians, together with the rest of the isle. Some years ago it was so, that
 God,

God, by his justice, was willing to punish the sins and schism of the Greeks in those places. They adored there eternally, with much veneration, the Holy Trinity; but now, to the great regret of all good Christians, you can hear only the impious invocation of the false prophet Mahomet. They had some time there churches and altars raised to the honour of good saints, but instead of them there is nothing now but mosques, amongst which stands still that grand and magnificent temple of St. Sophia. There is no sound of bells to be heard in all the Levant, to give notice of divine worship, according to ancient custom, and of the hours of the day, for the steeples are either ruined, or without bells; the Turks have taken them for warlike uses, and made pieces of artillery of them. Instead then of the confused and inanimate sound of bells, they are served with the distinct and animate voices of men, who at certain appointed hours, mount up to the tops of the steeples, to give the inhabitants notice. This manner of observing their hours, is in use in all the Levant.

There are at Nicosia four sorts of churches, which I have seen all in particular. The Turkish mosques are the most considerable, as well for number, as for the beauty and grandeur of their buildings; although Christians are not suffered to enter into them, yet I failed not to see, through the iron grates, that that which hath been made of the temple of St. Sophia, was the principal and most magnificent of them all: it is a large and spacious fabric, which has many pillars in it, as may be seen in most of our churches; it had no altars, images, nor paintings, the walls were only whitened. There is at the door of this temple a delicate fountain, which was not there in the time of the Christians; the Turks wash therein the crowns of their heads, hands, and feet, before they enter into the mosque, at the ordinary hours, and particularly in the afternoon, at which time these villains invoke their false prophet, and cry without measure, "Halla, Halla, Chibir, Mehemme Sur Halla;" that is to say, "God is a great God, Mahomet is the companion of God;" with many other fooleries and blasphemies. Those who assist not with the rest at these public prayers, pray in particular in their houses, if they be of quality, or in other places where they are. They roll themselves at noon-tide upon a mat or carpet. There are also other hours wherein they are called to prayers, i. e. at three o'clock, an hour before sun-set, an hour before day at sun-rising, and, in short, seven times a day. Observe their manner of praying, as I myself have often times seen them in their private houses: as soon as ever they come upon their mat or carpet, they turn themselves round, then incline their bodies, touching with their thumbs that part of the head which is behind the ears, and they rise themselves sometimes all of a sudden, touching the earth with their hands; they fall sometimes upon their knees, or rather stand upon their heels, and beat the ground lightly with their forehead, and having got up again upon their feet, they hold their hands modestly upon their breast, repeating their prayers with cast down looks, and speak between their teeth. They recite them all along, inclining their bodies interchangeably towards the earth, and touching with their forehead; then they rise up, and falling down anew, they continue to rest for some time upon their heels with their legs across.

The Greeks have another sort of church, of which I shall observe only, that, if a Latin priest should celebrate mass therein, they could not believe that all the water in the ocean was sufficient to cleanse it, so much they wash the altar, and all the church also, from a belief they have that Latin service renders it impure and profane. Their usage in the consecration of the bread, and their other rights, are very well known; they are generally as great enemies to the Latins as the Turks. The honest merchant, with whom I lodged, told me that they refused absolution to one of his domestics, a Greek by nation, because he served a Frank, for so they call all those that follow the

Latin

Latin rites. It will not be besides my purpose to render here an account of another of their superstitions, the matter happening to the same man, who being confessed for an ordinary and common sin, was by his confessor refused absolution, telling him he could not do it without the consent of seven other priests; this business being directed with a little money, they stretched the penitent upon the ground as if he had been dead, and at length granted him absolution in reciting of certain prayers over him, they made use of to that purpose. They are wont to demand money for absolution, and will refuse it when they cannot obtain the sum, for they pretend they have five or six crowns due to them for absolving common and ordinary sins. The penance, they enjoin for very great sins, is to forbid them to communicate for four or five years; perhaps they may do this out of a contempt and aversion they may have for the Latin church, which orders it once a year; the which is so much the more easily credited, seeing they make certain plays, wherein is introduced a Latin personage, to whom are offered an hundred injuries, as dashing him on the face, and several other the like outrages.

The Latins have there but a small church, or rather chapel, which is well maintained, and has a priest of age and wealth for a pastor, but very ignorant. The Italian merchants who live there supply them with food and raiment, and furnish them also with sacred ornaments. Finally, the Maronites have their church there also, which is in so poor a condition, that I really pitied them. In order to know what was their right, as that of other places of the isle, where they were dispersed, I addressed myself indifferently to the Italians, Greeks, and Maronites; I learned they had all one and the same right common to all their nation, that they all lived under the same patriarch. Moreover that the places where they lived consisted in nineteen villages, which are Metosic, Fludi, Santa Marina, Ofomates, Gantili, Carpasia, Cormachiti, Primina, Casipisani, Veno, Cibo, Jeri near Citria, Crenfada, Attala, Clepirio, Piscopia, Gathria, Cefalanisco, and Sotta Cruscida; that in every one of these places they have at least one parish, and in some two or three, with one priest, or more. And I was assured that they had eight churches at M tonic, and that the priests were very assiduous in their duty, being not much occupied with their own particulars concerns. This nation hath also ordinarily a bishop in that place, but he was then dead, and they had not yet elected another.

There is in the kingdom a Greek bishop, who is the general receiver of the tributes which the others are obliged to pay to the Turks; they drain each every year of seventy aspers. The janissaries will not spare to bestow the bastinado on those that do not pay; and the bishop is no more exempt than the rest, pursuant to the information of the receiver. He requires, besides, fifteen or twenty ducats of every priest that is put into orders. See the miserable estate the Christians are reduced to who are subject to the Turks, although there be less Turks there than Christians; for of thirty thousand inhabitants that are in Nicotia, and upwards, scarce are there four or five thousand of them that are Turks, and there are not above twelve or thirteen thousand in all the island, the greatest part of whom are renegadoes, who turn Mahometans, to render their lives more easy and supportable; so that it seems an easy matter to recover this isle from under the tyranny of the Turks, and re-establish it in the Christian faith, for the renegadoes could no sooner see the Christian soldiers, but they would throw off their turbans, and put on hats instead, and turn their arms against the Turks. But we will leave this, and return to our subject.

The Christians, whether Greeks or Franks, do not wear a turban, nor shave their heads, but they cut their hair genteelly, as we do, and wear upon their heads an hat,
or

or black bonnet. They cloath themselves, nevertheless, according to the manner of the Levantines, with a vest without a collar, which reaches down to the knees, with large sleeves reaching to the elbows. They gird themselves with a linen cloth, or some other the like girdle, which comes three or four turns about. Under this vest they have another garment over a shirt, reaching from their necks down to their legs; and above all, another vest without a girdle, and cut almost after the same fashion as the first: they wear them ordinarily of a black or violet colour, or else of some other colour which pleaseth them best. We will speak hereafter more particularly of the Turks and Maronites, and of their customs; but now it remains we should describe the nature of their country.

CHAP. V. — *Of the Isle of Cyprus.*

THIS isle is, at least, four hundred and eighty miles about, eighty miles broad, and two hundred in length, and hath two capes; that on the west comprehends the cape of St. Epiphany, which the ancients called Acamante, and the cape of Srapano, or la Pointe meconta, or the cape Zephro; the other is called St. Andrew, from whence you pass into the east; it has no other port on the east side but Famagusta; it is a famous town, which hath been built by Ptolemy Philadelphus. The great ships are safe, nevertheless, on the coast of Rasso, Simiso, Salines, Crafoco, and Cerines. There are in divers places more capes, which are somewhat advanced into the sea, the most considerable of which is the cape of Cats, so called from a great number of cats which they breed there in the monastery of St. Nicholas, where live the religious order of St. Basil; they have put in these cats, to destroy a great number of serpents which bred there, and there is a considerable revenue left for that purpose.

This island had once very many fair cities, but has none now except Nicosia and Famagusta, which retain somewhat of their ancient grandeur; all the rest are villages; there is none of them inhabited by the ancient nobility, for they are either entirely extinct, or are retired elsewhere, since the Turks have made themselves masters of it; the famous mountain of Olympus is almost in the midst, very near Nicosia; it is very high, and fifty-four miles in circumference, and at every four miles end there is a monastery of those monks, of whom we shall speak hereafter, with delicate springs, and fruit in abundance. The air there is very agreeable, and is never so cold, in the extremity of winter, that one has need of warming, but the heat is so incommodious, both night and day, that it is impossible to travel in the day-time.

There are every where in this isle fine fields filled with fruits, as well on the mountains as on the plains, which renders the country fertile and plentiful; wherefore it has been called Macaria, from a Greek word which signifies Happy. The ancients had reason to say it was the country of Venus, and to give Venus the name of Cypriana, and to the isle that of Cytherea; for it is not only said that she was born at Aphrodisium, and brought up at Cytherea, but that she reigned at Idalium, called at this day Dalli, twelve miles from Nicosia, southwards. Hence it comes, that they sacrificed naked men and women to Venus at Paflo, which was sometime built by Agapenor, general to the army of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. This abuse ceased, when the temple was demolished, at the request of the apostle St. Barnabas. There are near unto the cape of St. Epiphany two famous fountains, one of which is called the Amorous Fountain, because those who drink of its water grow passionately in love; and the other quite contrary, because it extinguishes this passion in a moment.

This

This isle abounds in wheat as well as wine, and other excellent viands, and supplieth other countries; the sun and soil render the wines very strong and agreeable, but after they are put into pitched vessels, they receive such a gust as is not pleasing to those that are not accustomed thereto, nevertheless all agree they are good for the stomach. You will find there all manner of pulse in abundance; barley, dates, mulberries, oranges, lemons, citrons, and all other fruits, except cherries, chefnuts, and forb-apples. There is no want of sugar, saffron, coriander, sesamum, lintel-seed, honey, and sometimes manna; the Egyptian bean, the herb whose ashes serves to make sours, and that with which they wash camblets and other cloths. There may be had rhubarb, turpentine, and scammony, and other things that are valuable. There are also veins of gold, copper, marchasite, latten, and of iron, roch-alum, pitch, rosin, sulphur, and salt-petre; and, besides, you may have there the berry wherewith they dye scarlet; as also coral, the emerald, chrystal diamonds, and other precious stones.

There are no great rivers in all the island, but only brooks and rivulets. There is a little river runs very near unto Nicosia, wherein are a great quantity of jaspers, which have the virtue, as is known, to stop blood. Besides, there is so great a quantity of cotton, that the inhabitants not only cloath themselves, and make all sorts of cloths therewith, but they furnish also Italy, and other parts; it is that which makes their principal revenues. They also gain considerable profit by white salt, which they get from a fair salt pit of sweet water and rain. This salt pit is at least ten miles about, and it is an admirable thing to view all that vast campaign, which appears as covered with snow; there is in the midst a pit that never freezeth, although all the salt pit is congealed. There may be seen also whole fields, which nature hath enriched with capers, without the labour of cultivating, and every one has the liberty to take as many as he pleases. Their mutton is very good meat, their sheep are large and fat, and have a prodigious tail, which yet is no longer than those of our country, but is at least half a foot broad, and so thick that it appears round; it hangs behind, and beats always their sides as they go along. Their goats have ears hanging downwards, and three fingers in breadth; their horns are a little more elevated than ours, and their forehead shorter, which gives them a greater grace and hardiness; they have also a tuft of hair in the midst of their forehead. It will be hard to believe a thing I have experimented, which is, that I have not seen in this kingdom, nor any part of the Levant, any animal, whether horse, mule, or ass, which trotting jolted his rider; they all go lightly and easy, and men are accustomed to ride their horses there without bridle, saddle, stirrup, or spurs; an halter sufficeth them, with a little clout spread upon the back of the beast. Finally, we may say, that this isle aboundeth with all delicacies: before they became subject to the Turks, they lived splendidly, and in freedom, but sensual. It produced formerly divers illustrious persons, performing great services to their country, and who have been very commendable for their knowledge and piety, viz. Asclepiades, the historian; Solon, one of the seven sages of Greece; Evagoras, Celobuia, Kenon of Cittia, author of the sect of the Stoics; Apollonias, the physician; Xenophon, the historian; and besides these, the apostle St. Barnabas, and Mark his cousin; Epaphroditus, and Paul Sergius; Titus, Nicanor, Epiphanius, and divers others.

This kingdom hath been from time to time subject to several masters; it were too tedious to make a repetition of its changes and revolutions. Selim, sultan of the Turks, took it by force in the year 1570, with an army of two hundred thousand men: but enough of Cyprus, we pass now into Syria.

CHAP. VI. — *Our Passage into Syria: of the City of Tripoli.*

I LOST all the time I had employed in this isle, to search for a conveniency to pass into Syria, inasmuch that I was constrained to go for Famagusta, in order to be transported hither. We parted from Saline on the 27th of August, and having a good wind we made ready by noon, and steered our course for Tripoli, where we arrived two days after very early, for this travel is not above one hundred and fifty miles; but it was more inconvenient unto us than all the rest of the voyage, because we were on board a very small vessel. We might have gone off sooner, had it not been for the neglect of our seamen, who retarded our departure, inasmuch that we were forced to cast anchor the second day, at seven or eight miles from port, being harassed all night with a tempest; and yet we durst not sail for fear of falling upon some rock, as we would unavoidably have done, if we had weighed anchor in the night; it is certain it was a dangerous night, but having got a wind on break of day, we arrived in a short time at the port of Tripoli, which is fortified with five fair towers, ranged on the shore. Although I was much indisposed, and cruel sea sick, having eat little or nothing for ten days, I found myself much recovered as soon as ever I set foot on land. Having caused my companion to be mounted on a little ass, I was willing to go on foot to Tripoli, which was two miles distant from the place we were at; the sun was already far advanced in the horizon, when I began to set forward on my way, and its beams were exceeding violent in that country, where it is also hot all the night; however, I failed not to divert myself to see fifty or sixty camels pass along, conducted by the Arabs, who are a black and cruel nation. These camels carry ashes, which they make of a certain herb that is burnt in those parts. They lay them in great heaps in certain pits, wherein they are hardened, and furnish hereby Venice, and most part of Europe, with a great quantity of matter to make very fine glasses. I also took much pleasure to view a green field, which might have been taken for a green and spacious garden, so well was it filled with mulberry and orange trees, of an agreeable smell, not to speak of many other fruit trees, which are as common there as elms, poplars, chestnut, and walnut-trees, with us.

Tripoli is situated on the foot of a mountain, in sight of the sea; there is about it a fortress upon a rock, that commands it entirely. This city abounds in many things, and is full of traffic; its principal commodity is silk, spun cotton, raisins, soap, tallow-candles, which are there made very good. There are at least five hundred Jews in that town, for the most part Spaniards and Portuguese, crafty in the way of trade, always ready to cheat the Christians, particularly the Italian merchants, who are there but a few, since the Venetians quitted those parts, and sail for Scanderoon. They have no other church here but a little chapel, which is in one of their houses, and for the most part have no priest to officiate therein. There you may find abundance of Greeks and Maronites, the first of which live in the town, the other lodge without in a small village that is about it. The Turks are there in greater numbers than any other nation, and wear a white turban; the Jews have ordinarily a red bonnet half a foot high, flat and round; the Italian Christians and Greeks wear a hat, or black bonnet; the Maronites a streaked turban, or bonnet, of a different form from that of the Jews. They all wore formerly a turban with this sole difference, that the Turks had a white, the Jews a yellow, and Christians a striped one; but the abuse crept amongst the Jews, who began to wear such great ones, as if they seemed willing to cope in grandeur with the great Ottoman signiors, wherefore it has been so ordered, that none but Turks should wear

wear the turban. The Jews, by reason hereof, have discontinued it entirely; the Christians have not the right one, but content themselves to have upon their bonnets some turns of a striped cloth, in form of a turban. There are also many Turks and Arabs of mean condition, who do the same thing with white stuff. We lodged with a Venetian merchant, who was a rich man, and knew our company in a more particular manner; he received us with much charity and civility; he put my companion, who was sick, upon a bed forthwith, and caused him to be served with every thing necessary for him. I went into the custom house to take out that which I had brought from Italy, part whereof was to be presented to the patriarch of the Maronites, on behalf of the pope, and the rest to be distributed amongst their churches; the whole consisted of some cases, one whereof was filled with church ornaments, and a patriarchal vest made all of cloth of gold and silver of great value. I did all that ever I could to hasten my journey to Mount Libanus, for there was but twenty miles from Tripoli to the place where the patriarch made his residence; but I was obliged to sojourn there for three days, in which time I observed that oxen carried burdens upon their backs like camels, mules, and asses, as wood, or any other necessary commodity; inasmuch, that saying seemed to me no longer true,

Optat Ephippia bos piger : Optat arare caballus.

However, I know full well, that they till their ground with horses in a great part of France, the which they practised also then in Syria, because of a certain distemper that had almost destroyed all their oxen. I was obliged to shut myself in the house for most part of the day, not daring to be known in that country; nevertheless I was very desirous to inform myself of their customs and manner of living. I mounted in the evening up the terrace, to take the air, and view the town as well as I could; I perceived the Jewish women upon the terraces of the neighbouring houses, and easily comprehended by that, that the place where David saw Bathsheba was but a terrace of the same fashion as that on the top of the house, and there is much appearance that these sort of terraces were in use at that time. I will speak no more of the other particulars I observed in that city, both at this time and the other, I was obliged to return back this way, for that I am unwilling to interrupt my history of the Maronites, which ought speedily to follow; but I will first exhibit somewhat I have seen and learnt of the manner of living of the Turks in that country.

CHAP. VII. — *The Fashion of the Turks Habits.*

THE Turks shave all their hair, yet there are many of them leave some growing on the crown of their heads, which makes a kind of a tuft; they do not shave their beards at all, but cast off the ends only of that on the upper lip: long beards are much in esteem amongst them, and the longer and larger they be, the more estimable are they. Wherefore it is one of the greatest menaces that can be made to any one, to threaten him with the cutting off of his beard, although this threat is ordinary enough amongst them. They wear upon their head a bonnet, which they call *Takia*, and which is made of cloth or silk intermixed with cotton, and place very neatly at the top a long and fine cloth of white cotton, which they call *Sesta*; whereof they make a great or small turban, according to the quality of the person. Those who are above others, in respect of birth or dignity, carry a great one; and there are some who have them of an excessive bigness. Their shifts, as well as other vests, are made without collars, and for the most part of white cotton; there are some who wear blue ones, with very

wide sleeves, infomuch that all the arm seems almost naked. The lower part of their shifts is not at all wide, at least they seem as sewed together at the end when they wear no drawers, and for that purpose they make them large. Their vests ordinarily are a little longer, and hang down to the ground. The vulgar wear commonly white, or of some other colour, but seldom black and green, perhaps, because the Franks wear ordinarily black, and that green is the colour of them of the race of Mahomet, who, they say, used to be dressed in that colour. Hence it comes, that none but those of his race wear any green turban, or a small piece of that colour fastened to the white. The Christians dare not have their cloaths, bonnet, or any other thing about them of that colour; they have two vests, the nethermost has a girdle to tie about it, and the upper is the Spain or Abb: they call it the Spain when the cloth is made of fine wool, and well wrought, as with us in Italy, for they are not so industrious as we in those countries. The Abb is more slightly woven, and consists of coarser wool; it is striped, and divided with long and broad black and white streaks. The girdle of the nether vest is made of thick narrow linen cloth, about three fingers broad, and long enough to come two or three turns about; or of a leathern string: one may see some of these girdles made of very fine silk, curiously wrought. They cover their legs with large drawers, which are made of fine linen cloth, or stuff, and descend down to the feet, which are naked, in shoes of black leather, or Spanish goat's leather of another colour, particularly red, blue, and yellow, to the end they may wash themselves with greater facility before their prayers. The form of their shoes differ not from ours, but they are not so neat and handsome, and have an higher instep; there is a little piece of leather, two or three fingers long, that serves for a string, fastened on each side to the ears of the shoes, with a button in the middle. But the slippers are much unlike ours, they wear them with shoes, and without; you cannot know them to be slippers, they are so much like unto shoes, unless they cover less of the feet before, for they do no more but hide the toes, and turn upwards very much; moreover, their sides are not so high as those of the shoes, and under the sole they place, instead of a heel, a little piece of iron in form of a crescent, which serves instead of leather, and makes much noise in going. They wear no hats to defend themselves from the rain, but have a piece of stuff extended over their turban, which is done so handsomely, that when it is gathered at the top and enlarged below, you would take it for a monk's hood; nevertheless they make use, against the rain, of a long cloak slightly made in the country, which keeps out the water very well; it hangs down as far as the middle of their leg, and together with their hood upon the turban, serves them not only in travelling, but also in the town. Those, which have none of this sort, wear a good thick cloth, which hath long and large sleeves; others are content with their Abb, which also keeps out the rain.

The women wear also shifts, vests, drawers, shoes and slippers, only that instead of the Spain, or Abb, they have a vest somewhat shorter than that of the men. They wear upon their head a toque of cloth or silk, ordinarily red or blue, which they adorn with work of gold and silver; their hair being gathered into tresses, hangs behind their shoulders, bound with ribband, or some other stuff; you cannot see it curled at top with them, nor any the like vanity; their countenance appears natural, and without painting; they wear rings, pendants in their ears, bracelets, wherein there is some medley or other, as polished iron, or pewter, or latin, or a good quantity of gold and silver, according to the quality of the woman and her condition. These bracelets are three or four fingers broad, and are not composed of divers rings as ours, but of one plate of metal, with but little form; and they not only wear them about their arms,

but

but also legs, near to their feet ; not that they can be seen in the streets dressed in this manner ; for, when they go out of their houses, they wrap themselves so close up in a linen or cotton cloth, that those that look upon them cannot see as much as their hands, although they are allowed the liberty of their arm and hand. Yet their faces are no more seen, for they are so careful to hide them with a black and white cloth, that there remains only but a little cleft before their eyes for them to see through. Sometimes they cover their faces with black crape, very transparent, through which they can see others, without being seen themselves. This is the manner of the women's going abroad, be they Jews, Greeks, Syrians, or Turks, that they may the more conveniently go along the streets. When they be wet or dirty, they wear buskins of Spanish goat's leather, which reach up as far as the knee, and so tucking up their cloaths on each side, they pass through, without being at all wet, or bedaubed with dirt. The Maronites have other customs, of which we shall speak hereafter.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of the Belief of the Turks.*

ONE need not doubt, but that those hearts which have not the true worship of God, nor the knowledge of his faith, have expelled virtue to replenish themselves with all manner of vice ; it is this which I have manifestly known amongst these nations, who indeed confess that our Lord was an holy man, and a great prophet, which makes them honour the place of his birth, and burn lamps there, as may be seen still at Bethlehem, but they believe not that he was God, nor the Son of God ; neither will they believe he died upon the cross, for they say he substituted another in his place, and for that purpose withdrew himself from the hands of the Jews, passing through a hole, or large cranny, which was above the place where he was retired that night to pray, and that he appeared not since that time. They worship no other but Mahomet, whom they pretend to be a greater prophet ; and it were scarce credible with what devotion and magnificence they guard his tomb at Mecca, what expence they are at to receive them that come to visit it, and in what degree of sanctity they are held who perform this pilgrimage, particularly those who are born by the way. They bear all the name of Scerif, which signifies great saint ; they also, as all other nations, have priests, which they call Santons, taking for that purpose the most zealous observers of their law, although the best of them are no less vicious than the rest. This is the ceremony they observe at the creation of their priest ; they cause them to come into the presence of the people, and extolling their zeal and virtue, they add, that they have regard thereunto, and so make them Santons. Then all the company presently run to kiss their hands, and so after this ceremony they become priests. Their office is to apply their cares to the mosques, and there is none but respects them, even to the sultan himself. Besides these Santons, they have also amongst them other inconsiderable persons, who appear all slashed, hacked, and half naked, carrying for the most part a stick in their hands, to which are fastened rags.

The Turks have beads which they tell over ; they carry them in their hands, or hung at their girdle, but they are much different from ours, for each bead of theirs is of the same bigness, and have none of that distinction we have of the tenth in ten beads, although they are composed of six tens. They have, moreover, another kind of beads, which are divided into three parts with small threads, because this sort is greater than others, consisting of an hundred grains, yet they employ no more time than we in telling them over ; but, on the contrary, have sooner done, because they say not at each bead a whole prayer, but these words, *Stafurla*, i. e. "Praise be to God ;" or
else

else, Effeñh L'allah, Elmayd L'allah; which signifies, "Praise to God, Glory to God." They are not suffered to eat pork, nor to drink wine. See the reason why Mahomet forbad them the use of pork: when he had hidden under ground some vessels full of water, to perform a miracle like unto that of Moses, to shew thereby that he was a great prophet, it happened that this animal, which digs always in the earth, spoiled all this mystery. As for wine he forbad it, for that being entered into a village, accompanied with some soldiers, they pressed him to pay for their drink, and being drunk, they would have compelled him to grant them the use of the women of that place; and having refused it, whether that he could not or would not grant it, they thereupon abused him; in consideration therefore of these two accidents, he forbad pork and wine to his followers. Nevertheless, there are but a few persons of quality that observe this forbiddance; the rest of the people covet it with eagerness, and drink it without water, which is the reason that you may meet all day long with drunken folks, but they are not punished. They have strange liberty to sin, from whence proceeds intinuity of villainies, for that they believe, in washing their feet, they cleanse also their souls of all pollution. They acknowledge no other confession, but a small pitcher of water, which they reserve to that purpose; and they imagine they can be saved by so easy a means. They believe also, that we who are Christians, can be saved by our law, but they condemn all other religions. They have for that effect a pleasant story, saying, that at the highest part of the wall of Jerusalem, opposite to mount Olivet, there is a piece of a pillar that stands a little out of the wall, where there will be a little gate for an entrance into the said column; that Mahomet and Jesus Christ will come to universal judgment, that the first will stand upon that pillar, and the other opposite to him on mount Olivet; that both of them will hold in their hand a cord, which will be extended over the valley of Jehosaphat; that all must walk upon that cord, and that we and they shall go safely thereon into paradise, each being assisted by his prophet; but with this difference, that in paradise, where flow rivers of honey, they shall enjoy all sorts of pleasure, as well in eating and drinking, as in the use of beautiful women; and instead of that, we shall serve them with horses and mules to ride upon. And finally, that the Jews, and all other sects, shall fall under the cord into hell, where they shall suffer eternal punishment.

CHAP. IX. — *My Arrival at Mount Libanus, and how I was received by the Patriarch, and of the Difficulties I found in my first Conference with him.*

I MUST now return to my voyage, from whence I have somewhat digressed. Finding myself out of the danger of Tripoli, I departed from thence on the last day of August, three hours before sun-setting, and being accompanied with divers persons of that country I was going to, I mounted on a little ass that went rarely well, and taking our way towards the mountain, we travelled as long as day lasted; but as soon as night approached, we rested ourselves in a village appertaining to the Maronites, where after having made an ordinary repast, we lay upon mats extended over a terrace, and rested ourselves there for the space of six hours; then journeying through rough, steep, and uneven ways, we arrived in nine hours at a place called Eden, which in the Hebrew, signifies "a place of pleasure and delight;" there we refreshed our beasts, which were wearied. We performed the rest of our journey after the heat of the day was over, and arrived on the first of September, at sun-setting, at the monastery of Caunubin, where resides the patriarch of the Maronites, towards which place his holiness had sent me. My arrival was as unawares, yet there were divers priests, and some other persons, that
came

came pretty far to meet me on behalf of the patriarch, who was obliged to keep his bed for a whole year past, because of his age and infirmity. I was conducted to the monastery, where I was received with great demonstrations of joy, and with the sound of three considerable bells, which they have there by a particular privilege. I went first to the church, and afterwards to the patriarch's house: I found the church pretty enough, but a little dark, and ill ordered. As to the patriarch, I accosted him in a little chamber which had no hangings, because he made profession of a monastic life, and that the insatiable avarice of the Turks suffered him not to be better accommodated. I found him sitting upon his bed, with his patriarchal turban in his hand; and, after I had made him my obeisance, I presented him with his holiness's brief, which he very devoutly kissed, and placed afterwards upon his head, which is a mark of respect in that country. He observed the same ceremony when I gave him the cardinal protector's, and our general's letters; he enquired after their health with demonstrations of a grand affection, and I entertained him with the good intention of his holiness, and the great care he took both of his person and the whole nation. After I had spent some time with him, I was conducted to supper. Next day, believing that father Fabio, whom I had left sick at Tripoli, was somewhat recovered and could sit on horseback, I sent a good mule to carry him very easily to the place where I was. In effect, he arrived there three days after, but he was so weak still that he was obliged to keep his bed, wherein he remained fifteen days, and indeed he never was well since that time.

I began, after the second day of my arrival, to discourse of my affairs with the patriarch: I explained unto him the design of my voyage, with which he testified himself to be well satisfied. However, he could not forbear to inform me of two things which much troubled him: the first, that his holiness had sent him only but a simple brief, instead of addressing to him a large and solemn bull, which might authentically set forth the antiquity of their belief, and their re-union with the holy see, as the popes his predecessors had done; that it would have been great consolation to the bishops and all the people that should see it; and that he had so much the more reason to expect it, because he had employed the precedent year a person to his holiness, to prostrate himself at his feet, and to render him in his own name, as well as in the name of all the nation, the submissions that were due unto him, as being all his good and faithful children. He complained also, that his holiness had made him no answer to his intreaty of being confirmed in his ancient title of patriarch of Antioch.

After I had heard these complaints with attention, I made him answer as I judged most proper; after which he seemed very pleasant. I proposed unto him afterwards an overture of a synod, to the end we might know what was then the true estate of religion in those parts. I added, that for that purpose he needed only convocate the bishops, which might, without danger, render themselves at the place where we then were. This proposition gave him occasion to make far greater complaints than before; he set forth the reasons he had of an heavy complaining against a synod that had been held some years before, where had been presented unto him and to the bishops a blank paper to sign, with assurance that it should be filled up with nothing but what should be good and profitable for the nation, and that, having signed it with much facility, they had been abused; for that those who required this signed blank, were no sooner returned to Tripoli, than they filled it up with a great number of errors, and considerable heresies, and without giving information hereof to any one of the synod, or leaving any copy behind, they had most maliciously defamed them to the pope and his cardinals; that, out of the fear he had of the like inconvenience, he vigorously opposed my request unto him. The foundation of this complaint appeared so strange to me that I could scarce believe

believe it, but the matter of fact being reported by so considerable a person that affirmed it, and being also confirmed by all his assistants, I durst not deny it; I endeavoured to excuse it as well as I could, and promised to use my efforts to recall this writing, to the end I might appease his much irritated spirits. I assured him also, on my part, that I would undertake nothing without his participation and consent. At last he presented another great difficulty, or part, of the war that raged extremely between the Turks and Christians; for the sultan was in the field in person with a puissant army, which rendered the execution of a synod exceeding difficult, for it was dangerous to assemble the principal persons of a nation to treat at that conjuncture with an envoy of the pope. But I satisfied also the patriarch in this point, telling him that means might be found out to assemble them under other pretences. This good old man then consented to my intreaty, and writ to the bishops to invite them to a synod; but, as we could get together but two, I thought it convenient to remit that assembly till another time. In the mean while, I made use of this opportunity to visit the deacons; they are but two in number, and perform the office of secular magistrates to govern the people, judging their differences, and treating with the Turks about all matters that regard the tributes, and about every other affair that occurs. The principal of these two is a man of great experience and penetrating judgment, who is expert in war, and well inclined to religion. He approved forthwith of my design, and was willing to take the care upon him to assemble the bishops, and all others whomsoever I pleased, although he was then sick of a fever, under which he had laboured all the day. He assured me, he would render himself there, with the other deacon, his companion, and that he would endeavour I should receive satisfaction in whatever I proposed; but I judged it better to defer the meeting till such time as he was recovered, and that, in the mean while, I might inform myself more particularly of all things.

CHAP. X. — *Of the Cedars of Libanus and the Holy River, and of the Nature of the Ground of Mount Libanus.*

I went to see, during that space of time, the cedar trees, which were not very far off; they stand upon an high and craggy mountain, and are called saints, because of their antiquity. And the natives believe they are still the same as those that were in Solomon's time, which is the reason they visit them with great devotion, especially on the day of the transfiguration of our Lord; at which time they say mass most solemnly at the foot of a cedar, upon an homely altar of stone. Moreover, as these trees are but a few in number, they esteem it a miracle that they cannot be reckoned exactly. I counted twenty-three, and another of my companions but twenty-one; and there is a great deal of appearance that the same root sends forth in some of them two branches, which are sometimes reckoned for one, sometimes for two. They never sell them to make boards, but there is an infinite number of other trees for common uses, growing upon two other mountains, which are situated in such a manner that, being joined to the former, they form a kind of cross. That which they call the mountain of saints, forms the top, and the other two the sides. They affirm that certain Turks, who fed their flocks thereabouts, having been so impious and hardy as to cut down some of these trees they call Saints, were punished forthwith with the utter loss of their beasts. One may also see there the spring of a rivulet, which the inhabitants call the Holy River, for that it takes its source from the mountain whereon grow the cedar-saints in a very hidden and delicious place, and from it descends along the valley, running with little murmuring streams amongst flint stones.

I was

I was very much satisfied to have seen the foresaid place ; and, in my return to the monastery, where resided the patriarch, I informed myself of the goodness of the soil, of the customs and ways of living in that country, as also of their belief ; and I endeavoured to observe them as exactly as possibly I could.

All the country consists of stony and high mountains, which extend from north to south ; it is also a good day's journey in breadth, and four or five long ; so that in circumference it may be six or seven hundred miles. Yet these mountains, by the industry and labour of men, seem for the most part, like a plain, for they gather the stones together in some low places, which are dispersed here and there, and raise up high walls therewith ; and, so proceeding on daily, erect others therewith, inasmuch that, by the force of levelling mountains, and filling up of the vallies, they make of a barren mountain a pleasant champaign, which may be easily cultivated, and such as is very pleasant and agreeable. This country abounds in corn, excellent wines, oil, cotton, silk, honey, wax, wood, savage and tame animals, and especially in goats : as for small animals there are but a few, because the winter there is very sharp, and that they have snow continually. They have a great number of sheep, big and fat as those of Cyprus. As soon as you pass Cyprus there are no more hogs to be seen, because the Turks eat none ; but, in recompence to that, you shall find a great number of wild boars in their forests, as well as bears, tigers, and other the like animals.

The rest of the country is filled with partridges, which are big as hens ; no dove-houses are to be seen there, nor in all the Levant, but there are abundance of pigeons, turtle-doves, black-birds, gnat-snappers, and all sorts of birds. There are also eagles, and many squirrels to be seen. They never use spades to their vineyards, but they cultivate them with their oxen, for they are planted with straight rows of trees far enough one from another. They use no props to support the trees, but let them creep along the earth ; the wine that is produced therefrom is delicate and exceeding pleasant ; it is a very surprising thing to see the bigness of the grape, which is equal to a prune ; and I easily comprehended in seeing of them, why the Hebrews pushed forwards with so much passion the conquest of the Land of Promise, after they had seen the grape which the spies of Joshua brought back from the neighbouring countries.

The mountains abound, therefore, not only in stones but in all other things necessary to support life ; and I doubt not but that they are embowelled with rich mines. There is a certain place, a little above the monastery of Caunubin, where are found stones which give light like unto flambeaux, which apparently discover that they are composed of matter full of sulphur and bitumen. There may also be seen in other places, ground fit for the production of iron. As I continued on my journey, the deacon, Joseph Cater, who was with me, assured me, that it was but very lately, at the eating of a goat, he found all her teeth of a silver colour. This confirms that which I observed in Cindia ; to wit, that the animals that live on Mount Ida eat a certain herb which renders their teeth of a golden colour, which, according to my judgment, cannot otherwise proceed than from the mines which are under ground.

CHAP. XI. — *Of the Custom of the Maronites, and of their Manner of Living.*

THE Maronites will not suffer the Turks to live amongst them, although they be in all the rest of Syria, so that you cannot see one there ; they are beholden for it to the great care of their deacons, who spare neither their purses nor their lives to that purpose. There live, therefore, upon their mountains no other than the Christians, which they call Maronites, who have taken their name from a certain abbot called Maron, whom

they sent to Rome to the pope in the time that all the east was separated from the holy see, and divided it into divers sects. This abbot returned from thence with the title of patriarch over them, who lived firm and constant in their faith. This same person led a religious life, so that they invoke him as such in their masses. They do not inhabit great cities and magnificent palaces, but little villages, whereof there is a great number, and in divers places. Their houses are mean and little worth, not but that they have noble and rich persons amongst them, but they are tyrannized so over by the Turks, that they are constrained to shun all manner of grandeur and ostentation; they make themselves poor, that they may shun ill treatment, and they affect also to go meanly clad. Their habit differs not from that of the other Levantines, which consists of a turban and little vest that descends down to the knees, or to the middle of the leg, and sometimes they wear the Spain or Abb to cover it; they go ordinarily with their legs naked, although there be some who have drawers on, according to the Turkish manner, with shoes. The arms they use are the bow, harquebus, scymetar, and dagger; they are very tall men, of a natural sweetness, docible to arms, and resemble the Italians more than any other nation. They use no tables, nor stools to sit on, but instead thereof sit down cross-legged upon mats or carpets spread upon the ground, and there eat and drink. Instead of a table-cloth they lay a round piece of leather, and cover it about with bread, though there be but two or three to eat. They sit round, and put the victuals in the middle; they eat just as the Turks do, making no use of napkins, knives, nor so much as forks, but have only very pretty wooden spoons; and when they drink, the glass goes round. If any one eats in another's house, it is the master of the house that waits, and serving every one with his glass, so that he has no manner of repose at the table. They drink often; however, their glasses are but small. The more they drink the more honour they think they do to their host; and although the leather that serves for a table-cloth be taken up, yet they cease not to drink as long as there is any wine in the vessel. These leathern table-cloths are neatly folded up with the drawing of a small cord that is round about them. If any one comes in after they are set at table, when he has saluted the company, he sits down, eats and drinks without any more ado, and it were a great incivility to do otherwise. They use no sheets to their beds they sleep in, but only cotton coverlets; each fastens a string to the coverlet, and so lies under it.

When they make any bargain, they use great simplicity, for they have no scriveners to draw writings, but they take one another's words, or a simple piece of paper, or else trust to the faith of some witness, and use the same manner at the making of their wills. They content not themselves to weep only for the dead, but make hideous cries and lamentations, and cease not furiously to agitate their bodies here and there. They dress no victuals for some time in the house of the deceased, but their relations and friends supply them; wherefore, at the usual times of repast, you shall see many women enter with baskets on their heads full of victuals, and the men come soon after to comfort the relations of the deceased, and to eat with them.

These people let their beards grow, and shave their heads, which is the reason that they never uncover them, no more than the other nations of the Levant. They highly respect their priests, and when they meet them they kiss their hand, and the priest gives them the benediction, forming the sign of the cross, accompanied with certain words over them. If they have a priest at their table, they make him drink first; besides, he drinks also last, in reciting certain orisons, and no body is suffered to drink after him. If they mount on horseback to go some journey, they present themselves civilly to a priest, praying him to grant them the benediction, and recite over them some prayers
before

before they set forth on their journey. The use of incense is very common amongst them, for they are not only served therewith in the churches, but also at the beginning and ending of their repasts, when they crave a blessing upon their victuals, and return God thanks for the same. If at any time a person of quality comes amongst them, or one of principal degree in the church, a priest goes before to receive him with incense.

The Maronite women are civil and modest, their manner of dress differs not much from the Italian, their apparel descends to the ground, and covers their breast and shoulders entirely; it is very plain, being but cloth of white cotton, or at best but of a violet or blue colour, and sometimes a little wrought. They wear upon their heads a kind of linen veil, which covers all their hair both before and behind. If they meet by chance with a man they know not, they shun him, or cover their faces with their veil. There are many of them who, like the Turkish women, wear certain bracelets upon their arms and legs, and others of the form of a fillet at the forehead, with small pieces of silver. They use not to curl their hair, nor to paint their faces, neither can you see other the like vanity amongst them; which is so much the more commendable in them as the contrary is blame-worthy in our European dames.

When they come to church, they place not themselves amongst the men, nor yet where they may see their faces, for all the men sit at the upper part of the church, and they stay near to the door for to get first out as soon as service is done, to the end they may not be seen of any. There is no man stirs from his place till they be all gone forth. The country is altogether free from debauched and common women, so that you can hear there no manner of discourse of adulteries, or other the like vices, which is a particular favour of God.

CHAP. XII. — *Of their Sciences and Books, and of their Money they pay to the Turks.*

THEIR priests are as ignorant as the common people, for they can but only read and write. Those amongst them are esteemed most learned who, besides the Arabic language, which is the mother tongue, have some knowledge in the Chaldee, which is regarded by them as the Latin is by us. There are not above three or four who, being returned from Rome, thoroughly understand philosophy and theology; but we hope by the help of God, that there shall be, for the time to come, a greater number of them, of whom there is great care taken to have them instructed in the college that has been founded for them at Rome, which is very necessary for those parts. They have no convenience nor advantage of printing, no more than in all the rest of the Levant, which might have been of great use to publish and multiply their books; however, I think it a great happiness to this nation, and also to all Christianity, for that, not having amongst them any knowing persons, the rest of the Levant being filled with Jews, Turks, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Dioscorians, Eutychians, Copties, Abyssines, Greeks, Georgians, Melhites, and other sects, their wicked books would multiply too fast by the help of printing; and besides, their good books would have been easily corrupted, and stuffed up with falsities and errors.

They write, therefore, their books in manuscript, although that is not totally exempt from danger, for that the transcribers can add thereto, and change at their pleasure; however, that requires pains and much time, and there being but a few scribes in those parts, there is not much reason to fear it, and they may always easily remedy it. They make use of certain canes to write with, not knowing the use of goose quills, and other birds. They do not read as we do, from the left to the right, but quite contrary, from

the right to the left, after the manner of the Jews. They begin also their books as they do, that is to say, where we end ; yet they observe not altogether the manner of the Jews writing, to wit, from right to left, but, turning their paper side-ways, write a-crofs.

One cannot imagine what vast sums the Christians of mount Libanus pay to the Turks ; besides the Carage, which is an ordinary tribute, they make daily new Avanges, and continual extortions. The Carage is great, for every one pays separately for his goods, person, and his religion. The second tribute amounts to seventeen crowns a head, as well for children of nine or ten years of age, as for men. The first is a crown for every eight feet of land one possesseth. The emir Elias, the governor of the country for the sultan, sends to gather these tributes ; and, although the Grand Seignior hath fixed the sum he is to collect for all the year, yet he ceaseth not to demand more. And the receiver comes not hither simply to take the air ; if they do not pay, forthwith comes another receiver, who augments the sum ; the which they call the Carage, or Tribute of Solicitation, and the longer they retard the payment the more the sum increaseth. Wherefore it comes to pass that, if any one has not his money ready, he is obliged to take it from the Turks upon very great interest ; and, if he finds himself unwilling to accept of it upon the conditions, he is constrained to sell his land forthwith for as much as he can get for it ; inso much that it happens oftentimes, that one loseth a great inheritance, or a tenement of four or five thousand crowns value, for a very small matter ; nay, sometimes for a crown. The dead pay their Carage as well as the living, for, as the Grand Seignior esteems himself absolute master of the country, and of all the estates of the inhabitants, to whom he grants only the use of them, he believes, that in case of mortality, all their possessions ought to return to him, and by consequence the right heirs or testators, if they have a mind to enjoy them peaceably, ought to pay him a certain sum proportionable to the estates they inherit. Some pay ten or a dozen crowns, others forty or fifty ; and it amounts sometimes to an hundred or two of crowns, or more. There is a person who rangeth the country up and down continually, for to learn who are dead, to the end he may raise the tribute. If any one has been lately interred he soon perceives it, and causeth them also oftentimes to open the graves, to see if there be any newly dead.

Moreover, if any one has business necessary to be treated about with the Emir, be it to demand a favour or justice, he concludes nothing but by the force of money. No person durst appear before this judge without large sums and presents ; he that carries most, receives most profit ; and it is almost incredible how much money he squeezeth from these poor people in a year, nay every day, so insupportable is the tyranny of the Turks, and so miserable is the condition of them who live under their dominion. The violence is too great, and I cannot believe it can be endured any long time ; many of them are already withdrawn, and have abandoned their lands and houses ; others depart daily, and go into other countries, being no longer able to indure the grand impositions wherewith they are furcharged. They choose rather to live in the poverty and afflictions of a voluntary banishment, than to remain with their estates in their own country, under so insupportable a tyranny. Although these are withdrawn, the Emir pretends he will lose upon that consideration none of the ordinary tribute : he is paid yearly by the two deacons, two thousand crowns for these abandoned estates, part of which they pay out of their own pockets, and the rest is paid by the people, to the end he send not any Turks into those places for to possess them ; but I shall no longer detain the reader with the relation of a thing so sad and deplorable.

CHAP. XIII. — *Of their Ecclesiastics and Religious.*

WE must now begin to speak of the belief and religion of these people; and for your better understanding you must know, they have, as all others, laics, ecclesiastics, and religious; but, having sufficiently spoken of the laics, we are now to say something of the ecclesiastics and religious.

The clergy have their degrees, as well sacred as not sacred: this pretty hierarchy, which has been established in the church, is perfectly represented in the person of the patriarch, who is subject to the pope, and that of divers bishops, and of a good number of priests, who are governed by the bishops. The patriarch and the bishops keep a perpetual celibate, and there are none but the monks that are admitted to this dignity, for there are none but these that live unmarried. If they take any one that has broken this order, they lock him up forthwith in a monastery, and he eats no more bread.

There are two sorts of bishops amongst them, one of which are but mere abbots of monasteries, and have no care of souls upon them; they have neither the mark nor episcopal habit, but are dressed as other monks are, and have only this privilege, that they carry the mitre and cross in singing of mass. The other have under their governments the greatest churches, and wear a vest nethermost altogether, according to the mode of the country, and over that a Spain, or violet-coloured cloth, which descends down to the ground, with a very great blue turban. The patriarch is clothed in the same manner as the bishops, and it is he alone that hath the particular jurisdiction of all mount Libanus, excepting some places too remote from him, where he placeth some bishop for that end; but, as he cannot always in person visit so great an extent of land, which is very difficult, he keeps by him two or three bishops, one of which applies himself particularly to the administration of Caunubin, where the patriarch resideth, and to collect the taxes and revenues of the country, which amount to three or four thousand crowns. He sends the other here and there into different places, for to visit the churches, and supply their necessities. There are, moreover, three other bishops without these mountains, which have also their jurisdiction apart, but yet with a dependence upon the same patriarch; one of which resides at Damas, the other at Aleppo, and the third in the isle of Cyprus. Every one has the care of the Maronites, which have a dependence on him.

The other priests, and with much more reason the deacons and sub-deacons, can, at least, if they be not monks, marry before they receive holy orders, which they are the rather constrained to do, because the people look not favourably upon them if they be not married, especially such as are young; and the bishops do with great difficulty admit them into orders, if they confine not themselves into the monasteries or do not marry. The deacons, sub-deacons, and the other inferior clerks, have no other habit but such as the laics wear. The priests are not distinguished but by a blue turban, which they wear a little less than that of the bishops; and, as to the rest, they do no way differ from others.

The religious have none of that distinction of order and profession that is used elsewhere, they are all alike: I am persuaded that these monks are the remnants of those ancient hermits which lived separate from mankind, and dwelled in great numbers in the deserts of Syria and Palestine; there are excellent authors that have treated of them, and I believe I have myself good proofs for to support that opinion.

The first are the places of their abode; for their residence is not in delicious plains, or on pleasant little hills, accommodated with agreeable prospects, nor in well-peopled cities and places frequented by men, but they are retired to the most abstruse parts of these

these mountains, separated from all commerce, and living under great rocks; so that they seem to dwell in grotts and caverns, fit rather for wild beasts than habitations for men.

Their poor and ordinary apparel serves for a second proof: they wear but a pit fil, unvaluable, ill-shaped coat, wherein they wrap themselves, with a black caul upon their heads; and this vestment descends only from the shoulders to the girdle, without any thing to cover their shoulders withal; neither is there any other habit cut according to the fashion of these, that are used amongst all the community of their religious.

Their manner of living furnished us with a third proof: they live only upon that which the earth itself produceth, and never eat any flesh, though they be sick and in danger of death. As for wine, they very rarely drink any. They have no particular rules, nor written constitutions, for to be observed by every one, as may be seen in all other religious houses who are established to live in community. They make no express profession of the three vows of religion; to wit, poverty, chastity, and obedience; but, when they are received into the monastery where they make profession, one holds a book in his hand and reads only something that belongs to them, advertising them, that they ought to live in continence, and adds many the like things. These advertisements are sufficient to make them keep a perfect chastity. You shall never hear any scandalous or ill report of them, although they continually go alone up and down, and stay oftentimes many days together out of their monastery. They have goods and money of their own, and can dispose thereof at their death. If they have no longer a mind to stay in the monastery, they go into another, without the leave of their superiors.

In the fourth place, they are never permitted to exercise any ecclesiastical function; they have no spiritual exercise in common for the good of their neighbour, and have no power either to preach or confess, so that they are only for themselves.

In the fifth place, they give to their superiors and chiefs the name of Abbot, as the hermits did of old.

Finally, I shall take for the sixth and last proof, the name they bear of the monks of St. Anthony; and it is this that ought to make some impressions upon the spirits of those who would search out the cause why those religious are so called.

Has this good man ever founded any religious house for to live in community? Did he not live a solitary and hermetical life in the deserts of Egypt, exercising the function of abbot, in regard to those that led the same life of himself? There is, therefore, reason to believe that this was the true original of the monks, which are at this day in mount Libanus, and which are called the monks of St. Anthony. Many have imagined that they were reduced to that poverty they live in, through the continual oppression of the Turks, who obliged them to labour and cultivate the earth; but I do not doubt but that was the end of their constitution, for so much as the holy hermits and servants of God, for to shun idleness, and gain their living by the industry of their own hands, accustomed themselves to labour for a good part of the day; these same had many persons under them, whom they employed in the hardest labours, and they contented themselves to carry on the same and render it less painful. As to their hospitality, the use whereof, perhaps, they have preserved since their foundation, they highly exercise it, especially in the monastery of Caunubin, where there is kept an open table for all the year round, admittance being never forbid, not only to the Maronites and other Christians, but also to the Turks, and all comers, who are welcome to eat what they please, which is the cause of vast expence unto them; for, as it is the ordinary residence of the patriarch, it is incredible what multitudes are drawn thither daily, either through necessity, curiosity, business, or some other matter.

CHAP. XIV. — *Of the Errors that have been imposed upon them.*

I DISCOVERED, with much evidence, the abuses whereof I am about to speak, and some others of the same nature, which made me open my eyes, and apply myself with all industry to every thing that might regard their belief, not only because these matters were of very great importance, being the foundation of all religion, but also because I had learned that, some years past, they had been attributed unto them amongst other errors.

1. That there was in Jesus Christ but one nature, to wit, the divine.
2. That the Holy Ghost proceeded only from the Father.
3. That all the Trinity was incarnated, died on the cross, and rose again. And those that attributed these errors unto them, said, that that was the reason why they added to the trisagion, which is sung by the angels, *Qui natus es pro nobis, qui crucifixus es pro nobis, qui surrexisti & ascendisti in calum pro nobis miserere nobis*; as if they retained the ancient errors condemned in the fifth council of Constantinople.
4. That an husband might put away his wife, and take another, if she committed adultery, or for other reasons.
5. That there is no original sin.
6. That the souls that departed from their bodies saw not heaven for to be there rewarded, nor hell to be there punished, but that they attended for that till the universal judgment: and that, in the mean time, they remained in a place where there was neither grief nor joy.
7. That it is lawful to deny one's belief outwardly, and also by words, provided it be treasured up in the heart.
8. That the sacrament of confirmation was not distinct from baptism.
9. That they gave the eucharist to young children.

Although I used all my own industry to be informed of these errors, and employed others for that purpose, yet I could never discover but two of them, to wit, the repudiation of their wives, and the communion which they gave to children. I am very well satisfied that the first is not an error, whereof the whole nation ought to be accused, as if it approved of this divorcement, but an accident that happened two or three times, which had been fomented through the violence and tyranny of the Turks, who favoured the designs of some profligates who had put away their wives to marry others of whom they were enamoured. These sort of people, being not able to obtain the consent of the patriarch to marry them, had recourse to the Emir, who gave them, for their money, permission to do it, giving them his letters to the patriarch to excuse them, who dissembled his resentments thereof upon just considerations. It is certain that, the like case happening at the time of my being there, the patriarch would no ways content thereto; but, not being able to remedy it, he was obliged to pass it by. In regard to the second error, it is common to all, neither can it be esteemed an error, nor heresy, since the church hath heretofore practised the same thing for a long time. As for the other errors, I understood very well that they had been falsely charged with them; however, having read in one of their books, I know not what, concerning one will and one operation in Jesus Christ, and some other impure things, I resolved to put all these articles separately into writing, and to propose each in particular to the Synod, when it should be assembled, before it came to the reformation of abuses.

CHAP. XV. — *Of the Assembling of a Synod, and of the Profession of Faith that was made there.*

AFTER I had informed myself of all things as well as possibly I could, I applied all my cares to give notice forthwith of the synod, for which I had such a desire, to the bishops, two deacons, and to the most understanding clergy. They assembled the 28th of December, which is the 18th according to the computation of the Maronites, who have not received the reformation of the kalendar of Gregory XIII. The patriarch then, and those which were summoned, finding themselves together, read publicly the pope's brief, which contained my mission, and the authority I had from his holiness; and, as every one remained silent, I exposed unto them at large the reasons that had moved me to convocate this assembly. I represented unto them the importance of it, and entertained them, at the same time, with the great care and affection his holiness had towards them; then I spoke a few words to the bishops in particular, touching their duty, and the charge they had of the church.

I divided the matters to be treated of into three heads; the first whereof related to their belief; the second to the young Maronites, that were to be sent from that country to Rome; and thirdly, to those that would be sent back again from Rome unto them. As I was ready to open the synod with the matters that regarded the belief and conformity of their religion to the church of Rome, I was interrupted by the patriarch, who testified his having received much displeasure about a synod that had been held some years ago from Rome, protesting that neither he nor his predecessor had done nor approved of what was transacted; whereupon he detested and anathemized the errors which had been imposed upon them and the nation. He anathemized all those that held them, or had ever held them, assuring us, that he had always followed, and would still for the future, the church of Rome. To which words the prime deacon, being transported with zeal, added these, 'Yes, we will follow, and never separate in any part from it, whatever misery may befall us.' Indeed, I conceived much joy to see that the beginning was accompanied with so firm a resolution, and such great steadfastness of spirit, so that it encouraged me in such a manner, that I believed I had no farther search to make to render me certain of my enquiries. However, to be more assured, and also to justify them, I applied myself to examine all the errors, one after another, and that every one in particular should declare his belief. All, with one consent agreed, without any dispute or controversy, and made profession together of the following articles.

I. That there is in Jesus Christ but one person which is divine, with two natures, two wills, and two operations; one of which is divine, the other human. It was a great comfort to me to see in all their books very ample testimonies of this truth; I found also particular works composed upon this subject, which were well handled, and filled with a great number of authorities drawn from the Old and New Testament, as well as from the Latin and Greek fathers.

II. That the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and Son, as from the only principle; that which is read, not only by them in divers places of their books, but also such as is rehearsed by them in the creed, *Qui est, patre & filio procedit.*

III. That the Son alone was incarnated, and not the whole Trinity; as also who was born, died, who rose again, and who ascended into heaven; and, for that reason, they took the word Trifagion two manner of ways, applying it sometimes to the whole Trinity, sometimes to the second Person only; but, when they took it for the first, they

added it not at all; but when for the second, they added it by coherence to the incarnation, birth, death, and other the like things, which truly agreed with Jesus Christ.

IV. That it might be judged by their actions, that they acknowledged a place of purgatory, and original sin; that the first was sufficiently set forth by their alms and prayers.

V. That the second proved itself plainly by the baptism they gave to little infants, to the end, that being washed and cleansed of their sins, they might obtain eternal life, although they had committed no actual sin that required their being washed and cleansed by that sacrament, knowing that St. Augustine made often use of that argument, to prove that same truth against the Pelagians of his time.

VI. That souls, generally speaking, when they depart from the body, go straight to heaven to enjoy blessedness, or to hell, to be there eternally punished, or for a time to purgatory.

VII. That it is never lawful to deny one's faith in words, as Jesus Christ himself manifestly declared: 'He that denies me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.'

VIII. Finally, that in marriage they permitted sometimes a separation of living, but that nothing but death was able to dissolve the bond of matrimony, in such a manner, as that it was lawful for the husband to espouse another, conformable to those words of Jesus Christ, which are so expressed: 'Whosoever puts away his wife, and marries another, commits adultery.'

I failed not to object, and lay before them, those books wherein I found some errors: they made answer, that they were not their true books, but that they had been maliciously contrived by the Jacobins, and dispersed amongst their nation; that as to the rest, their books were very different, and that the pope had received false information of them; which satisfied me so much the more, because in their actions I discovered that it was so in effect. I saw in their books, which they acknowledged for true, nothing but what was catholic; and as others have not made that distinction with exactness enough, one ought not to be astonished, if they return to Rome with such contrary informations. Wherefore having received, by what is here demonstrated, and by many other enquiries and circumstances transacted in this synod, plenary satisfaction of the firmness of their belief, we made several canons to reform the abuses amongst them, and to confirm the profession they made here of their faith, and added what other things we thought necessary to oblige them to a firm constancy therein.

CHAP. XVI. — *Of the Maronites that were to be sent to Rome; and of those that should return from thence into their own Country.*

I HAD yet said nothing of two points, that belonged to my commission; the first had regard to the young Maronites, that they should be sent to the college at Rome, to be instructed there; and the second, to those who had finished their studies there, and should be sent back to them to labour, and assist their brethren in all spiritual concerns. As to the first, we encountered no difficulty in it; for so soon as we declared our desires, it was unanimously consented to. See what was proposed; that all those that should be sent to Rome should not be dull and stupid, and that they should at least be able to read and write, and have some knowledge in the rudiments of grammar, to the end that they might be sooner serviceable to their country; wherefore, it was necessary they should send them of the age of fourteen; that they should not put them

on the way to Rome, before they had given information hereof a year before; that those whom they should chuse in one or many places, according to the conveniency they found, should be accompanied in their voyage with prudent and faithful persons; that they should not go ashore in the isle of Cyprus, but pass directly for Venice, from whence they might come to Rome.

As to the second article, we employed much more time and words; the difficulties proceeded as well from the poverty of the churches, which had no revenues to entertain the priests, as from the oppression of the Turks; wherefore I first conferred in particular, then publicly with the two deacons: I proposed unto them, in respect of those who were already come from the college at Rome, or who should return for the future for the cure of souls, that they should be supplied from the temporalities; and besides, that they should be exempt from the tribute which every one pays for his head to the grand seignior. They returned me a very civil and christian answer, and promised to do what I proposed unto them, and at the same time intreated me, that I would obtain from his holiness a small pension, for the subsistence of these labourers: I assured them I would use my endeavour, and with so much the more confidence to succeed, for that having foreseen their demand, I had already entertained his holiness therewith, who had in a manner given me his word for it.

I made known unto them, on the part of the pope, what displeasure he had conceived, to see at this present time amongst them a small number of excellent labourers, recommendable for their doctrine and piety, unemployed; I then proposed employments for them, and for such as for the future should return from Rome; in the mean time, as it was necessary they should be provided with good and faithful pastors, which should have a perfect knowledge of the church of Rome, with which they were willing to keep an union, I added, that these persons might very usefully be employed there, in making the most capable of them bishops, who should govern the people; which was so much the more necessary, seeing they had then three or four bishoprics vacant, to the great prejudice of souls; and that of others they might make priests, curates, and preachers. They had already employed some of them to catechise children and the ignorant, to read lessons of cases of conscience to the priests, to correct their suspected and heretical books, and to compose others which should be proper and necessary for the nation. They might also keep some of them near the patriarch and bishops, to satisfy any difficulties they might encounter, to accompany them in their visits, and also to visit some churches, or to go sometimes one way, sometimes another, according to the occasions they had for them. Not to speak of other necessities, that might daily occur, I let them understand, that they ought to have recourse to prayer, for to render God thanks for sending of such labourers amongst them, endowed with the necessary qualifications.

My discourse was so evident, that they all answered with one accord, that 'it should be done for the future;' the patriarch promised it very freely: and as there was now no matter of importance undone, and it was to be feared, lest they rendered themselves suspicious to the Turks, if the synod lasted any longer, particularly because of a great concourse of people that flocked thither daily, amongst whom were also found Turks, the assembly was dismissed, and every one had the liberty to retire to his own habitation.

CHAP. XVII. — *Of the Death of the Patriarch, and of the Election of another.*

AS soon as the synod was dissolved, and the affairs that I treated with the patriarch were terminated, I took my leave of him, seeing nothing that might hinder and stop my return to Italy; my design nevertheless was not to go thither speedily, but first to visit some of the principal monasteries, and give the bishops some satisfaction, who lived there, and entreated my company. I had resolved to go from thence as far as Damas, for to see the bishops and Maronites of those parts, for I judged it very dangerous to go to Aleppo. From Damas I was to return to Cannubin, to see in what manner they observed the order that had been made, and to depart from thence for Jerusalem, before my return to Rome. I went therefore directly, with my companions and some others, to the monasteries of Chisai and St. Anthony; these two monasteries are so near one to another, that they seem almost to be in the same place: there were in one of them two nephews of the patriarch, one of whom was archbishop and abbot of the monastery, and suffragan to the same patriarch; in the other he had three other brothers, which were all three archbishops. We went from thence to Eden, which is the most considerable place of these mountains; we were received there very honourably, and with great demonstrations of joy.

From Eden we went to the monastery of St. Sergius, which is not above a mile distant from thence. We were always accompanied with better sort of people, who walked on foot before our mules, and out of the respect they bore to the pope, and in honour to us, they would sing certain songs and spiritual airs, which they usually sung as they marched before the patriarch, and other persons of quality. Being arrived at the monastery, we went to salute the abbot, who was an archbishop, exceeding aged: we were no sooner entered into the church, but there came a man with all speed, being sent on purpose from Cannubin, that brought us the news, that the patriarch lay a dying, and, if I designed to see him alive, I should lose no time: wherefore, without any further delay, we took our leave of this good old man, and returned with all speed to Cannubin, but it was impossible for us to arrive there until two hours after his death: it was on the fifth of October, according to our calendar, and, on the twenty-fifth of September, by their computation; we found him in the church sitting in a chair, clad in his sacred habits, having the mitre on his head, and patriarchal cross in his hand: there were abundance of his relations, both men and women about him, who wept and beat their breasts, making hideous cries all night. Next day came a multitude of people thither, and among the rest a great number of priests, who assembled to inter him. The two deacons rendered themselves there likewise. They carried him at noon to the usual burying-place of the patriarchs, which was not above a musquet shot from thence, and then laid him in that grot, sitting in a wooden chair, according to their custom.

The election of the patriarch that ought to succeed, and govern all the nation in spiritual matters, was to be done by the people, and there is a time appointed for that, which is the nineteenth day after the death of the other; the chiefs of that assembly were very urgent with me to stay and assist at that election, assuring me they would chuse that person I should name; but I thought it more convenient to withdraw, and leave the election entirely free to themselves. I confess, indeed, I had regard to the complaints that were made of the former patriarchs, for having rendered that dignity as hereditary in their family; as they had already two brethren that had been patriarchs, the matter was reduced to such a point, that the archbishop and abbot of Chisai must

infallibly succeed his uncle, because of the great places he enjoyed, and also of the spiritual relation he had to him; who had added to the family of the patriarch all the nobles and persons of quality of that country, by holding of their children to baptism: moreover, the archbishopric and abbey of Chfaja must have been given to his brother, who would also be patriarch in his turn, and then the nephews would tread in the same steps. I failed not, therefore, that day to entertain the deacon, Joseph Cater, herewith, who was a prudent and understanding man, as I conferred with him about some other matters. He had, indeed, nothing to object against the person of that abbot, except that having always been confined to a monastery, where he had led a hermitical life, it was plain he had but little experience, especially in things belonging to a pastor. I departed the day following for Tripoli, with a design to stay there during the election of a new patriarch, and to return again as soon as I should hear of his being elected.

The people flocked thither from all parts, far and near, insomuch that they amounted to above the number of two thousand on the day of election, to wit, the 13th of October, according to our calendar. The archbishop Joseph Risi, of whom we have already spoken, was chosen by the plurality of voices; he elected for his suffragan, and to visit all the churches in that country, Moses Anisio, who was already of the order of priesthood, and was recommended unto him by some persons of quality; he consecrated him archbishop, and took for his archpriest, to the end he might take care of the land of Eldron, his country, John Bareck, who had been educated at the college in Rome, and whom the preceding patriarch had made priest, according to the right of the nation. The new patriarch gave me notice of the election, and desired me to return, and sent men and mules to conduct me. I agreed with his request, and went with speed: he testified, at the sight of me, that he was exceeding joyful for my return. I treated with him about no particular affairs, but was much satisfied to hear him declare, in generous terms, the good-will he had to acquit his charge with fidelity, and the great care he would take of the souls under his conduct. I exhorted him to continue, and put in execution such laudable designs, and so took my leave of him, in order to finish the resolutions I had formed to go to Jerusalem.

CHAP. XVIII. — *My Return from Jerusalem to Tripoli, and thence to Alexandretta, with an Account of Alexandretta.*

AFTER I had satisfied the intentions of his holiness, and had seen in person the holy places of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of our Lord, I returned to Tripoli, in order to be transported to Italy. My return was very incommodious, because of the season, and of my being embarked in the month of December, in a small ship which let in water on all sides, so that there was a man always employed to pump it out. This traverse is at least two hundred miles, but thanks be to God, we arrived safely at Tripoli before Christmas, for our consolation, and that of some Christian merchants who lived there, and who wanted extremely some spiritual succour for the duties of that day.

After we had spent that feast as devoutly as we could, we had a conveniency to go for Italy and for Rome. There were in the port of Tripoli three French barques, one of which was bound for Malta, and another for Sicily, whence it would have been easy for us to go to Naples, and from thence to Rome; the desire we had to see these islands, enticed us extremely to embark in one of these vessels, but by good fortune, we could not agree with the masters. I say by good fortune, for that when we had arrived

arrived afterwards at Istria, we understood that one of their barques had been cast away, and the other made a prize by the English; and thus, we had been either lost in the sea or carried prisoners into England, but God preserved us from both. We resolved therefore to return to Venice, and understanding that the ship, wherein we had passed the year before, was still at Alexandretta, from whence it would depart on the first fair weather, we were exceeding glad of it, because it was a great and safe vessel; the only difficulty was to come at it, which we surmounted by the conveniency of the third French barque, whereof we had spoken, which though but small, was good, and well rigged, having also an able pilot. We then changed our pilgrims habit, and clad us like merchants, having a furred vest on, as they wear them in the Levant, and a toque on our heads, at the top of which was a band of striped cloth, which represented the form of a turban, according to the Turkish manner. Having embarked in this vessel, with provisions and necessary refreshments, we sailed on the third of January about midnight; the weather was very fair, but it changed suddenly, and we were furiously tossed with the waters for three days and three nights together. But finally, approaching near Alexandretta, with the help of God, through the gulph of Ghiaccia, we met with our ship on the twelfth of the same month, three hours before sun-setting, we found no great difficulty to agree for our passage with the master, who knew us.

Alexandretta, which is also called Scanderoon, is a very little place, wherein there are not above twenty or thirty houses, which serve for shelter to some merchants who come to that port, or rather thither to traffic to Aleppo, which is not far off. The houses are built of wood, and thatched with straw, for there live none there but a few merchants, who are entirely employed to trade, and voluntarily suffer all sorts of hardships, through a desire they have to gain wealth. We saw there oxen and buillers carry burdens upon their backs as mules and horses do in Italy. There are camels that continually carry merchandize to and from Aleppo; and that which surprised me most, was to see these animals go to the sea side, to drink the salt water, as we see other beasts drink fresh. They say this was anciently the country of the Amazons. We found there two religious Franciscans, who lived in great poverty, for they had no other habitation except a little church built of wood, which was filled with water when it rained, where there was a plank for these wretches to eat their victuals upon, who lay upon the boards, without any other conveniency. As we were forced to stay there many days, we conversed much with them.

CHAP. XIX. — *Of what happened to us in Cyprus.*

AFTER we had staid, with much inconveniency in that place, till the 26th of March, our ship hoisted sail at midnight, and having made all things ready, we steered our course for Cyprus; we successfully approached Salines on the 29th of the same month. Having slept all night in the ship, we went ashore next day very early, and went to the monastery of the religious at Arnique, where we had already been received the preceding year with much charity: these good religious redoubled their kindness in that place, where an accident befel us; for I, being retired into a little garden to ease nature, at a time when one of the religious was laying mats, it was no sooner ended, but a Venetian merchant, who came to salute me, demanded forthwith, if I had received his letter at Tripoli; and, as I informed him I had not, he changed colour, and remained quite silent. His action made me judge there was some mischief in the case, and having pressed him to tell me why he asked me such a question,

he freely answered, 'If you had received my letter, I would have been much surpris'd to have seen you here, for I gave you information to go another way to Italy, because of a certain Italian renegado that is here, who hath been with the Sangiac, governor of this isle, and entertained him with these words, 'Are not you a governor here? Why, therefore, do you suffer the pope to send hither his spies from Rome, to go and treat about affairs with the Christians of Mount Libanus, who have assembled the people there, created new bishops, and done other the like things, which prejudice your government. This renegado hath been charged by the Sangiac to find you out, and imprison you, to the end you may be brought before him, and so sent forthwith to Constantinople to the grand seignior, who, without doubt, would cause you to be impaled.' I thanked this friend as I ought, for the care he had taken of my life, in giving me such good information; which I should not have failed to make use of, if I had received it, for I would have gone another way. I then took my leave of my merchant, and after I had made a small repast with these good religious, was resolv'd to go on board, to conceal myself as well as I could in the ship; but when I came to the sea side, I found it so tempestuous, that there was neither man nor shallop to be seen to put me on board the vessel; so that I was oblig'd to return to the monastery, to attend the approaching of the sea, and placing all my trust and hopes in God. These good fathers had given us the use of a little chamber near the gate, with a bed for us to lie in; for my part, I lay in a chest, in my cloaths; my sleep was not long, but was much interrupted with the apprehensions I had, lest the renegado, who was at Nicosia, but a day's journey from us, knowing that the Torniella was arriv'd, should come to enquire if we were to pass in it into Italy. In effect, the thing happened as I imagin'd, for he came to knock at the gate of the monastery an hour before day; which when I had heard, and at the same time the noise of the religious running to open the door, I quickly got up, and coming forth boldly, demanded who was there? He made me this answer, 'It is an honest man, who is come to be inform'd, whether you are come from the ship which is in the road?' and having told him no, he had the curiosity to ask who was in that chamber where we lay? they answered him, that they were two Venetian merchants; whereupon he retired to a chamber near to that, to repose himself. These good religious did not bely themselves, for we were clad like merchants. So soon as I heard these words, as I saw myself expos'd to the Turks and Greeks, and in a country so remote, and such an enemy to the Christians, I awak'd my companion, and made him forthwith get up.

There was in that place a Venetian merchant, who, as I had learned, often assist'd other persons, and charitably deliver'd them from the hands of the Turks. He was then employ'd about loading a vessel with goods to be sent for Venice; as we went out of the monastery we met him coming to divine service, and I believ'd that God had sent him on purpose to relieve us. After I had saluted him, I said, 'I know, Sir, that there are many persons oblig'd to you for the good offices you have rendered them, finding themselves in the same condition as we are; that is it which makes me believe that God has sent you hither.' I set forth unto him the posture of our affairs, and entreated his assistance; he offer'd forthwith to use all possible means to that end, and returning, conducted us to his lodging. Then going out, and coming in again, he said, 'You are not safe here, and there is no other remedy but to put you aboard, and there to stay in your ship without coming ashore, but wait for a wind; wherefore come along with me, and I'll conduct you to your vessel.' We went forth to the water-side, but the sea was still so agitated, that we could see neither man nor boat.

After we had walk'd for some time upon the shore, there posted by a great number of Turks and Greeks of the country, and made us much afraid; for when they came

near, they looked upon us with much earnestness. The skiff of our merchant ship came a little after to land, with two lusty seamen, to load and carry goods aboard; wherefore we approached near the water, and the seamen having already come on shore, this good merchant told them, 'Make haste, and carry these two gentlemen forthwith to the Tornicella.' We had no sooner thanked him, as we were obliged, but that these two seamen took and carried us in their boat, and rowing with all their strength, notwithstanding the waves, which were very high, they brought us in a short time to our ship, but it was not without much danger. We got into the vessel, being very joyful, and acquainted the captain with the posture of our affairs; and putting ourselves under his protection, he received us very civilly, and gave us assurance thereof. He gave us also his own cabin, with orders we should not stir out of it all the day, nor to shew ourselves to those that should come on board to bargain for goods. He assured us, likewise, upon his word, that we had nothing to do but to repose ourselves: and that, if we should be searched for, he would sooner deliver them all the freight than us. This commander was indeed a man of the world, and loved to divert himself: but withal, faithful and just to his word. We remained so pent up in that little chamber, as in a prison, for three days, for the ship was in the road all that time, to take in her lading.

CHAP. XX. — *Voyage from Cyprus to Venice.*

AFTER we had thanked God for his deliverance of us from so great a danger, we sailed upon break of day, on the 12th of April, and made the cape at sun-set. The fair weather, and the calmness of the sea, made us hope for an happy voyage, but on St. Mark's day the waters were much agitated, when we passed the cape of St. Euphany, because the great winds that stood contrary, that we were very hard put to it. The 27th of the same month, we lowered all the sails, and, guiding the ship only at the helm with a great deal of address and pains, we left it to the pleasure and mercy of the winds, so much was the sea agitated at that time; then, without stopping, we passed by Carmania, Rhodes, Scarpanto, the isle of Candia, the cape of St. John, Cerigo, Matapano, and the Morea, and drew near Venetique, to take in refreshments, and particularly water, whereof we had great need. From thence we sailed for Zant, where the ship staid the 19th of May, because of a difference that arose between the captain and gunner. I believed, to avoid scandal, we ought to change our ship. In effect, after we had paid the captain of the Tornicella what was due to him for our passage, we agreed with the master of another vessel called the Stork, which was in the port ready to sail. We went on board it with all we had, and getting out of port at midnight, we sailed on the 22d of the same month, leaving Cefalonia on the right. There was great likelihood of fair weather, but on the day after there happened such a great blast of wind, as tore off the great sail of the foremast; but that was remedied forthwith, and, continuing our course we left, as well upon the right as left, Corfu, the cape of Oranto, Cerina, or Linguetta, Safeno, which is the cape of the gulph Durazzo, Calabrovo, which belonged some time to the Spaniards, Ragusa, all Dalmatia, Carnaro, and divers other places. At last we arrived at Istria on the 8th of June, two hours after dinner time, and went ashore at Rovigno, where we saw upon an high hill the church of St. Euphemy, with five or six rocks about it. Our ship was to stay for some time there, and as we had but an hundred miles to Venice, and we thought it troublesome to stay there so long, we resolved, with two other merchants, to hire a little barque to finish the rest of our voyage. This pitiful barque had but a mat for all its sails; we run more in danger in this our last passage, than we had done in all our course,

for

for, as we had got half way, there arose such a furious tempest, and the wind stood so contrary, that out of the fear that possessed us, we could find no better expedient than to pull down the sail, or rather mat, which being forced by the violence of the wind, carried us sometimes on one side, and sometimes on another, and put us in danger of perishing. At last it pleased God to appease the wind, and give us fair weather; wherefore, pursuing our course, we passed by Paria, Jesole, which was formerly destroyed by Attila, Marzoba, Burano, and Torcello, and, on the 10th of the same month, arrived happily at Venice, three hours before sun-set; but as we were come from the Levant, suspected to be infected with the plague, we were not permitted to go ashore. They sent us in our barque to make the customary quarantine, into a channel far remote from the city.

There were some of our friends that came to visit us, and make merry with us for our happy return, and sent us evening and morning every thing we stood in need of: They rested not, till they obtained of the gentlemen intendants in matters of health, permission for us to go to our lodgings, inasmuch that we made but six days of our quarantine; and, being joyful for our discharge, we laid aside our merchant's habit, and took that of our order again. After which, we sojourned for some time in Venice, to refresh ourselves after the tedious fatigues of our navigation.

We parted from Venice the 23d of June, to go for Padua, and there I saw again, with delight, the ancient schools where I had sometimes read public lectures. We parted from thence the 7th of July, for Mantua, and arrived there the 8th, at Parma the 11th, Bologna the 17th, Imola the 21st, Forli the 22d, Cesene, my birth-place, the 27th, and at Rimini, the 1st of August; as it was my companion's country, he tarried there for some days, to give some consolation to his aged father, whom he had not seen for a long time, which was the reason we could not get to Loretto till the 12th of the same month. We staid there for a few days, and on the 16th set forth for Peruge, where we had many acquaintance, and made what haste we could to get thither the 18th; we staid there for the rest of the month, for our own consolation and that of our friends. We parted from thence the first of September, and partly out of devotion, partly out of curiosity, went to mount Corano, where there is a religious house, in which place they live in great austerity; thence to Alvernia and Cumaldoli. We employed seven days in that progress with much satisfaction, and then returned to Peruge, in order to go for Rome, where we at last arrived on the 17th of the same month; whither I had no sooner got, but I made it my business to gain admittance to prostrate myself at his holiness's feet, which I soon effected, who welcomed me kindly, and to whom I gave a particular account of my negotiation, wherewith he expressed himself to be extremely satisfied.

A JOURNEY FROM ALEPPO TO JERUSALEM,

AT EASTER, A. D. 1697.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR'S JOURNEY TO THE BANKS OF
EUPHRATES AT BEER,

AND TO THE COUNTRY OF MESOPOTAMIA.

By HENRY MAUNDRELL, M. A. late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Chaplain
to the Factory at Aleppo*.

THERE being several gentlemen of our nation (fourteen in number) determined for a visit to the Holy Land at the approaching Easter, I resolved, though but newly come to Aleppo, to make one in the same design: considering that as it was my purpose to undertake this pilgrimage some time or other, before my return to England, so I could never do it, either with less prejudice to my cure or with greater pleasure to myself, than at this juncture; having so large a part of my congregation abroad at the same time, and in my company.

Pursuant to this resolution, we set out from Aleppo Friday, Feb. 26. 1696, at three in the afternoon, intending to make only a short stop that evening, in order to prove how well we were provided with necessaries for our journey. Our quarters this first night we took up at the Honeykane; a place but of indifferent accommodation, about one hour and a half west of Aleppo.

It must here be noted that, in travelling this country, a man does not meet with a market-town and inns, every night, as in England: the best reception you can find here is either under your own tent, if the season permit, or else in certain public lodgments founded in charity for the use of travellers. These are called by the Turks, kanes, and are seated sometimes in the towns and villages; sometimes at convenient distances upon the open road. They are built in fashion of a cloister, encompassing a court of thirty or forty yards square, more or less, according to the measure of the founder's ability or charity. At these places all comers are free to take shelter, paying only a small fee to the kane-keeper, and very often without that acknowledgement; but must expect nothing here generally but bare walls: as for other accommodations, of meat, drink, bed, fire, provender, with these it must be every one's care to furnish himself.

Saturday, Feb. 27.—From the Honeykane we parted very early the next morning, and proceeding westerly as the day before, arrived in one hour and a half at Oo-rem,

* From the eighth Edition. London, 1810, 8vo.

an old-village, affording nothing remarkable but the ruins of a small church. From Oo-rem we came in half an hour to Kefree; and in three quarters more to Esloyn. At this last place we entered into the plains of Kefteen; proceeding in which we came in one hour to another village called Legene, and half an hour more to Hozano, and in a good hour more to Kefteen. Our whole stage this day was about five hours, our course a little southerly of the west.

The plains of Kefteen are of a vast compass, extending to the southward beyond the reach of the eye, and in most places very fruitful and well cultivated. At our first descent into them at Esloyn, we counted twenty-four villages, or places at a distance resembling villages, within our view from one station. The soil is of a reddish colour, very loose and hollow, and you see hardly a stone in it. Whereas on its west side there runs along for many miles together a high ridge of hills, discovering nothing but vast naked rocks, without the least sign of mould, or any useful production; which yields an appearance, as if nature had, as it were, in kindness to the husbandman, purged the whole plain of these stones, and piled them all up together in that one mountain. Kefteen itself is a large plentiful village, on the west side of the plain; and the adjacent fields abounding with corn, give the inhabitants great advantage for breeding pigeons; inasmuch, that you find here more dove-cots than other houses. We saw at this place, over the door of a bagnio, a marble stone, carved with the sign of the Θ and the $\Delta\epsilon\zeta\zeta$ $\Pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota$, &c. with a date not legible. It was, probably, the portal of some church in ancient times: for I was assured by the inhabitants of the village, that there are many ruins of churches and convents still to be seen in the neighbouring rocky mountains.

Sunday, Feb. 28.—Having a long stage to go this day, we left Kefteen very early; and continuing still in the same fruitful plain abounding in corn, olives, and vines, we came in three quarters of an hour to Harbanoose; a small village situated at the extremity of the plain; where, after crossing a small ascent, we came into a very rich valley called Rooge. It runs to the south farther than one can discern, but in breadth, from east to west, it extends not above an hour's riding; and is walled in (as it were) on both sides, with high rocky mountains. Having travelled in this valley near four hours, we came to a large water called the lake (or rather, according to the oriental style, the sea) of Rooge. Through the skirt of this lake we were obliged to pass, and found it no small trouble to get our horses, and much more our loaded mules through the water and mire. But all the sea was so dried up, and the road so perfectly amended at our return, that we could not then discern so much as where the place was which had given so great trouble. From this lake we arrived in one hour at Te-ne-ree, a place where we paid our first caphar.

These caphars are certain duties which travellers are obliged to pay, at several passes upon the road, to officers who attend in their appointed stations to receive them. They were at first levied by christians, to yield a recompence to the country for maintaining the ways in good repair, and scouring them from Arabs and robbers. The Turks keep up so gainful an usage still, pretending the same causes for it. But under that pretence they take occasion to exact from passengers, especially Franks, arbitrary and unreasonable sums; and, instead of being a safeguard, prove the greatest rogues and robbers themselves.

At a large hour beyond this caphar, our road led us over the mountains on the west side of the valley of Rooge. We were near an hour in crossing them, after which we descended into another valley running parallel to the former, and parted from it only by the last ridge of hills. At the first descent into this valley is a village called Bell-

Maez, from which we came in two hours to Shoggle. Our course was, for the most part of this day, west-south-west. Our stage in all, ten hours.

Shoggle is a pretty large but exceeding filthy town, situated on the river Orontes; over which you pass by a bridge of thirteen small arches to come at the town. The river hereabouts is of a good breadth, and yet so rapid that it turns great wheels, made for lifting up the water, by its natural swiftness, without any force added to it, by confining its stream. Its waters are turbid, and very unwholesome, and its fish worse, as we found by experience, there being no person of all our company that had eaten of them over night, but found himself much indisposed the next morning. We lodged here in a very large and handsome kane, far exceeding what is usually seen in this sort of buildings. It was founded by the second Cuperli, and endowed with a competent revenue, for supplying every traveller that takes up his quarters in it, with a competent portion of bread and broth, and flesh, which is always ready for those that demand it, as very few people of the country fail to do. There is annexed to the kane, on its west side, another quadrangle, containing apartments for a certain number of alms-men; the charitable donation of the same Cuperli. The kane, we found at our arrival, crowded with a great number of Turkish hadgees, or pilgrims, bound for Meecha. But nevertheless we met with a peaceable reception amongst them, though our faces were set to a different place.

Monday, March 1.—From Shoggle our road led us at first westerly, in order to our crossing the mountain on that side of the valley. We arrived at the foot of the ascent in half an hour, but met with such rugged and foul ways in the mountains that it took us up two hours to get clear of them. After which we descended into a third valley, resembling the other two which we had passed before. At the first entrance into it, is a village called Be-da-me, giving the same name also to the valley. Having travelled about two hours in this valley, we entered into a woody mountainous country, which ends the bashalick of Aleppo, and begins that of Tripoli. Our road here was very rocky and uneven, but yet the variety which it afforded, made some amends for that inconvenience. Sometimes it led us under the cool shade of thick trees; sometimes through narrow vallies, watered with fresh murmuring torrents, and then for a good while together upon the brink of a precipice. And in all places it treated us with the prospect of plants and flowers of divers kinds; as myrtles, oleanders, cyclamens, anemones, tulips, marygolds, and several other sorts of aromatic herbs. Having spent about two hours in this manner, we descended into a low valley, at the bottom of which is a fissure into the earth of a great depth; but withal so narrow, that it is not discernible to the eye till you arrive just upon it, though, to the ear, a notice of it is given at a great distance, by reason of the noise of a stream running down into it from the hills. We could not guess it to be less than thirty yards deep; but it is so narrow that a small arch, not four yards over, lands you on its other side. They call it the Sheek's Wife; a name given it from a woman of that quality who fell into it, and, I need not add, perished. The depth of the channel, and the noise of the water, are so extraordinary, that one cannot pass over it without something of horror. The sides of this fissure are firm and solid rock, perpendicular and smooth, only seeming to lie in a wavy form all down, as it were to comply with the motion of the water. From which observation we were led to conjecture, that the stream, by a long and perpetual current, had, as it were, worn its own channel down into this unusual deepness: to which effect the water's being penned up in so narrow a passage, and its hurling down stones along with it by its rapidity, may have not a little contributed.

From hence, continuing our course through a road resembling that before described, we arrived in one hour at a small even part of ground called Hadyar ib Sultane, or the Sultan's Stone. And here we took up our quarters this night under our tents. Our road this day pointed for the most part south-west, and the whole of our stage was about seven hours and a half.

Tuesday, March 2.—We were glad to part very early this morning from our campagna lodging; the weather being yet too moist and cold for such discipline. Continuing our journey through woods and mountains, as the day before, we arrived in about one hour at the capbar of Crusia, which is demanded near a kane of that name; a kane they call it, though it be in truth nothing else but a cold comfortless ruin on the top of a hill by the way side.

From Lence, in about another hour, we arrived at the foot of a mountain called Oecaly; or, as the word denotes, difficult, and indeed we found its ascent fully answerable to its name. The moisture and slipperiness of the way at this time, added to the steepness of it, greatly increased our labour in ascending it, insomuch that we were a full hour in gaining the top of the hill. Here we found no more woods or hills, but a fine country, well cultivated and planted with silk gardens; through which, leaving on the right hand a village called Citte Galle, inhabited solely by Maronites, we came in one hour to Bellulca. Here we repaired to a place which is both the kane of the village and the aga's house; and resolving, by reason of the rains which fell very plentifully, to make this our lodging, we went to visit the aga with a small present in our hands, in order to procure ourselves a civil reception. But we found little recompence from his Turkish gratitude, for after all our respect to him, it was not without much importunity that we obtained to have the use of a dry part of the house; the place where we were at first lodged lying open to the wind and the beating in of the rain. Our whole stage this day was not much above four hours; our course about south-west.

Being informed that here were several Christian inhabitants in this place, we went to visit their church, which we found so poor and pitiful a structure, that here christianity seemed to be brought to its humblest state, and Christ to be laid again in a manger. It was only a room of about four or five yards square, walled with dirt, having nothing but the uneven ground for its pavement; and for its ceiling only some rude traves laid athwart it, and covered with bulhes to keep out the weather. On the east side was an altar, built of the same materials with the wall, only it was paved at top with pot-sherds and slates, to give it the face of a table. In the middle of the altar stood a small cross, composed of two laths nailed together in the middle, on each side of which ensign were fastened to the wall two or three old prints, representing our blessed Lord and the blessed Virgin, &c. the venerable presents of some itinerant friars that had passed this way. On the south side was a piece of plank supported by a post, which we understood was the reading desk, just by which was a little hole, commodiously broke through the wall to give light to the reader. A very mean habitation this for the God of Heaven! But yet held in great esteem and reverence by the poor people; who not only come with all devotion hither themselves, but also deposit here whatever is most valuable to them, in order to derive upon it a blessing. When we were there the whole room was hanged about with bags of silk-worms' eggs; to the end that by remaining in so holy a place, they might attract a benediction, and a virtue of increasing.

Wednesday, March 3.—The next morning flattered us with the hopes of a fair day after the great rains, which had fallen for near eight hours together. We therefore
ventured

ventured to leave Bellulca, with no great thanks to it for our entertainment. But we had not gone far before we began to wish that we had kept our former accommodation, bad as it was; for the rains began to break out afresh with greater fury than before; nor had we more comfort under foot, the road being very deep and full of sloughs. However, we resolved to go forward in hopes of a better time, and in four hours (very long ones in such uncomfortable circumstances) we arrived at Sholfatia, a poor village situate upon a small river which we were obliged to pass. A river we might call it now, it being swollen so high by the late rains that it was impassable; though, at other times, it be but a small brook, and, in the summer, perfectly dry.

Here, instead of mending our condition as we expected, we began to drink more deeply of the bitter cup of pilgrims, being brought to such a strait that we knew not which way to turn ourselves. For (as I said) the stream was not fordable, so that there was no going forward: and, as for facing about and returning to the place from whence we came, that was a thing we were very averse to; well knowing, by that morning's experience, the badness of the road, and likewise having reason to expect but a cold welcome at our journey's end. As for lodging in the village, that was a thing not to be endured, for the houses were all filled with dirt and nastiness, being inhabited promiscuously by the villagers and their cattle. As for lying in the campagna, the rain was so vehement we could not do that, without an evident danger both to ourselves and horses.

But whilst we were at this non-plus, not knowing which course to take, the rain abated, and so we resolved to pitch in the open field, though thoroughly soaked with the wet, esteeming this, however, the least evil. Accordingly, we betook ourselves to a small ascent by the water's side, intending there, under our tents, to wait the falling of the stream.

We had not enjoyed this cessation of rain long, when it began to pour down afresh, with terrible lightning and thunder; and now our care was renewed, and we knew not well which to be most concerned for. Whether ourselves, who enjoyed the innumerable comfort of a dropping tent over us, or for our servants and horses, which had nothing but their own cloths to protect them. At last, there being a small sheek's house, or burying-place, hard by, we comforted ourselves with hopes that we might take sanctuary there. The only difficulty was, how to get admission into so revered a place, the Turks being generally men of greater zeal than mercy. To negotiate this affair we sent a Turk (whom we had taken with us for such occasions) into the village, ordering him to try first by fair means to gain admittance, and, if that failed, to threaten that we would enter by force. But the religion of this place was of that kind which supersedes instead of improving humanity. The people absolutely denied us the small charity we demanded, and sent us word they would die upon our swords before they would yield to have their faith defiled; adding farther, that it was their faith to be true to Hamet and Aly, but to hate and renounce Omar and Abu Bekr; and that this principle they were resolved to stand by. We told them we had as bad an opinion of Omar and Abu Bekr as they could have; that we desired only a little shelter from the present rain, and had no intention to defile their faith. And thus with good words we brought them to consent, that we might secure our baggage in the sheek's house; but as for ourselves and arms it was our irrevocable sentence to be excluded out of the hallowed walls. We were glad, however, to get the merciless doors open upon any terms; not doubting but we should be able to make our advantage of it afterwards according to our desire; which we actually did; for when it grew dark, and the villagers were gone to sleep, we all got into the place of refuge, and there passed a melancholy night among the
tombs:

tombs: thus escaping, however, the greater evil of the rain, which fell all night in great abundance.

Being now crept into the inside of the sheek's house, I must not omit, in requital for our lodgings, to give some account of the nature of such structures. They are stone fabricks, generally six or eight yards square (more or less), and roofed with a cupola, erected over the graves of some eminent sheeks, that is, such persons as by their long beards, prayers of the same standard, and a kind of pharisaical superciliousness (which are the great virtues of the mahometan religion), have purchased to themselves the reputation of learning and faints.

Of these buildings there are many scattered up and down the country (for you will find among the Turks far more dead faints than living ones). They are situated commonly, though not always, upon the most eminent and conspicuous ascents. To these oratories the people repair with their vows and prayers in their several distresses, much after the same manner as the Romanists do to the shrines of their faints. Only in this respect the practice of the Turks seems to be more orthodox, in regard that though they make their faint's shrine the house of prayer, yet they always make God alone, and not the faint, the object of their addresses.

Thursday, March 4.—To revive us after the heaviness of the last night, we had the consolation to be informed this morning, that the river was fordable at a place a little farther down the stream; and, upon experiment, we found it true as was reported. Glad of this discovery, we made the best dispatch we could to get clear of this inhospitable place; and, according to our desires, soon arrived with all our baggage on the other side of the river.

From hence, ascending gently for about half an hour, we came to the foot of a very steep hill, which, when we had reached its top, presented us with the first prospect of the ocean. We had in view likewise, at about two hours distance to the westward, the city Latichea, situate on a flat fruitful ground close to the sea; a city first built by Seleucus Nicator, and by him called in honour of his mother, *Λαοδύχεια*, which name it retains with a very little corruption of it at this day. It was anciently a place of great magnificence, but in the general calamity which befel this country, it was reduced to a very low condition, and so remained for a long time; but of late years it has been encouraged to hold up its head again, and is rebuilt, and become one of the most flourishing places upon the coast; being cherished and put in a way of trade by Coplan Aga, a man of great wealth and authority in these parts, and much addicted to merchandize.

From the hill which we last ascended, we had a small descent into a spacious plain, along which we travelled southward, keeping the sea on the right hand, and a ridge of mountains on the left. Having gone about one hour and a half in this plain, we discerned on the left hand, not far from the road, two ancient tombs. They were chests of stone two yards and a half long each. Their cavities were covered over with large tables of stone, that had been lifted aside, probably in hopes of treasure. The chests were carved on the outside with ox-heads, and wreaths hanging between them, after the manner of adorning heathen altars. They had likewise at first inscriptions graven on them: but these were so eaten out that one could not discover so much as the species of the characters. Here were also several foundations of buildings; but whether there were ever any place of note situated hereabouts, or what it might be, I cannot resolve.

Above an hour from these tombs we came to another stream, which stopped our march again. These mountain rivers are ordinarily very inconsiderable, but they are apt to swell upon sudden rains, to the destruction of many a passenger, who will be so hardy

hardy as to venture unadvisedly over them. We took a more successful care at this place; for marching about an hour higher up by the side of the stream, we found a place where the waters by dilating were become shallower, and there we got a safe passage to the other side. From hence we bent our course to recover our former road again, but we had not gone far before there began a very violent storm of hail, followed by a hard and continued rain, which forced us to make the best of our way to Jebilee, leaving our baggage to follow us at leisure.

Our whole stage this day was about six hours, pointing for the first hour west, and for the remaining part near south, having the sea on the right hand, and a ridge of mountains at about two hours distance on the left. And in this state our road continued for several days after, without any difference, save only that the mountains at some places approach nearer the sea; at other, retire farther off. These mountains go under different names in several places, as they run along upon the coast, and are inhabited by rude people of several denominations. In that part of them above Jebilee, there dwell a people called by the Turks, Neceres, of a very strange and singular character; for it is their principle to adhere to no certain religion; but camelion like, they put on the colour of religion, whatever it be, which is reflected upon them from the persons with whom they happen to converse. With Christians they profess themselves Christians; with Turks they are good Mussulmans; with Jews they pass for Jews; being such Proteus's in religion that no body was ever able to discover what shape or standard their consciences are really of. All that is certain concerning them is, that they make very much and good wine, and are great drinkers.

Friday, March 5.—This whole day we spent at Jebilee, to recruit ourselves after our late fatigues; having the convenience of a new kane to lodge in, built at the north entrance into the city by Ostan, the present bashaw of Tripoli.

Jebilee is seated close by the sea, having a vast and very fruitful plain stretching round about it, on its other sides. It makes a very mean figure at present, though it still retains the distinction of a city, and discovers evident footsteps of a better condition in former times. Its ancient name, from which also it derives its present, was Gabala; under which name it occurs in Strabo, and other old geographers. In the time of the Greek emperors, it was dignified with a bishop's see, in which sometime sat Severian, the grand adversary and arch-conspirator against St. Chrysostom.

The most remarkable things that appear here at this day, are a mosque and an almshouse just by it, both built by sultan Ibrahim. In the former his body is deposited, and we were admitted to see his tomb, though held by the Turks in great veneration. We found it only a great wooden chest, erected over his grave, and covered with a carpet of painted calico, extending on all sides down to the ground. It was also tricked up with a great many long ropes of wooden beads hanging upon it, and somewhat resembling the furniture of a button-maker's shop. This is the Turks usual way of adorning the tombs of their holy men, as I have seen in several other instances; the long strings of beads passing in this country for marks of great devotion and gravity. In this mosque we saw several large incense pots, candlesticks for altar, and other church furniture, being the spoils of Christian churches at the taking of Cyprus. Close by the mosque is a very beautiful bagnio, and a small grove of orange trees, under the shade of which travellers are wont to pitch their tents in the summer time.

The Turks that were our conductors into the mosque, entertained us with a long story of this sultan Ibrahim who lies there interred; especially relating his mortification, and renouncing the world. They reported, that having divested himself of his royalty, he retired hither, and lived twenty years in a grotto by the sea side, dedicating himself wholly

wholly to poverty and devotion; and in order to confirm the truth of their relation, they pretended to carry us to the very cell where he abode. Being come to the place, we found there a multitude of sepulchres hewn into the rocks by the sea side, according to the ancient manner of burying in this country; and amongst these they shewed one, which they averred to be the very place in which the devout sultan exercised his twenty years' discipline; and to add a little probability to the story, they shewed, at a small distance, another grotto, twice as large as any of its fellows, and uncovered at the top, which had three niches or praying places hewn in its south side. This they would have to be sultan Ibrahim's oratory; it being the manner of the Turks always to make such niches in their mosques, and other places of devotion, to denote the southern quarter of the world; for that way the Mussulmans are obliged to set their faces when they pray, in reverence to the tomb of their prophet. These niches are always formed exactly resembling those usually made for statues, both in their size, fabric, and every circumstance. I have sometimes reflected, for what reason the Turks should appoint such marks to direct their faces toward in prayer. And if I may be allowed to conjecture, I believe they did it at first in testimony of their iconoclastic principle; and to express to them both the reality of the divine presence there, and at the same time also its invisibility. The relaters of this story of sultan Ibrahim, were doubtless fully persuaded of the truth of it themselves. But we could not tell what conjectures to make of it, having never met with any account of such a sultan, but only from this rude tradition.

From these Mahometan sanctuaries, our guide pretended to carry us to a christian church, about two furlongs out of town on the south side. When we came to it, we found it nothing but a small grotto in a rock by the sea shore, open on the side towards the sea; and having a rude pile of stones erected in it for an altar. In our return from this poor chapel, we met with the person who was the curate of it. He told us, that himself and some few other christians of the Greek communion, were wont to assemble in this humble cell for divine service, being not permitted to have any place of worship within the town.

Jebilee seems to have had anciently some convenience for shipping. There is still to be seen a ridge composed of huge square stones, running a little way into the sea; which appears to have been formerly continued farther on, and to have made a mole. Near this place we saw a great many pillars of granite, some by the water side, others tumbled into the water. There were others in a garden close by, together with capitals of white marble finely carved; which testify in some measure the ancient splendor of this city.

But the most considerable antiquity in Jebilee, and greatest monument of its former eminency, is the remains of a noble theatre just at the north gate of the city. It passes amongst the Turks for an old castle; which (according to the Asiatic way of enlarging), they report to have been of so prodigious a height, when in its perfect state, that a horseman might have rid, about sun-rising, a full hour in the shade of it.

As for what remains of this mighty Babel, it is no more than twenty feet high. The flat side of it has been blown up with gun-powder by the Turks; and from hence (as they related) was taken a great quantity of marble, which we saw used in adorning their bagno and mosque before mentioned. All of it that is now standing is a semi-circle. It extends from corner to corner just a hundred yards. In this semi-circular part is a range of seventeen round windows just above the ground, and between the windows all round were raised, on high pedestals, large massy pillars, standing as but-
tresses

treffes against the wall, both for the strength and ornament of the fabric; but these supporters are at present most of them broken down.

Within is a very large arena, but the just measure of it could not be taken, by reason of the houses with which the Turks have almost filled it up. On the west side, the seats of the spectators remain still entire, as do likewise the caves or vaults which run under the subcellia all round the theatre. The outward wall is three yards three quarters thick, and built of very large and firm stones; which great strength has preserved it thus long from the jaws of time, and from that general ruin, which the Turks bring with them into most places where they come.

Saturday, March 6.—Having done with Jebilee, we put forward again early the next morning, with a prospect of much better weather than we had been attended with in our former motions. Our road continued by the sea side, and in about two hours brought us to a fair deep river, called by the Turks *Naher-il-Melech*, or the King's River. Here we saw some heaps of ruins on both sides of the river, with several pillars of granite, and other footsteps of some considerable buildings. About half an hour farther we passed another river, called *Jobar*, shewing the remains of a stone bridge over it, once well built, but now broken down. On the other side of this river, in a large ploughed field, stood a great square tower; and round about, the rubbish of many other buildings. Likewise all along this day's journey, we observed many ruins of castles and houses, which testify that this country, however it be neglected at present, was once in the hands of a people that knew how to value it, and thought it worth the defending. Strabo calls this whole region, from Jebilee as far as *Aradus*, the country of the *Aradii* (of whom in due place), and gives us the names of several places situate anciently all along this coast; as *Paltus*, *Balanea*, *Caranus*, *Enydra*, *Marathus*, *Ximyra*. But whether the ruins which we saw this day may be the remains of any of those cities, cannot well be determined at this distance of time; seeing all we have of those places is only their names, without any sufficient distinctions by which to discover their situation. The *Balanea* of Strabo is indeed said to be still extant, being supposed to be the same place that the Turks (little changing its name) call at this day *Baneas*. This place is four good hours beyond Jebilee. It stands upon a small declivity about a furlong distant from the sea, and has a fine clear stream running swiftly by it on the south side. It is at present uninhabited; but its situation proves it to have been anciently a pleasant, its ruins a well built, and its bay before it, an advantageous habitation. At this place was required another caphar.

Leaving *Baneas*, we went on by the sea side, and in about a quarter of an hour passed by an old castle, on the top of a very high mountain. It is built in the figure of an equilateral triangle, having one of its angles pointing towards the sea. The Turks call it *Merchab*; and enlarge much upon the sieges it has sustained in former times; but whatever force it may have had anciently, it is at present only a residence for poor country people. This is probably the same castle mentioned by *Adrichomius*, and others, under the name of *Margath*; to which the bishops of *Balanea* were forced to translate their see, by reason of the insults of the Saracens.

At about one hour and an half distance from *Baneas*, we came to a small clear stream, which induced us to take up our lodging near it. We pitched in the campagna, about two or three furlongs up from the sea; having in sight, on the mountains above us, a village called *Sophia*, inhabited solely by Maronites; and a little farther, *Besack*, another village, possessed by Turks only; and a little farther, *Merakiah*, whose inhabitants are a miscellany of Christians and Turks together. Our whole stage this day was about six hours.

Sunday, March 7.—From this quarter we removed early the next morning, and in three hours came to a fair deep river, called Nahor Hufline; having an old bridge turned over it, consisting of only one arch, but that very large and exceeding well wrought. In one hour and a half more, travelling still by the sea side, we reached Tortosa.

The ancient name of this place was Orthosia. It was a bishop's see in the province of Tyre. The writers of the holy wars make frequent mention of it, as a place of great strength; and one may venture to believe them, from what appears of it at this day.

Its situation is on the sea shore; having a spacious plain extending round about it on its other sides. What remains of it is the castle, which is very large, and still inhabited. On one side it is washed by the sea; on the others, it is fortified by a double wall of coarse marble, built after the rustic manner. Between the two walls is a ditch; as likewise is another encompassing the outermost wall. You enter this fortress on the north side, over an old draw-bridge, which lands you in a spacious room, now for the most part uncovered, but anciently well arched over, being the church belonging to the castle. On one side it resembles a church; and in witness of its being such, shews at this day several holy emblems carved upon its walls, as that of a dove descending over the place where stood the altar; and in another place, that of the holy lamb. But on the side which fronts outward, it has the face of a castle, being built with port holes for artillery, instead of windows. Round the castle, on the south and east sides, stood anciently the city. It had a good wall and ditch encompassing it, of which there are still to be seen considerable remains. But for other buildings, there is nothing now left in it, except a church, which stands about a furlong eastward from the castle. It is one hundred and thirty feet in length, in breadth ninety-three, and in height sixty-one. Its walls, and arches, and pillars are of a bastard marble, and all still so entire, that a small expence would suffice to recover it into the state of a beautiful church again. But, to the grief of any christian beholder, it is now made a stall for cattle; and we were when we went to see it, almost up to our knees in dirt and mire.

From Tortosa we sent our baggage before us, with orders to advance a few miles farther toward Tripoli, to the intent that we might shorten our stage to that place the next day. We followed not long after, and in about a quarter of an hour came to a river, or rather a channel of a river, for it was now almost dry: though questionless here must have been anciently no inconsiderable stream; as we might infer both from the largeness of the channel, and the fragments of a stone bridge formerly laid over it.

In about half an hour more, we came a breast with a small island, about a league distant from the shore, called by the Turks Ru-ad. This is supposed to be the ancient Arvad, Arphad, or Arpad (under which several names it occurs, 2 Kin. 19, 13; Gen. 10, 18; Ezek. 27, 11, &c.), and the Aradus of the Greeks and Romans. It seemed to the eye to be not above two or three furlongs long; and was wholly filled up with tall buildings like castles. The ancient inhabitants of this island were famous for navigation, and had a command upon the continent as far as Gabala.

About a quarter of an hour farther we came up with our muleteers; they having pitched our tents, before they had gone so far as we intended. But this miscarriage they well recompensed, by the condition of the place where they stopped; it affording us the entertainment of several notable antiquities, which we might otherwise perhaps have passed by unobserved. It was at a green plat lying within one hour of Tortosa,

a little

a little southward of Aradus, and about a quarter of a mile from the sea ; having in it a good fountain (though of a bad name), called the Serpent Fountain.

The first antiquity that we here observed was a large dike, thirty yards over at top, cut into the firm rock. Its sides went sloping down, with stairs formed out of the natural rock, descending gradually from the top to the bottom. This dike stretched in a direct line, east and west, more than a furlong ; bearing still the same figure of stairs, running in right lines all along its sides. It broke off at last at a flat marshy ground, extending about two furlongs betwixt it and the sea. It is hard to imagine that the water ever flowed up thus high ; and harder (without supposing that) to resolve, for what reason all this pains of cutting the rock in such a fashion was taken.

This dike was on the north side of the Serpent Fountain ; and just on the other side of it we espied another antiquity, which took up our next observation. There was a court of fifty five yards square, cut in the natural rock : the sides of the rock standing round it, about three yards high, supplied the place of walls. On three sides it was thus encompassed ; but to the northward it lay open. In the centre of this area was a square part of the rock left standing ; being three yards high, and five yards and a half square. This served for a pedestal to a throne erected upon it. The throne was composed of four large stones : two at the sides, one at the back, another hanging over all at top, in the manner of a canopy. The whole structure was about twenty feet high, fronting toward that side where the court was open. The stone that made the canopy was five yards and three quarters square, and carved round with a handsome cornice. What all this might be designed for we could not imagine ; unless, perhaps, the court may pass for an idol temple, and the pile in the middle for the throne of the idol : which seems the more probable, in regard that Hercules, i. e. the sun, the great abomination of the Phœnicians, was wont to be adored in an open temple. At the two innermost angles of the court, and likewise on the open side, were left pillars of the natural rock : three at each of the former, and two at the latter.

About half a mile to the southward of the foresaid antiquities, there stood in view two towers ; but it growing dark, we were forced to defer our examination of them till the next morning. Our whole stage this day exceeded not six hours.

Monday, March 8.—Having passed over a restless night, in a marshy and unwholesome ground, we got up very early, in order to take a nearer view of the two towers last mentioned. We found them to be sepulchral monuments, erected over two ancient burying places. They stood at about ten yards distant from each other.

The first tower was thirty three feet high. Its longest stone or pedestal was ten feet high, and fifteen square : the superstructure upon which was, first a tall stone in form of a cylinder, and then another stone cut in shape of a pyramid.

The other tower was thirty feet and two inches high. Its pedestal was in height six feet, and sixteen feet six inches square. It was supported by four lions, carved, one at each corner of the pedestal. The carving had been very rude at best ; but was now rendered by time much worse. The upper part reared upon the pedestal was all one single stone.

Each of these barbarous monuments had under it several sepulchres, the entrances into which were on the south side. It cost us some time and pains to get into them ; the avenues being obstructed, first with briars and weeds, and then with dirt. But, however, we removed both these obstacles ; encouraging ourselves with the hopes, or rather making ourselves merry with the fancy of hidden treasure. But as soon as we were entered into the vaults, we found that our golden imaginations ended (as all worldly hopes and projects do at last) in dust and petrification. But, however, that

we might not go away without some reward for our pains, we took as exact a survey as we could of these chambers of darkness.

Going down seven or eight steps, you come to the mouth of the sepulchre ; where, crawling in, you arrive in a chamber, which is nine feet two inches broad, and eleven feet long. Turning to the right hand, and going through a narrow passage, you come to a room which is eight feet broad, and ten long. In this chamber are seven cells for corpses, viz. two over against the entrance, four on the left hand, and one unfinished on the right. These cells were hewn directly into the firm rock. We measured several of them, and found them eight feet and a half in length, and three feet three inches square. I would not infer from hence, that the corpses deposited here were of such a gigantic size, as to fill up such large coffins : though at the same time why should any men be so prodigal of their labour, as to cut these caverns into so hard a rock as this was, much farther than necessity required ?

On the other side of the chamber was a narrow passage, seven feet long, leading into a room whose dimensions were nine feet in breadth, and twelve in length. It had eleven cells, of somewhat a less size than the former, lying at equal distances all round about it.

Passing out of the room foreright, you have two narrow entrances, each seven feet long, into another room. This apartment was nine feet square : it had no cells in it like the others, nor any thing else remarkable ; but only a bench cut all along its side on the left hand. From the description of this sepulchre, it is easy to conceive the disposition of the other. The height of the rooms in both was about six feet ; and the towers were built each over the innermost room of the sepulchres to which it belonged.

At about the distance of a furlong from this place we discerned another tower, resembling this last described : it was erected likewise over a sepulchre. There was this singularity observable in this last sepulchre ; that its cells were cut into the rock eighteen feet in length ; possibly to the intent that two or three corpses might be deposited in each of them, at the feet of one another. But having a long stage this day to Tripoli, we thought it not seasonable to spend any more time in this place ; which might perhaps have afforded us several other antiquities.

And yet for all our haste, we had not gone a mile before our curiosity was again arrested by the observation of another tower, which appeared in a thicket not far from the way side. It was thirty three feet and a half high, and thirty-one feet square : composed of huge square stones, and adorned with a handsome cornice all round at top. It contained only two rooms, one above the other ; into both which there were entrances on the north side, through two square holes in the wall. The separation between both rooms, as also the covering at the top, was made, not of arched work, but of vast flat stones ; in thickness four feet, and so great an extent, that two of them in each place sufficed to spread over the whole fabric. This was a very ancient structure, and probably a place of sepulture.

I must not forget, that round about the Serpent Fountain, and also as far as this last tower, we saw many sepulchres, old foundations, and other remains of antiquity ; from all which it may be assuredly concluded, that here must needs have been some famous habitation in ancient times : but whether this might be the Xinyra, laid down by Strabo hereabouts (or as Pliny calls it, lib. 5, Nat. Hist. cap. 20, Simyra,) the same possibly with the country of the Zemarites, mentioned in conjunction with the Arvadites, Gen. 10, 18, I leave to others to discuss.

Having

Having quitted ourselves of these antiquities, we entered into a spacious plain, extending to a vast breadth between the sea and the mountains, and in length reaching almost as far as Tripoli. The people of the country call it Junia, that is, the Plain; which name they give it by way of eminency, upon account of its vast extent. We were full seven hours in passing it; and found it all along exceeding fruitful, by reason of the many rivers, and the great plenty of water which it enjoys. Of these rivers, the first is about six hours before you come to Tripoli. It has a stone bridge over it of three large arches, and is the biggest stream in the whole plain; for which reason it goes by the name of Nahor il Kibber, or the Great River. About half an hour farther you come to another river called Nahor Abrosh, or the Leper's River. In three quarters of an hour more you pass a third river, called Nahor Acchar; having a handsome stone bridge of one very large arch, laid over it. Two good hours more brings you to a fourth river, called ———, or the Cold Waters, with a bridge of three arches over it. From hence you have two good hours more to Tripoli. I took the more exact account of all these streams, to the intent that I might give some light, for the better deciding that difference which is found in geographers, about the place of the river Eleutherus. The moderns, all with one consent, give that name to a river between Tyre and Sidon, called by the Turks, Casmeer. But this contradicts the universal testimony of the ancients, who place Eleutherus more northward. Strabo will have it somewhere between Orthosia and Tripoli, as a boundary dividing Syria from Phœnicia (p. 5. 8). Pliny places it near Orthosia, emptying itself into the sea over against Aradus (Nat. Hist. lib. 5. c. 20). The writer of the Maccabees (1 Macc. 12, 25, 30,) lays it in the land of Hamath; which country, whatever it were, was certainly without the borders of Israel, as appears from the same author. To this Josephus agrees, placing Eleutherus to the north of Sidon, as may be collected from him, lib. 14, Antiq. Jud. cap. 7. 8, where, speaking of Mark Anthony's donation to Cleopatra, he reports, how that extravagant gallant gave her all the cities between Eleutherus and Egypt, except Tyre and Sidon. Ptolemy, as cited by Terranius, places it yet more northerly, between Orthosia and Balanea. From all which it is evident, that this cannot be the true ancient Eleutherus which the moderns assign for it: but that name is rather to be ascribed to one of these rivers crossing the plain of Junia: or else (if Pliny's authority may be relied upon) to that river (now dry) which I mentioned a little on this side of Tortosa, and which has its mouth almost opposite to Aradus. But I will not determine any thing in this point, contenting myself to have given an account of the several rivers as we passed them.

Tuesday, March 9 —Drawing towards Tripoli, our muleteers were afraid to advance, lest their beasts might be pressed for public service: as they were afterwards, in spite of all their caution, to our great vexation. So we left them in the plain of Junia, and proceeded ourselves for Tripoli, where we arrived about sun-set. Our whole stage this day was ten hours.

At Tripoli we reposed a full week, being very generously entertained by Mr. Francis Hastings, the consul, and Mr. John Fisher, merchant; their's being the only English house in Tripoli.

Tripoli is seated about half an hour from the sea. The major part of the city lies between two hills; one on the east, on which is a castle commanding the place; another on the west, between the city and the sea. This latter is said to have been at first raised, and to be still increased, by the daily accession of sand blown to it from the there: upon which occasion there goes a prophecy, that the whole city shall, in time, be buried with this sandy hill. But the Turks seem not very apprehensive of this prediction: for,

instead

instead of preventing the growth of the hill, they suffer it to take its course, and make it a place of pleasure, which they would have little inclination to do, did they apprehend it were sometime to be their grave.

Wednesday, March 10.—This day we were all treated by Mr. Fisher in the campagna. The place where we dined was a narrow pleasant valley by a river's side, distant from the city about a mile eastward. Across the valley there runs from hill to hill a handsome lofty aqueduct, carrying upon it so large a body of water as suffices the whole city. It was called the Prince's-Bridge, supposed to have been built by Godfrey of Bulloign.

Thursday, March 11.—This day we all dined at consul Hastings's house, and after dinner went to wait upon Ostan, the bassa of Tripoli; having first sent our present, as the manner is amongst the Turks, to procure a propitious reception.

It is counted uncivil to visit in this country without an offering in hand. All great men expect it, as a kind of tribute due to their character and authority; and look upon themselves as affronted, and indeed defrauded, when this compliment is omitted. Even in familiar visits amongst inferior people, you shall seldom have them come without bringing a flower, or an orange, or some other such token of their respect to the person visited: the Turks, in this point, keeping up the ancient oriental custom hinted 1 Sam. 9, 7: 'If we go (says Saul), what shall we bring the man of God? There is not a present,' &c.; which words are, questionless, to be understood in conformity to this eastern custom, as relating to a token of respect, and not to a price of divination.

Friday, March 12.—In the afternoon we went to visit Bell-mount, a convent of Greeks, about two hours to the southward of Tripoli. It was founded by one of the earls of Tripoli, and stands upon a very high rocky mountain, looking over the sea: a place of very difficult ascent, though made as accessible as it was capable by the labour of the poor monks. It was our fortune to arrive there just as they were going to their evening service. Their chapel is large but obscure; and the altar is inclosed with cancelli, so as not to be approached by any one but the priest, according to the fashion of the Greek churches. They call their congregation together, by beating a kind of a tune with two mallets, on a long pendulous piece of plank at the church door; bells being an abomination to the Turks.

Their service consisted in precipitate and very irreverent chattering of certain prayers and hymns to our blessed Saviour, and to the blessed Virgin, and in some dark ceremonies. The priest that officiated, spent at least one-third part of his time in compassing the altar, and perfuming it with a pot of incense; and then going all round the congregation, flinging his incense pot backward and forward, and tendering its smoke, with three repeated vibrations, to every person present. Towards the end of the service, there was brought into the body of the church a small table, covered with a fair linen cloth, on which were placed five small cakes of bread cross way, in this form, ☉☉☉ and in the center of each cake was fixed a small lighted wax taper, a hole in the cake serving for a socket.

At this ceremony the priest read the gospel concerning our Lord's feeding the multitude with five loaves: after which the bread was carried into the cancelli, and being there suddenly broke to bits, was again brought out in a basket, and presented to every one in the assembly, that he might take a little. After this collation, the priest pronounced the blessing, and so the service ended. On both sides of the body of the church were seats for the monks, in the nature of the stalls for the fellows of colleges in Oxford; and

and on each hand of every seat were placed crutches. These you find in like manner in most churches of this country. Their use is for the priest to lean upon: the service being sometimes so long, that they cannot well stay it out without the assistance of such easements, for they are not permitted by their rubrick to sit down. The younger monks, who perhaps may have no great occasion for these supporters, do yet delight to use them (as the Spaniards do spectacles), not for any necessity, but in affectation of gravity.

The monks of this convent were, as I remember, forty in all. We found them seemingly a very good natured and industrious, but certainly a very ignorant, people: for I found, upon enquiry, they could not give any manner of rationale of their own divine service. And to shew their extreme simplicity, I cannot omit a compliment made to the consul by the chief of them, viz. that he was as glad to see him, as if he had beheld the Messiah himself coming in person to make a visit to him.

Nor is this ignorance to be much wondered at; for what intervals of time they have between their hours of devotion they are forced to spend, not in study, but in managing of their flocks, cultivating their land, pruning their vineyards, and other labours of husbandry, which they accomplish with their own hands. This toil they are obliged to undergo, not only to provide for their own sustenance, but also that they may be able to satisfy the unreasonable exactions which the greedy Turks, upon every pretence they can invent, are ready to impose upon them. But that it may be the better guessed what sort of men these Greek monks are, I will add this farther indication, viz. that the same person whom we saw officiating at the altar in his embroidered sacerdotal robe, brought us the next day, on his own back, a kid and a goat's skin of wine, as a present from the convent.

Saturday, March 13.—This morning we went again to wait upon Otian Bassa, by his own appointment, and were entertained, as before, with great courtesy: for you must know, that the Turks are not so ignorant of civility and the arts of endearment, but that they can practise them with as much exactness as any other nation, whenever they have a mind to shew themselves obliging. For the better apprehending of which, it may not be improper nor unpleasant here to describe the ceremonies of a Turkish visit, as far as they have ever fallen under my observation, either upon this or any other occasions.

When you would make a visit to a person of quality here, you must send one before with a present, to bespeak your admission, and to know at what hour your coming may be most seasonable. Being come to the house, the servants receive you at the outermost gate, and conduct you toward their lord or master's apartment; other servants (of better rank) meeting you in the way, at their several stations, as you draw nearer to the person you visit. Coming into his room, you find him prepared to receive you, either standing at the edge of the duan, or else lying down at one corner of it, according as he thinks it proper to maintain a greater or less distinction. These duans are a sort of low stages, seated in the pleasantest part of the room, elevated about sixteen or eighteen inches, or more, above the floor. They are spread with carpets, and furnished all round with bolsters for leaning upon. Upon these the Turks eat, sleep, smoke, receive visits, say their prayers, &c.: their whole delight is inolling upon them, and in furnishing them richly out is their greatest luxury.

Being come to the side of the duan, you slip off your shoes, and stepping up, take your place; which you must do first at some distance, and upon your knees, laying your hands very formally before you. Thus you must remain, till the man of quality invites you to draw nearer, and to put yourself in an easier posture, leaning upon the bolsters.

Being

Being thus fixed, he discourses with you as the occasion offers; the servants standing round all the while in a great number, and with the profoundest respect, silence, and order imaginable. When you have talked over your business, or the compliments, or whatever other concern brought you thither, he makes a sign to have things served in for the entertainment; which is generally a little sweetmeat, a dish of sherbet, and another of coffee: all which are immediately brought in by the servants, and tendered to all the guests in order, with the greatest care and awfulness imaginable. And they have reason to look well to it, for should any servant make the least slip or mistake, either in delivering or receiving his dish, it might cost him fifty, perhaps one hundred drubs on his bare feet, to atone for his crime. At last comes the finishing part of your entertainment, which is perfuming the beards of the company; a ceremony which is performed in this manner. They have for this purpose a small silver chafing-dish, covered with a lid full of holes, and fixed upon a handsome plate: in this they put some fresh coals, and upon them a piece of lignum aloes; and then shutting it up, the smoke immediately ascends with a grateful odour through the holes of the cover. This smoke is held under every one's chin, and offered, as it were, a sacrifice to his beard. The bristly idol soon perceives the reverence done to it, and so greedily takes in and incorporates the gummy steam, that it retains the flavour of it, and may serve for a nosegay a good while after.

This ceremony may, perhaps, seem ridiculous at first hearing, but it passes among the Turks for an high gratification. And I will say this in its vindication, that its design is very wise and useful: for it is understood to give a civil dismissal to the visitants; intimating to them, that the master of the house has business to do, or some other avocation, that permits them to go away as soon as they please, and the sooner after this ceremony the better. By this means you may, at any time, without offence, deliver yourself from being detained from your affairs by tedious and unseasonable visits, and from being constrained to use that piece of hypocrisy, so common in the world, of pressing those to stay longer with you, whom, perhaps, in your heart you wish a great way off, for having troubled you so long already. But of this enough.

Having discharged our visit to Ostan Bassa, we rid out after dinner to view the marine. It is about half an hour distant from the city. The port is an open sea, rather than an inclosed harbour: however, it is, in part, defended from the force of the waves by two small islands, about two leagues out from the shore; one of which is called the Bird, the other the Coney Island, being so named from the creatures which they severally produce. For its security from pirates, it has several castles, or rather square towers, built all along upon the shore at convenient distances. They are, I think, fix in number; but at present void of all manner of force, both of men and ammunition.

In the fields near the shore appeared many heaps of ruins, and pillars of granite, and several other indications that here must have been anciently some considerable buildings. this way: which agrees very well with what Casaubon, in his notes upon Strabo (p. 213), quotes out of Diodorus, viz. that the place called Tripoli was anciently a cluster of three cities, standing at a furlong's distance from each other; of which the first was a seat of the Aradii, the second of the Sidonians, the third of the Tyrians. And from hence it is probable, that Tripoli was a name given at first to three distinct but adjacent places, and not to one city; built (as is usually said) by the mingled interest of Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus; it being hard to conceive how three such independent commonwealths should thus concur in the founding of one city between them; and harder, how they should agree in governing it afterward.

Sunday,

Sunday, March 14.—We continued still in Tripoli.

Monday, March 15.—Resolving to prosecute our journey this day, we had given orders to our muleteers some time before, to be ready to attend us; but they had been so frightened by the buffa of Sidon's servants, who were abroad in quest of mules for the service of their master, that they were run away, and could not be heard of. A disappointment which gave us much vexation, and left us no other remedy, but only to supply ourselves with fresh beasts where we could find them.

Having, after much trouble, put ourselves in a new posture of travelling, we parted from Tripoli at three of the clock in the afternoon. Proceeding close by the sea, we came in one hour and a half to Callamone, a small village just under Bell-mount. From hence pushing forward till near eight of the clock, we came to an high promontory, which lay directly cross our way, and broke off abruptly at the sea side, with a cape very high, and almost perpendicular. In order to pass this barrier, we turned up on the left hand, into a narrow valley through which our road lay; and it being now late, we took up our quarters there under some olive trees, having come in all about five hours.

The promontory which terminated our journey, seems to be that called by Strabo *, *τὸ τὸ Θεῶν πρόσωπον*, or the Face of God, assigned by that author for the end of Mount Libanus. Between this place and Tripoli, he mentions likewise a city, called Trieris: but of this we saw no footsteps; unless you will allow for such, some sepulchres which we saw cut in the rocks, about one hour and a half before we arrived at the promontory.

Tuesday, March 16.—We were no sooner in motion this morning, but we were engaged in the difficult work of crossing over the forementioned cape. The pass over it lies about a mile up from the sea. We found it very steep and rugged; but in an hour or thereabout mastered it, and arrived in a narrow valley on the other side, which brought the sea open to us again. Near the entrance of this valley stands a small fort, erected upon a rock perpendicular on all sides, the walls of the buildings being just adequate to the sides of the rock, and seeming almost of one continued piece with them. This castle is called Temfeida, and commands the passage into the valley.

In about half an hour from this place, we came even with Patrone; a place esteemed to be the ancient Botrus. It is situate close by the sea; and our road lying somewhat higher up in the land, we diverted a little out of the way to see it. We found in it some remains of an old church and a monastery; but these are now perfectly ruined and desolate, as is likewise the whole city. Nor is there any thing left in it, to testify it has been a place of any great consideration.

In three hours more we came to Gibyle, called by the Greeks, Byblus; a place once famous for the birth and temple of Adonis. It is pleasantly situated by the sea side. At present it contains but a little extent of ground, but yet more than enough for the small number of its inhabitants. It is compassed with a dry ditch, and a wall, with square towers in it at about every forty yards distance. On its south side, it has an old castle: within it is a church, exactly of the same figure with that at Terron, only not so entire as that. Besides this it has nothing remarkable, though anciently it was a place of no mean extent, as well as beauty; as may appear from the many heaps of ruins, and the fine pillars, that are scattered up and down in the gardens near the town.

* Strab. lib. 16; Pomp. Mela, lib. 1, cap. 12.

Gibyle is probably the country of the Giblytes, mentioned, *Jos.* 13, 5. King Hiram made use of the people of this place in preparing materials for Solomon's Temple; as may be collected from the First of Kings, 5, 18; where the word which our translator hath rendered stone-squarers, in the Hebrew is גִּבְלִים, Giblym, or Giblytes; and in the LXXII interpreters, Βυβλίται, that is, the men of Byblus: the former using the Hebrew, the latter the Greek name of this place. The same difference may be observed likewise, *Ezek.* 27. 6. where this place is again mentioned. The ancients of Gebal, says our translation, following the Hebrew: instead of which, you read in the LXXII again, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Βυβλίων, the elders of Bybli, or Byblus.

Leaving Gibyle, we came in one hour to a fair large river, with a stone bridge over it of only one arch, but that exceeding wide and lofty. To this river the Turks give the name of Ibrahim Bashi; but it is doubtless the ancient river Adonis, so famous for the idolatrous rites performed here in lamentation of Adonis. Upon the bank of this stream we took up our quarters for the following night, having come this day about six hours. We had a very tempestuous night both of wind and rain, almost without cessation, and with so great violence, that our servants were hardly able to keep up our tents over us. But, however, this accident which gave us so much trouble in the night, made us amends with a curiosity, which it yielded us an opportunity of beholding the next morning.

Wednesday, March 17.—For by this means we had the fortune to see what may be supposed to be the occasion of that opinion which Lucian relates, concerning this river, viz. that this stream, at certain seasons of the year, especially about the feast of Adonis, is of a bloody colour; which the heathens looked upon as proceeding from a kind of sympathy in the river for the death of Adonis, who was killed by a wild boar in the mountains, out of which this stream rises. Something like this we saw actually come to pass: for the water was stained to a surprising redness, and as we observed in travelling, had discoloured the sea a great way into a reddish hue; occasioned doubtless by a sort of minium, or red earth, washed into the river by the violence of the rain, and not by any stain from Adonis's blood.

In an hour and a quarter from this river, we passed over the foot of the mountain Climax; where, having gone through a very rugged and uneven pass, we came into a large bay, called Junia. At the first entrance into the bay, is an old stone bridge, which appoints the limits between the two bassalicks of Tripoli and Sidon. At the bottom of the bay are exceeding high and steep mountains between which and the sea the road lies. These are the mountains of Castravan, chiefly inhabited by Maronites, famous for a growth of excellent wine. The Maronite bishop of Aleppo has here his residence in a convent, of which he is the guardian. We saw many other small convents on the top of these mountains; one of which, called Oozier, was, as we were here told, in the hands of ten or twelve Latin friars. Towards the further side of the bay, we came to a square tower or castle, of which kind there are many all along upon the coast, for several days' journey from this place: they are said to have been built by the empress Helena, for the protection of the country from pirates. At this tower is to be paid a fourth capbar*. It is received by Maronites, a pack of rogues, more exacting and insolent in their office than the very Turks themselves. A little beyond this place, we came to a road cut through the rocks, which brought us out of the bay, having been one hour and a quarter in compassing it. In an hour more, I spent

* Half per Franck, quarter per servant.

upon a very rugged way close by the sea, we came to the river Lycus, called also some time Canis, and by the Turks at this day, Nahor Kelp. It derives its name from an idol in the form of a dog, or wolf, which was worshipped, and is said to have pronounced oracles, at this place. The image is pretended to be shewn to strangers, at this day, lying in the sea with its heels upward; I mean the body of it; for its oracular head is reported to have been broken off, and carried to Venice, where (if fame be true) it may be seen at this day.

I know not by what mistake several modern geographers confound this river with Adonis, making them to be one and the same; whereas the contrary is apparent, both from experimental observation, and from the authority of ancient geographers.

This river issues into the sea from between two mountains, excessive steep and high; and so rocky, that they seem to consist each of one entire stone. For, crossing the river, you go up between these mountains about a bow shot from the sea, where you have a good bridge of four arches; near the foot of which is a piece of white marble, inlaid in the side of a rock, with an Arab inscription on it, intimating its founder to have been the emir Faccardine (of whom I shall have occasion to speak more when I come to Beroot). Being passed the river, you immediately begin to ascend the mountain (or rather great rock), hanging over it on that side. To accommodate the passage, you have a path above two yards breadth cut along its side, at a great height above the water; being the work of the emperor Antoninus. For the promontory allowing no passage between it and the sea at bottom, that emperor undertook, with incredible labour, to open this way above; the memory of which good work is perpetuated by an inscription, engraven on a table plained in the side of the natural rock, not far from the entrance into the way, as follows:

IMP: CAES: M: AURELIUS
ANTONINUS, PIUS, FELIX, AUGUSTVS
PARTH: MAX: BRIT: GERM: MAXIMUS
PONTIFEX MAXIMUS
MONTIBUS IMMINENTIBUS
LYCO FLUMINI CAESIS VIAM DILATAVIT
PER—(purposely erased)—
ANTONINIANAM SUAM

A little higher up in the way, are inscribed these words:

INVICTE IMP: ANTONINE P: FELIX AUG:
MULTIS ANNIS IMPERA!

In passing this way, we observed, in the sides of the rock above us, several tables of figures carved; which seemed to promise something of antiquity; to be satisfied of which, some of us clambered up to the place, and found there some signs as if the old way had gone in that region, before Antoninus cut the other more convenient passage a little lower. In several places hereabouts, we saw strange antique figures of men, carved in the natural rock, in mezzo-relievo, and in bigness equal to the life. Close by each figure was a large table, plained in the side of the rock, and bordered round with moulkings. Both the effigies and the tables appeared to have been anciently inscribed all over; but the characters are now so defaced, that nothing but the footstaps of them were visible; only there was one of the figures that had both its lineaments and its inscriptions entire.

It was our unhappiness to have at this place a very violent storm of thunder and rain, which made our company too much in haste to make any long stay here; by

which misfortune I was prevented, to my great regret, from copying the inscription, and making such an exact scrutiny into this antiquity as it seemed very well to deserve. I hope some curious traveller or other will have better success, in passing this way hereafter. The figures seemed to resemble mummies, and were, perhaps, the representation of some persons buried hereabout; whose sepulchres might probably also be discovered by the diligent observer.

The Antonine way extends about a quarter of an hour's travel. It is at present so broken and uneven, that to repair it would require no less labour, than that wherewith it was at first made. After this pass, you come upon a smooth sandy shore, which brings you in about one hour and half to the river Beroot (for I could learn no other name it had). It is a large river, and has over it a stone bridge of six arches. On its other side is a plain field near the sea, which is said to be the stage on which St. George duelled and killed the dragon. In memory of this achievement, there is a small chapel built upon the place, dedicated at first to that christian hero; but now perverted to a mosque. From hence, in an hour, we arrived at Beroot, very wet by reason of the long and severe rain. However, we found here the shelter of a good kane by the sea side, and there we took up our quarters. Our whole stage this day was about six hours and half.

Thursday, March 18.—The day following we spent at Beroot; being credibly informed that the river Damer, which lay in our next stage, was so swollen by the late rains that it would be impassable. This place was called anciently Berytus; from which the idol Baal Berith is supposed to have had its name. And afterwards being greatly esteemed by Augustus, had many privileges conferred upon it; and together with them a new name, viz. Julia Felix. But at present, it retains nothing of its ancient felicity, except the situation; and in that particular it is indeed very happy. It is seated on the sea-side, in a soil fertile and delightful, raised only so high above the salt water, as to be secure from its overflowings, and all other noxious and unwholesome effects of that element. It has the benefit of good fresh springs flowing down to it from the adjacent hills, and dispensed all over the city, in convenient and not unhandsome fountains. But besides these advantages of its situation, it has at present nothing else to boast of.

The emir Faccardine had his chief residence in this place. He was in the reign of sultan Morat, the fourth emir, or prince of the Druses; a people supposed to have descended from some dispersed remainders of those christian armies, that engaged in the crusades, for the recovery of the Holy Land; who afterwards, being totally routed, and despairing of a return to their native country again, betook themselves to the mountains hereabout; in which their descendants have continued ever since. Faccardine being (as I said) prince of these people, was not contented to be penned up in the mountains; but by his power and artifice, enlarged his dominions down into the plain all along the sea coast as far as from this place to Acra. At last, the grand seignior, grown jealous of such a growing power, drove the wild beast back again to the mountains, from whence he had broke loose; and there his posterity retain their principality to this day.

We went to view the palace of this prince, which stands on the north east part of the city. At the entrance of it is a marble fountain, of greater beauty than is usually seen in Turkey. The palace within consists of several courts, all now run much to ruin; or rather perhaps never finished. The stables, yards for horses, dens for lions, and other savage creatures, gardens, &c. are such as would not be unworthy of the quality of a prince in Christendom, were they wrought up to that perfection of

which they are capable, and to which they seem to have been designed by their first contriver.

But the best sight that this palace affords, and the worthiest to be remembered, is the orange garden. It contains a large quadrangular plat of ground, divided into sixteen lesser squares, four in a row, with walks between them. The walks are shaded with orange trees of a large spreading size, and all of so fine a growth, both for stem and head, that one cannot imagine any thing more perfect in this kind. They were, at the time when we were there, as it were, gilded with fruit, hanging thicker upon them than ever I saw apples in England. Every one of these sixteen lesser squares in the garden was bordered with stone; and in the stone-work were troughs very artificially contrived, for conveying the water all over the garden; there being little outlets cut at every tree, for the stream as it passed by, to flow out and water it. Were this place under the cultivation of an English gardener, it is impossible any thing could be made more delightful. But these helperides were put to no better use, when we saw them, than to serve as a fold for sheep and goats; inasmuch, that in many places they were up to the knees in dirt; so little sense have the Turks of such refined delights as these; being a people generally of the grossest apprehension, and knowing few other pleasures but such sensualities as are equally common both to men and beasts. On the east side of this garden were two terrace walks rising one above the other, each of them having an ascent to it of twelve steps. They had both several fine spreading orange trees upon them, to make shades in proper places; and at the north end they led into booths and summer-houses, and other apartments very delightful; this place being designed by Faccardine for the chief seat of his pleasure.

It may, perhaps, be wondered, how this emir should be able to contrive any thing so elegant and regular as this garden; seeing the Turkish gardens are usually nothing else but a confused miscellany of trees, jumbled together without either knots, walks, arbours, or any thing of art or design, so that they seem like thickets rather than gardens. But Faccardine had been in Italy, where he had seen things of another nature, and knew well how to copy them in his own country. For, indeed, it appears by these remains of him, that he must needs have been a man much above the ordinary level of a Turkish genius.

In another garden we saw several pedestals for statues; from whence it may be inferred that this emir was no very zealous mahometan. At one corner of the same garden stood a tower of about sixty feet high; designed to have been carried to a much greater elevation for a watch-tower, and for that end built with an extraordinary strength, its walls being twelve feet thick. From this tower we had a view of the whole city. Amongst other prospects, it yielded us the sight of a large Christian church, said to have been at first consecrated to St. John the Evangelist. But, it being now usurped by the Turks for their chief mosque, we could not be permitted to see it otherwise than at this distance. Another church there is in the town, which seems to be ancient; but being a very mean fabrick, is suffered to remain still in the hands of the Greeks. We found it adorned with abundance of old pictures; amongst the rest I saw one with this little inscription, ΚΑΘΩΣ ΕΡΩΤΕΙ ΑΡΧΙΜΗΤΡΩΝΟΣ ΒΡΕΪΤΑ: and just by it was the figure of Nestorius, who commonly makes one amongst the saints painted in the Greek churches; though they do not now profess, nor, I believe, so much as know his heresy. But that which appeared most observable was a very odd figure of a saint, drawn at full length, with a large beard reaching down to his feet. The curate gave us to understand that this was St. Nicephorus; and perceiving that his beard was the chief object of our admiration, he gratified us with the following relation concerning him, viz. That he was
a person

a person of the most eminent virtues in his time ; but his great misfortune was, that the endowments of his mind were not set off with the outward ornament of a beard. Upon occasion of which defect, he fell into a deep melancholy. The devil, taking the advantage of this priest, promised to give him that boon which nature had denied, in case he would comply with his suggestions. The beardless saint, though he was very desirous of the reward proposed, yet he would not purchase it at that rate neither, but rejected the previous bribe with indignation, declaring resolutely, that he had rather for ever despair of his wish than obtain it upon such terms. And at the same time, taking in his hand the downy tuft upon his chin, to witness the stability of his resolution (for he had, it seems, beard enough to swear by), behold ! as a reward for his constancy, he found the hair immediately stretch, with the pluck that he gave it. Whereupon, finding it in so good a humour, he followed the happy omen ; and, as young heirs that have been idly and badly bred, generally turn prodigals when they come to their estates, so he never desisted from pulling his beard till he had wiredrawn it down to his feet. But enough both of the beard and the story. At the east end of the Beroth are to be seen seven or eight beautiful pillars of granite, each — feet long, and three in diameter. And over another gate, not far distant, we found in a piece of marble, this following inscription : *Τῆς τῷ προσκύνοντι ἀνδρὶ ἐννοίας αἰεὶ σαφὴς ἐλπίς, ἢ πείρασος γέινεται διδοῦν προθυμίας ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἢ μὴ δίδων παρὰ γὰρ τὸ μείζον γέινεται πλήρης χάρις.* ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΝΝΟΙΑΣ. Such as these were the capitals. It was, probably, at first an altar-inscription, relating to the offertory in the holy communion ; for its sense seems to look that way ; and it is well known that the comers to the blessed sacrament were called by the ancients, by the peculiar name of οἱ προσκύνοντες, as Valesius proves out of St. Chrysostom. Vales. Not. in Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 7, cap. 9.

On the south-side, the town-wall is still entire, but built out of the ruins of the old city, as appears by pieces of pillars and marble, which help to build it. In one piece of marble-table we saw these remaining letters of a Latin inscription :

—VG. ETIA—

—XI CUM —

—VS PHOEBUS—

All the rest being purposely erased.

A little without this wall, we saw many granite pillars and remnants of Mosaic floors ; and in an heap of rubbish, several pieces of polished marble, fragments of statues, and other poor relics of this city's ancient magnificence. On the sea side is an old ruined castle, and some remains of a small mole.

Friday, March 19.—Leaving Beroth, we came, in one-third of an hour, to a large plain extending from the sea to the mountains. At the beginning of the plain is a grove of pine trees, of Faccardine's plantation. We guessed it to be more than half a mile across, and so pleasant and inviting was its shade, that it was not without some regret that we passed it by. Continuing in this plain, we saw at a distance, on our left hand, a small village called Suckfoat. It belongs to the Druses, who possess at this day a long tract of mountains as far as from Castravan to Carmel. Their present prince is Achmet, grandson to Faccardine ; an old man, and one who keeps up the custom of his ancestors, of turning day into night ; an hereditary practice in his family, proceeding from a traditional persuasion amongst them, that princes can never sleep securely but by day, when men's actions and designs are best observed by their guards, and if need be, most easily prevented ; but that in the night it concerns them to be always vigilant, lest the darkness, aided by their sleeping, should give traitors both opportunity

and

and encouragement to assault their persons, and by a dagger or a pistol, to make them continue their sleep longer than they intended when they lay down.

Two hours from Faccardine's grove brought us to the fifth capbar, and another little hour to the river Damer or Tamyra; the former being its modern, the latter its ancient name. It is a river apt to swell much upon sudden rains, in which case, precipitating itself from the mountains with great rapidity, it has been fatal to many a passenger; among the rest, one Monsieur Spon, nephew to Dr. Spon, coming from Jerusalem about four years ago, in company with some English gentlemen, was, in passing this stream, hurried down by it, and perished in the sea, which lies about a furlong lower than the passage.

We had the good fortune to find the river in a better temper, its waters being now assuaged since the late rains. However, the country fellows were ready here, according to their trade, to have assisted us in our passing over. In order to which, they had very officiously stripped themselves naked against our coming; and to the end that they might oblige us to make use of their help, for which they will be well paid, they brought us to a place where the water was deepest, pretending there was no other passage besides that; which cheat we saw them actually impose upon some other travellers, who came not long after us. But we had been advised of a place a little higher in the river, where the stream was broader and shallower, and there we easily passed without their assistance. Just by this place are the ruins of a stone bridge, of which one might guess by the firmness of its remains, that it might have been still entire, had not these villains broke it down in order to their making their advantages of passengers; either conducting them over for good pay, or else, if they have opportunity, drowning them for their spoils.

On the other side of the river, the mountains approach closer to the sea, leaving only a narrow rocky way between. From Damer, in two hours, we came to another river of no inconsiderable figure, but not once mentioned by any geographer that I know of. It is within one hour of Sidon. Its channel is deep, contains a good stream, and has a large stone bridge over it. Speaking of this river to the Reverend Father St. John, Maronite patriarch at Canobine, he told me it was called Aste, and had its fountain near Berook, a village in Mount Libanus.

At this river we were met by several of the French merchants from Sidon; they having a factory there the most considerable of all theirs in the Levant. Being arrived at Sidon, we pushed our tents by a cistern without the city; but were ourselves conducted by the French gentlemen to the place of their habitation, which is a large kane close by the sea, where the consul and all the nation are quartered together. Before the front of this kane is an old mole running into the sea with a right angle; it was of no great capacity at best, but now is rendered perfectly useless, having been purposely filled up with rubbish and earth, by Faccardine, to prevent the Turkish galleys from making their unwelcome visit to this place. The mole being thus destroyed, all ships that ride in their burthen here, are forced to ride at anchor under the shelter of a great ridge of rocks, about a mile distant from the shore on the north side of the city. Sidon is thus well enough with inhabitants, but is very much shrunk from its ancient extent, and more from its splendour; as appears from a great many beautiful pillars that lie scattered up and down the gardens without the present walls. Whatever antiquities may, at any time, have been hereabout, they are now all perfectly destroyed and buried by the Turkish buildings. Upon the south side of the city, on a hill, stands an old castle, said to have been the work of Lewis the Ninth of France, surnamed the Saint; and not far from the castle is an old unfinished palace of Faccardine's, serving, however, the purpose

for his seraglio; neither of them worth mentioning, had the city afforded us any thing else more remarkable. Near about Sidon begin the precincts of the Holy Land, and of that part of it in particular which was allotted to Asher. The borders of which tribe extended from Carmel as far as great Zidon, as appears from Josh. 19, 26, 28. But the people upon the sea coasts were never actually mastered by the Israelites; being left, by the just judgment of God, to be thorns in their sides, for a reason that may be seen. Jud. 2. 1, 2, 3, &c.

The person who is the French consul at Sidon, has also the title of consul of Jerusalem; and is obliged by his master, the French king, to make a visit to the holy city every Easter, under pretence of preserving the sanctuary there from the violations, and the friars who have the custody of it, from the exactions of the Turks. But the friars think themselves much safer without this protection. We were desirous to join with Monsieur l'Empereur, the present consul, in his, this year's, pilgrimage; and accordingly had sent him a letter from Aleppo on purpose to bespeak that favour; hoping by his protection to pass more securely from the abuses of the Arabs and Turks, who are no where so insolent as in Palestine, and about Jerusalem. We had his promise to stay for us; but the remoras and disappointments we met with in the road, had put us so backward in our journey, that fearing to be too late at Jerusalem, he set out from Sidon the day before our arrival there: leaving us, however, some hopes that if we made the best of our way, we might come up with him at Acra, where he promised to expect our coming to the utmost moment.

Saturday, March 20.—Being desirous, therefore, not to lose the convenience of his company, we set out early the next morning from Sidon; and travelling in a very fruitful plain, came in half an hour to a place where we found a large pillar of granite, lying across the highway, and sunk a good part under ground. Observing some letters upon it, we took the pains to dig away the earth, by which means we recovered this fragment of an inscription:

IMPERATORES,
CAESARES,
L SEPTIMUS SE-
VERUS, PIUS PER-
TINAX, AUG: ARA-
BICUS ADIABENICUS,
PARTHICUS, MAXI-
MUS, TRIBUNICIA
POTES: VI. IMP: XI. COS []
PRO  COS  P  P
ET M  AUREL: ANTONI-
NUS AUG: FILIUS  EJUS
—————  ————— ARIA
————— EN ————— OIUM  RV
FVM —————
————— IC PR: PRAET
————— PROVINC  SYRIAE
IT PHAE] NIC  RENOVAVERVNT
 [] 

Some gentlemen of our nation, in their journey to Jerusalem, this last Easter, an. 1699, found another pillar, at about mid-way, between that we saw and Sidon, of the same
make

make and use; from which they took the forefaid infcription more perfectly. As far as *filius ejus* there is no variation, and after that it goes on thus,

VIAS ET MILLIARIA
FR—O ♂ VENIDIVM RV
FVM ♂ LEG ♂ AUGG ♂
L— PR ♂ PRAESIDEM
PROVINC ♂ SYRIAEPHOE
NIC ♂ RENOVAVERUNT
♂ I ♂

By which we may observe the exactness of the Romans in measuring out their roads, and marking down upon every pillar the number of miles, as I. II. III. &c.

A little beyond this pillar, we passed in sight of Ko-ri-e, a large village on the side of the mountains; and in two hours and a half more, came to Sarphan, supposed to be the ancient Serephath, or Sarepta, so famous for the residence and miracles of the prophet Elijah. The place shewn us for this city, consisted of only a few houses, on the tops of the mountains, within about half a mile of the sea; but it is more probable, the principal part of the city stood below, in the space between the hills and the sea; there being ruins still to be seen in that place of a considerable extent. From hence, in three hours, we arrived at Casmeer, a river large and deep, running down to the sea through a plain, it which it creeps along with various meanders and turnings. It had once a good stone bridge laid over it, of four arches; but of that nothing remains at present, except the supporters; between which there are laid beams and boards to supply the room of the arches, and to make a passage over. But so careless and loose is the fabrick, that it looks like a trap rather than a bridge. We had one horse dropt through, notwithstanding our utmost care to prevent such misfortunes. But it was our good luck to recover him again safe ashore.

This river is assigned by our modern geographers for the old Eleutherus; but how erroneously has been afore-mentioned. Strabo mentions a certain river falling into the sea near Tyre, on this side (*πρὸς Τύρῳ Ποταμὸς ἐξίησι*, p. 521), which can be no other than this; but he omits to acquaint us with its name. Within a bow-shot of the river Casmeer is a kane of the same name, from which, keeping near the sea side, you arrive in an hour at Tyre.

This city, standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises, at a distance, something very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory for which it was so renowned in ancient times, and which the prophet Ezekiel describes, chap. 26. 27, 28. On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle; besides which, you see nothing here but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being not so much as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing; who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, viz. 'That it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on.' Ezek. 26. 14.

In the midst of the ruins, there stands up one pile higher than the rest, which is the east end of a great church, probably of the cathedral of Tyre; and why not the very same that was erected by its bishop Paulinus, and honoured with that famous consecration-sermon of Lutebicus, recorded by himself in his Eccl. Hist. lib. 10, cap. 4, this having been an archiepiscopal see in the Christian times?

I cannot in this place omit an observation made by most of our company in this journey, viz. That in all the ruins of churches which we saw, though their other parts were totally demolished, yet the east end we always found standing, and tolerably entire. Whether the Christians, when overrun by infidels, redeemed their altars from ruin with money; or whether, even the barbarians, when they demolished the other parts of the churches, might voluntarily spare these, out of an awe and veneration; or whether they have stood thus long, by virtue of some peculiar firmness in the nature of their fabric; or whether some occult Providence has preserved them, as so many standing monuments of christianity in these unbelieving regions, and presages of its future restoration, I will not determine. This only, I will say, that we found it in fact, so as I described, in all the ruined churches that came in our way; being, perhaps, not fewer than one hundred; nor do I remember ever to have seen one instance of the contrary. This might justly seem a trifling observation, were it founded upon a few examples only; but it being a thing so often, and, indeed, universally observed by us, throughout our whole journey, I thought it must needs proceed from something more than blind chance, and might very well deserve this animadversion.

But to return from this digression; there being an old stair-case in this ruin last mentioned, I got up to the top of it; from whence I had an entire prospect of the island, part of Tyre, of the isthmus, and of the adjacent shore. I thought I could, from this elevation, discern the isthmus to be a foil of a different nature from the other two; it lying lower than either, and being covered all over with sand which the sea casts upon it, as the tokens of its natural right to a passage there, from which it was, by Alexander the Great, injuriously excluded. The island of Tyre, in its natural state, seems to have been of a circular figure, containing not more than forty acres of ground. It discovers still the foundations of a wall, which anciently encompassed it round, at the outmost margin of the land. It makes, with the isthmus, two large bays; one on its north side, and the other on its south. These bays are, in part, defended from the ocean, each by a long ridge, resembling a mole, stretching directly out, on both sides, from the head of the island; but these ridges, whether they were walls or rocks, whether the work of art or nature, I was too far distant to discern.

Coming out of these ruins, we saw the foundation of a very strong wall, running across the neck of land, and serving as a barrier, to secure the city on this side. From this place, we were one third of an hour in passing the sandy isthmus, before we came to the ground, which we apprehended to be the natural shore. From hence, passing over part of a very fertile plain, which extends itself to a vast compass before Tyre, we arrived in three quarters of an hour at Roselayn. Our whole stage from Sidon hither was about eight hours.

Sunday, March 21. — Roselayn is a place where are the cisterns called Solomon's, supposed, according to the common tradition hereabouts, to have been made by that great king, as part of his recompence to king Hiram, for the supplies of materials sent by him toward the building of the Temple. They are, doubtless, very ancient, but yet of a much later date than what this tradition ascribes to them. That they could not be built till since Alexander's time, may be conjectured from this, amongst other arguments; because the aqueduct which conveys the water from hence to Tyre, is carried over the neck of land, by which Alexander, in his famous siege of this place, joined the city to the continent. And as the cisterns cannot well be imagined to be ancients than the aqueduct, so one may be sure the aqueduct cannot be older than the ground it stands upon. Of these cisterns there are three

entire at this day, one about a furlong and a half distant from the sea, the other two a little farther up.

The former is of an octogonal figure, twenty-two yards in diameter. It is elevated above the ground nine yards on the south side, and six on the north; and within, is said to be of an unfathomable deepness; but ten yards of line confuted that opinion. Its wall is of no better a material than gravel and small pebbles; but consolidated with so strong and tenacious a cement, that it seems to be all one entire vessel of rock. Upon the brink of it you have a walk round, eight feet broad. From which, descending by one step on the south side, and by two on the north, you have another walk twenty-one feet broad. All this structure, though so broad at top, is yet made hollow, so that the water comes in underneath the walks; inasmuch that I could not, with a long rod, reach the extremity of the cavity. The whole vessel contains a vast body of excellent water; and is so well supplied from its fountain, that though there issues from it a stream like a brook, driving four mills between this place and the sea, yet it is always brim full. On the east side of this cistern was the ancient outlet of the water, by an aqueduct raised about six yards from the ground, and containing a channel one yard wide. But this is now stopped up, and dry; the Turks having broke an outlet on the other side, deriving thence a stream for grinding their corn.

The aqueduct (now dry) is carried eastward about one hundred and twenty paces, and then approaches the two other cisterns, of which one is twelve, the other twenty yards square. These have each a little channel, by which they anciently rendered their waters into the aqueduct; and so the united streams of all the three cisterns were carried together to Tyre. You may trace out the aqueduct all along, by the remaining fragments of it. It goes about one hour northward, and then turning to the west, at a small mount where anciently stood a fort, but now a mosque, it proceed over the isthmus into the city. As we passed by the aqueduct, we observed in several places on its sides, and under its arches, rugged heaps of matter resembling rocks. These were produced by the leakage of the water, which petrified as it distilled from above; and by the continual adherence of new matter, were grown to a large bulk. That which was most remarkable in them was the frame and configuration of their parts. They were composed of innumerable tubes of stone, of different sizes, cleaving to one another like icicles. Each tube had a small cavity in its center, from which its parts were projected in form of rays, to the circumference, after the manner of the stones vulgarly called thunder-stones.

The fountain of these waters is as unknown as the contriver of them. It is certain from their rising so high, they must be brought from some part of the mountains, which are about a league distant; and it is as certain that the work was well done at first, seeing it performs its office so well, at so great a distance of time.

Leaving this pleasant quarter, we came in an hour and a half to the white promontory; so called from the aspect it yields towards the sea. Over this you pass by a way of about two yards broad, cut along its side; from which the prospect down is very dreadful, by reason of the extreme depth and steepness of the mountain, and the raging of the waves at bottom. This way is about one-third of an hour over, and is said to have been the work of Alexander the Great. About one-third of an hour farther, you pass by an heap of rubbish close by the sea side, being the ruins of the castle Scandalium; taking its name from its founder, the same Alexander, whom the Turks call Scander. The ruin is one hundred and twenty paces square, having a dry ditch encompassing it; and from under it, on the side next the sea, there issues out a fountain of very fair water. In an hour from hence you come to the sixth caphar, called

Nachera. And in another hour to the plain of Acra, over a very deep and rugged mountain, supposed to be part of Mount Saron. All the way from the white promontory to this plain is exceeding rocky; but here the pleasantness of the road makes you amends for the former labour.

The plain of Acra extends itself in length from Mount Saron as far as Carmel, which is at least six good hours; and in breadth, between the sea and the mountains, it is in most places two hours over. It enjoys good streams of water at convenient distances, and every thing else that might render it both pleasant and fruitful. But this delicious plain is now almost desolate, being suffered, for want of culture, to run up to rank weeds, which were, at the time when we passed it, as high as our horse's backs.

Having travelled about one hour in the plain of Acra, we passed by an old town called Zib, situate on an ascent close by the sea side. This may, probably, be the old Achzib, mentioned Josh. 19. 29, and Jud. 1. 31, called afterwards Ecdippa; for St. Jerome places Achzib nine miles distant from Ptolemais toward Tyre, to which account we found the situation of Zib exactly agreeing. This is one of the places out of which the Ashurites could not expel the Canaanitish natives. Two hours farther we came to a fountain of very good water, called by the French merchants at Acra, the Fountain of the Blessed Virgin. In one hour more, we arrived at Acra. Our whole stage from Roselayn hither was about eight hours and a half.

Acra had anciently the name of Accho, and is another of the places out of which the children of Israel could not drive the primitive inhabitants, Judg. 1. 31. Being in after times enlarged by Ptolemy the First, it was called by him, from his own name, Ptolemais. But now, since it hath been in the possession of the Turks, it has (according to the example of many other cities in Turkey) cast off its Greek, and * recovered some semblance of its old Hebrew name again; being called Acca, or Acra.

This city was for a long time the theatre of contention between the christians and the infidels; till at last, after having divers times changed its masters, it was by a long siege finally taken by the Turks, and ruined by them in such a manner, as if they had thought they could never take a full revenge upon it for the blood it had cost them, or sufficiently prevent such slaughters for the future. As to its situation, it enjoys all possible advantages both of sea and land. On its north and east sides it is compassed with a spacious and fertile plain; on the west it is washed by the Mediterranean sea, and on the south by a large bay, extending from the city as far as Mount Carmel.

But, notwithstanding all these advantages, it has never been able to recover itself, since its last fatal overthrow. For besides a large kane, in which the French factors have taken up their quarters, and a mosque, and a few poor cottages, you see nothing here but a vast and spacious ruin. It is such a ruin, however, as sufficiently demonstrates the strength of the place in former times. It appears to have been encompassed, on the land side, by a double wall defended with towers at small distances; and without the walls are ditches, ramparts, and a kind of bastions faced with hewn stone. In the fields without these works, we saw scattered up and down upon the ground several large balls of stone, of at least thirteen or fourteen inches diameter; which were part of the ammunition used in battering the city, guns being then unknown. Within the walls there still appear several ruins, which seem to distinguish themselves from the general heap, by some marks of a greater strength and magnificence. At first, those of the cathedral church dedicated to St. Andrew, which stands not far from the sea side, more high and

* Ammian. Marcell. says, the Greek and Roman names of places never took amongst the natives of this country; which is the reason that most places retain their first oriental names at this day, lib. 14, Hist. *non longe ab initio*.

conspicuous than the other ruins. Secondly, the church of St. John, the tutelar saint of this city. Thirdly, the convent of the knights hospitallers; a place whose remaining walls sufficiently testify its ancient strength. And not far from the convent the palace of the grand master of that order; the magnificence of which, may be guessed from a large stair-case, and part of a church still remaining in it. Fourthly, some remains of a large church, formerly belonging to a nunnery, of which they tell this memorable story. The Turks having pressed this city with a long and furious siege, at last entered it by storm, May 19, 1291. In which great extremity the abbess of this nunnery, fearing lest she, and those under her care, might be forced to submit to such beastialities, as are usual in cases of that deplorable nature, used this cruel but generous means for securing both herself and them. She summoned all her flock together, and exhorted them to cut and mangle their faces, as the only way to preserve their virgin purity; and to shew how much she was in earnest, she immediately began before them all to make herself an example of her own counsel. The nuns were so animated by this heroic resolution, and pattern of the abbess, that they began instantly to follow her example, cutting off their noses, and disfiguring their faces, with such terrible gashes, as might excite horror rather than lustful desires in the beholders. The consequence of which was, that the soldiers, breaking into the nunnery, and seeing, instead of those beautiful ladies they expected, such tragical spectacles, took a revenge for their disappointed lusts, by putting them all to the sword. Thus, restoring them, as in charity we may suppose, to a new and inviolable beauty. But to go on; many other ruins here are of churches, palaces, monasteries, forts, &c. extending for more than half a mile in length; in all which you may discern marks of so much strength, as if every building in the city had been contrived for war and defence.

But that which pleased us most at Acra, was to find the French consul monsieur l'Empereur there; who had been so generous, as to make a halt of two days, in expectation of our arrival. But he had staid to the utmost extent of his time, and therefore resolved to set forward again the next morning. Our greatest difficulty was to determine which road to take, whether that upon the coast by Cæsarea and Joppa, or that by Nazareth, or a middle way between both the other, over the plain of Esdraclon.

The cause of this uncertainty was the embroilments and factions that were then amongst the Arabs; which made us desirous to keep as far as possible out of their way. It is the policy of the Turks, always to sow divisions amongst these wild people, by setting up several heads over their tribes, often deposing the old, and placing new ones in their stead; by which art they create contrary interests and parties amongst them, preventing them from ever uniting under any one prince; which if they should have the sense to do, (being so numerous, and almost the sole inhabitants thereabouts), they might shake off the Turkish yoke, and make themselves supreme lords of the country.

But however useful these discords may be to the Turks in this respect, yet a stranger is sure to suffer by them; being made a prey to each party, according as he happens to come in their way; avoiding which abuses, we resolved to take the middle way, as the most secure at this time.

Monday, March 22. —According to which purpose we set out early the next morning from Acra, having with us a band of Turkish soldiers for our securer convoy. Our road lay for about half an hour, along by the side of the bay of Acra; and then, arriving at the bottom of the bay, we turned southward. Here we passed a small river, which we took to be Belus, famous for its sand, which is said to be an excellent material for making glass; as also to have ministered the first occasion and hint of that invention.

Here we began to decline from the sea-coast, upon which we had travelled so many days before, and to draw off more easterly, crossing obliquely over the plain; and in two good hours we arrived at its farther side, where it is bounded by Mount Carmel. Here you find a narrow valley letting you out of the plain of Acra into that of Esdraelon. Hereabouts is the end of the tribe of Asher, and the beginning of that of Zabulon; the borders of these two tribes being thus described, Josh. 19. 26.

Passing through the narrow valley which makes a communication between the two plains, we arrived in two hours at that ancient river, the river Kishon; which cuts its way down the middle of the plain of Esdraelon, and then continuing its course close by the side of Mount Carmel, falls into the sea, at a place called Caypha. In the condition we saw it, its waters were low and inconsiderable; but in passing along the side of the plain, we discerned the tracks of many lesser torrents, falling down into it from the mountains; which must needs make it swell exceedingly upon sudden rains, as doubtless it actually did at the destruction of Sisera's host, Judg. 5. 21. In three hours and a half from Kishon we came to small brook, near which was an old village and a good *kane* called Legune; not far from which we took up our quarters this night. From this place we had a large prospect of the plain of Esdraelon, which is of a vast extent, and very fertile, but uncultivated; only serving the Arabs for pasturage. At about six or seven hours distance eastward, stood within view Nazareth, and the two Mounts Tabor and Hermon. We were sufficiently instructed by experience, what the holy Psalmist means by the dew of Hermon, our tents being as wet with it, as if it had rained all night. At a about a mile's distance from us was encamped Chibly, emir of the Arabs, with his people and cattle; and below, upon the brook Kishon, lay encamped another clan of the Arabs, being the adverse party to Chibly. We had much the less satisfaction in this place, for being seated in the midst, between two such bad neighbours. Our stage this day was in all eight hours; our course south east by south, or thereabout.

Tuesday, March 23. Leaving this lodging, we arrived in one third of an hour at the emir's tents, who came out in person to take his duties of us. We paid him * two caphars, viz. one of Legune, and another of Jeneen, and besides the caphars, whatever else he was pleased to demand. He eased us in a very courteous manner of some of our coats, which now (the heat both of the climate and season encreasing upon us) began to grow not only superfluous, but burdensome.

Getting quit of Chibly, we turned out of the plain of Esdraelon, and entered into the precincts of the half tribe of Manasses. From hence our road lay for about four hours through narrow valleys, pleasantly wooded on both sides. After which, crossing another small fruitful plain, we came in half an hour to Caphar Arab, where we lodged. Our whole stage exceeded not five hours; our course being near as the day before.

Wednesday, March 24. Having paid our caphar, we set out very early the next morning; and leaving first Arab, and then Rama (two mountain villages), on the right hand, we arrived in one hour at a fair fountain called Selee, taking its name from an adjacent village. In one hour more we came to Sebastia. Here you leave the borders of the half tribe of Manasses, and enter into those of the tribe of Ephraim.

Sebastia is the ancient Samaria, the imperial city of the ten tribes after their revolt from the house of David. It lost its former name in the time of Herod the Great,

* For both caphars, eight per Frank, and three per servant.

who raised it from a ruined to a most magnificent state, and called it, in honour of Augustus Cæsar, Sebasta. It is situate upon a long mount of an oval figure, having first a fruitful valley, and then a ring of hills running round about it. This great city is now wholly converted into gardens; and all the tokens that remain to testify that there has ever been such a place, are only, on the north side, a large square piazza, encompassed with pillars, and on the east some poor remains of a great church, said to have been built by the empress Helena, over the place where St. John Baptist was both imprisoned and beheaded. In the body of the church you go down a stair-case, into the very dungeon where that holy blood was shed. The Turks (of whom here are a few poor families) hold this prison in great veneration, and over it have erected a small mosque; but for a little piece of money they suffer you to go in and satisfy your curiosity at pleasure.

Leaving Sebasta we passed in half an hour by Sherack, and in another half hour by Barfeba, two villages on the right hand; and then entering into a narrow valley, lying east and west, and watered with a fine rivulet, we arrived in one hour at Naplosa.

Naplosa is the ancient Sychem, or Sychar, as it is termed in the New Testament. It stands in a narrow valley between Mount Gerizim on the south, and Ebal on the north, being built at the foot of the former; for so the situation, both of the city and mountains is laid down by Josephus, *Antiq. Jud. lib. 5, cap. 9.* Gerizim (says he) hangeth over Sychem; and *lib. 4, cap. ult.* Moses commanded to erect an altar towards the east, not far from Sychem, between Mount Gerizim on the right hand (that is, to one looking eastward on the south), and Hebal on the left (that is on the north); which so plainly assigns the position of these two mountains, that it may be wondered how geographers should come to differ so much about it; or for what reason Adrichomius should place them both on the same side of the valley of Sychem. From Mount Gerizim it was, that God commanded the blessings to be pronounced upon the children of Israel, and from Mount Ebal the curses, *Deut. 11. 29.* Upon the former, the Samaritans, whose chief residence is here at Sychem, have a small temple or place of worship, to which they are still wont to repair at certain seasons, for performance of the rites of their religion. What these rites are I could not certainly learn; but that their religion consists in the adoration of a calf, as the Jews give out, seems to have more of spite than of truth in it.

Upon one of these mountains also it was, that God commanded the children of Israel to set up great stones, plastered over and inscribed with the body of their law; and to erect an altar, and to offer sacrifices, feasting, and rejoicing before the Lord, *Deut. 27. 4.* But now, whether Gerizim or Ebal was the place appointed for this solemnity, there is some cause to doubt. The Hebrew Pentateuch, and ours from it, assigns Mount Ebal for this use, but the Samaritan asserts it to be Gerizim.

Our company halting a little while at Naplosa, I had an opportunity to go and visit the chief priest of the Samaritans, in order to discourse with him, about this and some other difficulties occurring in the Pentateuch, which were recommended to me to be enquired about, by the learned monsieur Job Ludolphus, author of the *Æthiopick History*, when I visited him at Franckford, in my passage through Germany.

As for the difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan copy, *Deut. 27. 4.* before cited, the priest pretended the Jews had maliciously altered their text, out of odium to the Samaritans; putting for Gerizim, Ebal, upon no other account, but only because the Samaritans worshipped in the former mountain, which they would have, for that reason, not to be the true place appointed by God for his worship and sacrifice. To confirm this, he pleaded that Ebal was the mountain of curling, *Deut. 11. 29.* and in its own nature

nature an unpleasant place ; but on the contrary, Gerizim was the mountain of blessing, by God's own appointment, and also in itself fertile and delightful ; from whence he inferred a probability that this latter must have been the true mountain, appointed for those religious festivals, Deut. 27. 4, and not (as the Jews have corruptly written it) Ebal. We observed that to be in some measure true, which he pleaded concerning the nature of both mountains ; for though neither of the mountains has much to boast of as to their pleasantness, yet, as one passes between them, Gerizim seems to discover a somewhat more verdant fruitful aspect than Ebal. The reason of which may be, because fronting towards the north, it is sheltered from the heat of the sun by its own shade ; whereas Ebal looking southward, and receiving the sun that comes directly upon it, must by consequence be rendered more scorched and unfruitful. The Samaritan priest could not say that any of those great stones, which God directed Joshua to set up, were now to be seen in Mount Gerizim ; which, were they now extant, would determine the question clearly on his side.

I enquired of him next, what sort of animal he thought those selavæ might be, which the children of Israel were so long fed with in the Wilderness, Num. 11. He answered, they were a sort of fowls ; and by the description which he gave of them, I perceived he meant the same kind with our quails. I asked him what he thought of locusts, and whether the history might not be better accounted for, supposing them to be the winged creatures that fell so thick about the camp of Israel ? but, by his answer, it appeared he had never heard of any such hypothesis. Then I demanded of him, what sort of plant or fruit the dudaim, or (as we translate it) mandrakes were, which Leah gave to Rachel, for the purchase of her husband's embraces ? He said they were plants of a large leaf, bearing a certain sort of fruit, in shape resembling an apple, growing ripe in harvest, but of an ill flavour and not wholesome. But the virtue of them was to help conception, being laid under the genial bed. That the women were often wont so to apply it, at this day, out of an opinion of its prolific virtues. Of these plants I saw several afterwards in the way to Jerusalem ; and if they were so common in Mesopotamia, as we saw them hereabout, one must either conclude that these could not be the true mandrakes (dudaim), or else it would puzzle a good critic to give a reason, why Rachel should purchase such vulgar things at so beloved and contested a price.

This priest shewed me a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, but would not be persuaded to part with it upon any consideration. He had likewise the first volume of the English Polyglot, which he seemed to esteem equally with his own manuscript.

Naplosa is at present in a very mean condition, in comparison of what it is represented to have been anciently. It consists chiefly of two streets lying parallel, under Mount Gerizim ; but it is full of people, and the seat of a bassa.

Having paid our caphar here, we set forward again in the evening, and proceeding in the same narrow valley, between Gerizim and Ebal, not above a furlong broad, we saw on our right hand just without the city, a small mosque, said to have been built over the sepulchre purchased by Jacob, of Enmor, the father of Shechem, Gen. 33. 19. It goes by the name of Joseph's sepulchre, his bones having been here interred after their transportation out of Egypt, Josh. 24. 32.

At about one third of an hour from Naplosa, we came to Jacob's Well ; famous not only upon account of its author, but much more for that memorable conference which our blessed Saviour here had with the woman of Samaria, Joh. 4. If it should be questioned, whether this be the very well that it is pretended for, or no, seeing it may be suspected to stand too remote from Sychar, for women to come so far to draw water ? it is answered, that probably the city extended farther this way in former times than it

does now ; as may be conjectured from some pieces of a very thick wall, still to be seen not far from hence. Over the well there stood formerly a large church, erected by that great and devout patroness of the Holy Land, the empress Helena ; but of this the voracity of time, assisted by the hands of the Turks, has left nothing but a few foundations remaining. The well is covered at present with an old stone vault, into which you are let down through a very strait hole ; and then removing a broad flat stone, you discover the mouth of the well itself. It is dug in a firm rock, and contains about three yards in diameter, and thirty-five in depth ; five of which we found full of water. This confutes a story commonly told to travellers, who do not take the pains to examine the well, viz. that it is dry all the year round, except on the anniversary of that day on which our blessed Saviour sat upon it, but then bubbles up with abundance of water.

At this well the narrow valley of Sychem ends, opening itself into a wide field, which is probably part of that parcel of ground, given by Jacob to his son Joseph, John 4. 5. It is watered with a fresh stream, rising between it and Sychem ; which makes it so exceeding verdant and fruitful, that it may well be looked upon as a standing token of the tender affection of that good patriarch to the best of sons, Gen. 48. 22.

From Jacob's Well our road went southward, along a very spacious and fertile valley. Having passed by two villages on the right hand, one called Howar, the other Sawee, we arrived in four hours at Kane Leban, and lodged there. Our whole stage to day was about eight hours ; our course variable between east and south.

Kane Leban stands on the east side of a delicious vale, having a village of the same name standing opposite to it on the other side of the vale. One of these places, either the Kane or the village, is supposed to have been the Lebonah mentioned, Judg. 11. 19. to which both the name and situation seem to agree.

Thursday, March 25.—From Kane Leban our road lay through a more mountainous and rocky country, of which we had a specimen as soon as we were mounted the next morning, our first task being to climb a very craggy and difficult mountain. In three quarters of an hour we left, at some distance on the right hand, a village called Cinga ; and in one hour more we entered into a very narrow valley, between two high rocky hills, at the farther end of which we found the ruins of a village, and of a monastery. In this very place, or hereabouts, Jacob's Bethel is supposed to have been ; where he had his stony couch made easy by that beautifying vision of God, and of the angels ascending and descending, on a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, Gen. 28. Near this place are the limits separating between Ephraim and Benjamin, Josh. 18. 13.

From thence we passed through large olive-yards ; and having left first Geeb and then Selwid (two Arab villages) on the right hand, we came in an hour and a half to an old way, cut with great labour over a rocky precipice, and in one hour more we arrived at Beer. This is the place to which Jotham fled from the revenge of his brother Abimelech, Judg. 9. 21. It is supposed also to be the same with Michmas, 1 Sam. 14.

Beer enjoys a very pleasant situation, on an easy declivity fronting southward. At the bottom of the hill, it has a plentiful fountain of excellent water, from which it has its name. At the upper side are remains of an old church, built by the empress Helena, in memory of the blessed Virgin, who when she went in quest of 'the child Jesus,' as it is related, Luke 2. 24, came (as tradition adds) to this city, and not finding Him, whom her soul loved, in the company, she sat down, weary and pensive at the

had a disappointment, in the very place where the church now stands. But afterwards returning to Jerusalem, she had her maternal fears turned into joy, when 'she found him sitting in the Temple amongst the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions.'

All along this day's travel from Kane Leban to Beer, and also as far as we could see round, the country discovered quite a different face from what it had before, presenting nothing to the view in most places, but naked rocks, mountains, and precipices. At sight of which, pilgrims are apt to be much astonished and baulked in their expectations; finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasantness and plenty they had before formed in their minds such high ideas, from the description given of it in the word of God; inasmuch that it almost startles their faith, when they reflect, how it could be possible, for a land like this to supply food for so prodigious a number of inhabitants, as are said to have been polled in the twelve tribes at one time; the sum given in by Joab, 2 Sam. 24, amounting to no less than thirteen hundred thousand fighting men, besides women and children. But it is certain that any man, who is not a little biased to infidelity before, may see, as he passes along, arguments enough to support his faith against such scruples.

For it is obvious for any one to observe, that these rocks and hills must have been anciently covered with earth, and cultivated, and made to contribute to the maintenance of the inhabitants, no less than if the country had been all plain; nay perhaps much more; forasmuch as such a mountainous and uneven surface affords a larger space of ground for cultivation, than this country would amount to, if it were all reduced to a perfect level.

For the husbanding of these mountains, their manner was to gather up the stones, and place them in several lines, along the sides of the hills, in form of a wall. By such borders, they supported the mould from tumbling, or being washed down; and formed many beds of excellent soil, rising gradually one above another, from the bottom to the top of the mountains.

Of this form of culture you see evident footsteps, wherever you go in all the mountains of Palestine. Thus the very rocks were made fruitful. And perhaps there is no spot of ground in this whole land, that was not formerly improved to the production of something or other, ministering to the sustenance of human life. For, than the plain countries, nothing can be more fruitful, whether for the production of corn or cattle, and consequently of milk. The hills, though improper for all cattle, except goats, yet being disposed into such beds as are afore-described, served very well to bear corn, melons, gourds, cucumbers, and such like garden-stuff, which makes the principal food of these countries for several months in the year. The most rocky parts of all, which could not well be adjusted in that manner for the production of corn, might yet serve for the plantation of vines and olive trees; which delight to extract, the one its fatness, the other its sprightly juice, chiefly out of such dry and stony places. And the great plain joining to the dead sea, which by reason of its saltiness might be thought unserviceable both for cattle, corn, olives, and vines, had yet its proper usefulness, the nourishment of bees, and for the fabrick of honey; of which Josephus gives us his testimony, *De Bell. Jud. lib. 5. cap. 4.* And I have reason to believe it, because when I was there, I perceived in many places a smell of honey and wax, as strong as if one had been in an apiary. Why then might not this country very well maintain the vast number of its inhabitants, being in every part so productive of either milk, corn, wine, oil, or honey, which are the principal food of these eastern nations?

nations? The constitution of their bodies, and the nature of their climate, inclining them to a more abstemious diet than we use in England, and other colder regions. But I hasten to Jerusalem.

Leaving Beer, we proceeded as before, in a rude stony country, which yet yielded us the sight of several old ruined villages. In two hours and one third we came to the top of a hill, from whence we had the first prospect of Jerusalem; Ramra, anciently called Gibeah of Saul, being within view on the right hand, and the plain of Jericho, and the mountains of Gilead on the left. In one hour more we approached the walls of the holy city; but we could not enter immediately, it being necessary first to send a messenger to acquaint the governor of our arrival, and to desire liberty of entrance. Without which preceding ceremony, no Frank dares come within the walls. We therefore passed along by the west side of the city, and coming to the corner above Bethlehem gate, made a stop there, in order to expect the return of our messenger. We had not waited above half an hour, when he brought us our permission, and we entered accordingly at Bethlehem gate. It is required of all Franks, unless they happen to come in with some public minister, to dismount at the gate, to deliver their arms, and enter on foot: but we coming in company with the French consul, had the privilege to enter mounted and armed. Just within the gate, we turned up a street on the left hand, and were conducted by the consul to his own house, with most friendly and generous invitations to make that our home, as long as we should continue at Jerusalem. Having taken a little refreshment, we went to the Latin convent, at which all Frank pilgrims are wont to be entertained. The guardian and friars received us with many kind welcomes, and kept us with them at supper; after which we returned to the French consul's to bed. And thus we continued to take our lodgings at the consul's, and our board with the friars, during our whole stay at Jerusalem.

Friday, March 26.—The next day being Good Friday in the Latin style, the consul was obliged to go into the church of the Sepulchre, in order to keep his feast; whither we accompanied him, although our own Easter was not till a week after theirs. We found the church doors guarded by several janizaries, and other Turkish officers; who are placed here to watch, that none enter in, but such as have first paid their appointed caphar. This is more or less, according to the country, or the character of the persons that enter. For Franks, it is ordinarily fourteen dollars per head, unless they are ecclesiastics; for in that case it is but half so much.

Having once paid this caphar, you may go in and out gratis as often as you please during the whole feast; provided you take the ordinary opportunities in which it is customary to open the doors; but if you would have them opened at any time out of the common course, purposely for your own private occasion, then the first expence must be paid again.

The pilgrims being all admitted this day, the church doors were locked in the evening, and opened no more till Easter day; by which we were kept in a close, but very happy confinement for three days. We spent our time in viewing the ceremonies practised by the Latins at this festival, and in visiting the several holy places; all which we had opportunity to survey, with as much freedom and deliberation as we pleased.

And now being got under the sacred roof, and having the advantage of so much leisure and freedom, I might expatiate in a large description of the several holy places which this church (as a cabinet) contains in it. But this would be a superfluous prolixity, so many pilgrims having discharged this office with so much exactness already, and especially our learned sagacious countryman Mr. Sandys; whose descriptions and draughts, both of this church, and also of the other remarkable places in and about

Jerusalem, must be acknowledged so faithful and perfect, that they leave very little to be added by after-comers, and nothing to be corrected. I shall content myself therefore, to relate only what passed in the church during this festival, saying no more of the church itself, than just what is necessary to make my account intelligible.

The church of the Holy Sepulchre is founded upon Mount Calvary, which is a small eminence or hill upon the greater Mount of Moriah. It was anciently appropriated to the execution of malefactors, and therefore shut out of the walls of the city, as an execrable and polluted place. But since it was made the altar on which was offered up the precious and all-sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, it has recovered itself from that infamy, and has been always revered and resorted to with such devotion by all christians, that it has attracted the city round about it, and stands now in the midst of Jerusalem, a great part of the hill of Sion being shut out of the walls, to make room for the admission of Calvary.

In order to the fitting of this hill for the foundation of a church, the first founders were obliged to reduce it to a plain area; which they did by cutting down several parts of the rock, and by elevating others. But in this work, care was taken that none of these parts of the hill, which were reckoned to be more immediately concerned in our blessed Lord's passion, should be altered or diminished. Thus, that very part of Calvary, where they say Christ was fastened to, and lifted upon his cross, is left entire; being about ten or twelve yards square, and standing at this day so high above the common floor of the church, that you have twenty-one steps or stairs to go up to its top: and the holy sepulchre itself, which was at first a cave hewn into the rock under ground, having had the rock cut away from it all round, is now as it were a grotto above ground.

The church is less than one hundred paces long, and not more than sixty wide; and yet is so contrived, that it is supposed to contain under its roof twelve or thirteen sanctuaries, or places consecrated to a more than ordinary veneration, by being reputed to have some particular actions done in them, relating to the death and resurrection of Christ. As first, the place where he was derided by the soldiers: secondly, where the soldiers divided his garments: thirdly, where he was shut up, whilst they digged the hole to set the foot of the cross in, and made all ready for his crucifixion: fourthly, where he was nailed to the cross: fifthly, where the cross was erected: sixthly, where the soldier stood that pierced his side: seventhly, where his body was anointed in order to his burial: eighthly, where his body was deposited in the sepulchre: ninthly, where the angels appeared to the women after his resurrection: tenthly, where Christ himself appeared to Mary Magdalen, &c. The places where these and many other things relating to our blessed Lord are said to have been done, are all supposed to be contained within the narrow precincts of this church, and are all distinguished and adorned with so many several altars.

In galleries round about the church, and also in little buildings annexed to it on the outside, are certain apartments for the reception of friars and pilgrims; and in these places almost every christian nation anciently maintained a small society of monks; each society having its proper quarter assigned to it, by the appointment of the Turks; such as the Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Abyssines, Georgians, Nestorians, Cophites, Maronites, &c. all which had anciently their several apartments in the church. But these have all, except four, forsaken their quarters; not being able to sustain the severe rents and extortions which their Turkish landlords impose upon them. The Latins, Greeks, Armenians and Cophites keep their footing still; but of these four, the Cophites have now only one poor representative of their nation left; and the Armenians are

run so much in debt, that it is supposed they are hastening apace to follow the examples of their brethren, who have deserted before them.

Besides their several apartments, each fraternity have their altars and sanctuary, properly and distinctly allotted to their own use. At which places they have a peculiar right to perform their own divine service, and to exclude other nations from them.

But that which has always been the great prize contended for by the several sects, is the compound and appropriation of the holy sepulchre; a privilege contested with so much unchristian fury and animosity, especially between the Greeks and Latins, that in disputing which party should go into it to celebrate their mass, they have sometimes proceeded to blows and wounds, even at the very door of their sepulchre; mingling their own blood with their sacrifices. An evidence of which fury the father guardian showed us in a green scar upon his arm, which he told us was the mark of a wound given him by a sturdy Greek priest in one of these unholy wars. Who can expect ever to see these holy places rescued from the hands of infidels? Or if they should be recovered, what deplorable contests might be expected to follow about them! being even in their present state of captivity, they are made the occasion of such unchristian rage and animosity.

For putting an end to these infamous quarrels, the French king interposed, by a letter to the grand visier, about twelve years since; requesting him to order the holy sepulchre to be put into the hands of the Latins, according to the tenor of the capitulation made in the year 1673. The consequence of which letter, and of other instances made by the French king, was, that the holy sepulchre was appropriated to the Latins; this was not accomplished till the year 1690, they alone having the privilege to say mass in it. And though it be permitted to christians of all nations to go into it for their private devotions, yet none may solemnize any public office of religion there but the Latins.

The daily employment of these recluses is to trim the lamps, and to make devotional visits and processions to the several sanctuaries in the church. Thus they spend their time, many of them for four or six years together; nay, so far are some transported with the pleasing contemplations in which they here entertain themselves, that they will never come out to their dying day, burying themselves (as it were) alive in our Lord's grave.

The Latins, of whom there are always about ten or twelve residing at the church, with a president over them, make every day a solemn procession, with tapers and crucifixes, and other processionary solemnities, to the several sanctuaries; singing at every one of them a Latin hymn relating to the subject of each place. These Latins, being more polite and exact in their duties than the other monks here residing, and also our conversation being chiefly with them, I will only describe their ceremonies, without taking notice of what was done by others, who did not so much come under our observation.

Their ceremony begins on Good Friday night, which is called by them the *notte tenebrosa*, and is observed with such an extraordinary solemnity, that I cannot omit to give a particular description of it.

As soon as it grew dark, all the friars and pilgrims were convened in the chapel of the apparition (which is a small oratory on the north side of the holy grave, adjoining to the apartment of the Latin), in order to go in a procession round the church. But, before they set out, one of the friars preached a sermon in Italian in that chapel. He began his discourse thus; *In questa notte tenebrosa*, &c. at which words all the candles

were

were instantly put out, to yield a livelier image of the occasion. And so we were held by the preacher, for near half an hour, very much in the dark. Sermon being ended, every person present had a large lighted taper put into his hand, as if it were to make amends for the former darkness; and the crucifixes and other utensils were disposed in order for beginning the procession. Amongst the other crucifixes, there was one of a very large size, which bore upon it the image of our Lord, as big as the life. The image was fastened to it with great nails, crowned with thorns, besmeared with blood; and so exquisitely was it formed, that it represented in a very lively manner the lamentable spectacle of our Lord's body, as it hung upon the cross. This figure was carried all along in the head of the procession; after which the company followed to all the sanctuaries in the church, singing their appointed hymn at every one.

The first place they visited was that of the pillar of flagellation, a large piece of which is kept in a little cell just at the door of the chapel of the Apparition. There they sung their proper hymn; and another friar entertained the company with a sermon in Spanish, touching the scourging of our Lord.

From hence they proceeded in solemn order to the prison of Christ, where they pretend he was secured whilst the soldiers made things ready for his crucifixion; here likewise they sung their hymn, and a third friar preached in French.

From the prison they went to the altar of the division of Christ's garments; where they only sung their hymn, without adding any sermon.

Having done here, they advanced to the chapel of the Derision; at which, after their hymn, they had a fourth sermon, as I remember, in French.

From this place they went up to Calvary, leaving their shoes at the bottom of the stairs. Here are two altars to be visited; one where our Lord is supposed to have been nailed to his cross; another where his cross was erected. At the former of these they laid down the great crucifix (which I but now described) upon the floor, and acted a kind of a resemblance of Christ's being nailed to the cross; and after the hymn one of the friars preached another sermon in Spanish, upon the crucifixion.

From hence they removed to the adjoining altar, where the cross is supposed to have been erected, bearing the image of our Lord's body. At this altar is a hole in the natural rock, said to be the very same individual one, in which the foot of our Lord's cross stood. Here they set up their cross, with the bloody crucified image upon it; and leaving it in that posture, they first sung their hymn, and then the father guardian, sitting in a chair before it, preached a passion sermon in Italian.

At about one yard and a half distance from the hole in which the foot of the cross was fixed, is seen that memorable cleft in the rock, said to have been made by the earthquake which happened at the suffering of the God of Nature; when (as St. Matthew, chap. 27, v. 51. witnesseth) 'the rocks rent, and the very graves were opened.' This cleft, as to what now appears of it, is about a span wide at its upper part, and two deep; after which it closes; but it opens again below (as you may see in another chapel contiguous to the side of Calvary); and runs down to an unknown depth in the earth. That this rent was made by the earthquake that happened at our Lord's passion, there is only tradition to prove: but that it is a natural and genuine breach, and not counterfeited by any art, the sense and reason of every one that sees it may convince him; for the sides of it fit like two tallies to each other; and yet it runs in such intricate windings as could not well be counterfeited by art, nor arrived at by any instruments.

The ceremony of the passion being over, and the guardian's sermon ended, two friars, personating the one Joseph of Arimathea, the other Nicodemus, approached the cross, and with a most solemn concerned air, both of aspect and behaviour, drew out the great nails,

nails, and took down the feigned body from the cross. It was an effigy so contrived, that its limbs were soft and flexible, as if they had been real flesh; and nothing could be more surprising, than to see the two pretended mourners bend down the arms, which were before extended, and dispose them upon the trunk, in such a manner as is usual in corpses.

The body being taken down from the cross, was received in a fair large winding-sheet, and carried down from Calvary; the whole company attending as before, to the stone of unction. This is taken for the very place where the precious body of our Lord was anointed, and prepared for the burial, John 19, 39. Here they laid down their imaginary corpse; and casting over it several sweet powders and spices, wrapt it up in the winding-sheet: whilst this was doing, they sung their proper hymn, and afterwards one of the friars preached in Arabick, a funeral sermon.

These obsequies being finished, they carried off their fancied corpse, and laid it in the sepulchre; shutting up the door till Easter morning. And now after so many sermons, and so long, not to say tedious a ceremony, it may well be imagined, that the weariness of the congregation, as well as the hour of the night, made it needful to go to rest.

Saturday, March 27.—The next morning nothing extraordinary passed; which gave many of the pilgrims leisure to have their arms marked with the usual ensigns of Jerusalem. The artists, who undertake the operation, do it in this manner: they have stamps in wood of any figure that you desire, which they first print off upon your arm with powder of charcoal; then taking two very fine needles tied close together, and dipping them often, like a pen, in certain ink, compounded, as I was informed, of gunpowder and ox-gall, they make with them small punctures all along the lines of the figure which they have printed; and then washing the part in wine, conclude the work. These punctures they make with great quickness and dexterity, and with scarce any smart, seldom piercing so deep as to draw blood.

In the afternoon of this day, the congregation was assembled in the area before the holy grave; where the friars spent some hours in singing over the Lamentations of Jeremiah, which function, with the usual procession to the holy places, was all the ceremony of this day.

Sunday, March 28.—On Easter morning the sepulchre was again set open very early. The clouds of the former morning were cleared up; and the friars put on a face of joy and serenity, as if it had been the real juncture of our Lord's resurrection. Nor doubtless was this joy feigned, whatever their meaning might be, this being the day in which their Lenten disciplines expired, and they were come to a full belly again.

The mass was celebrated this morning just before the holy sepulchre, being the most eminent place in the church; where the father guardian had a throne erected, and being arrayed in episcopal robes, with a mitre on his head, in the sight of the Turks, he gave the host to all that were disposed to receive it; not refusing children of seven or eight years old. This office being ended, we made our exit out of the sepulchre, and returning to the convent, dined with the friars.

After dinner, we took an opportunity to go and visit some of the remarkable places without the city walls; we began with those on the north side.

The first place we were conducted to was a large grot, a little without Damascus gate; said to have been some time the residence of Jeremiah. On the left side of it, is shewn the prophet's bed, being a shelve on the rock, about eight feet from the ground; and not far from this, is the place where they say he wrote his Lamentations. This place is at present a college of dervises, and is held in great veneration by the Turks and Jews, as well as Christians.

The

The next place we came to, was those famous grotts called the Sepulchres of the Kings; but for what reason they go by that name is hard to resolve; for it is certain none of the kings, either of Israel or Judah, were buried here; the holy scriptures assigning other places for their sepultures; unless it may be thought perhaps that Hezekiah was here interred, and that these were the sepulchres of the sons of David, mentioned 2 Chron. 32, 33. Whoever was buried here, this is certain, that the place itself discovers so great an expence both of labour and treasure, that we may well suppose it to have been the work of kings. You approach to it at the east side, through an entrance cut out of the natural rock, which admits you into an open court of about forty paces squares, cut down into the rock, with which it is encompassed instead of walls. On the south side of the court is a portico, nine paces long and four broad, hewn likewise out of the natural rock. This is a kind of architrave running along its front, adorned with sculpture of fruits and flowers, still discernible, but by time much defaced. At the end of the portico on the left hand, you descend to the passage into the sepulchres. The door is now so obstructed with stones and rubbish, that it is a thing of some difficulty to creep through it. But within you arrive in a large fair room, about seven or eight yards square, cut out of the natural rock. Its sides and ceiling are so exactly square, and its angles so just, that no architect with levels and plummets could build a room more regular; and the whole is so firm and entire, that it may be called a chamber hollowed out of one piece of marble. From this room, you pass into (I think) six more, one within another, all of the same fabrick with the first. Of these, the two innermost are deeper than the rest, having a second descent of about six or seven steps into them.

In every one of these rooms, except the first, were coffins of stone placed in niches in the sides of the chambers. They had been at first covered with handsome lids, and carved with garlands; but now most of them were broke to pieces by sacrilegious hands. The sides and ceiling of the rooms were always dropping, with the moist damps condensing upon them. To remedy which nuisance, and to preserve these chambers of the dead polite and clean, there was in each room a small channel cut in the floor, which served to drain the drops that fall constantly into it.

But the most surprising thing belonging to these subterraneous chambers was their doors, of which there is only one that remains hanging, being left as it were on purpose to puzzle the beholders. It consisted of a plank of stone of about six inches in thickness, and in its other dimensions equalling the size of an ordinary door, or somewhat less. It was carved in such a manner as to resemble a piece of wainscot; the stone of which it was made, was visibly of the same kind with the whole rock; and it turned upon two hinges in the nature of axles. These hinges were of the same entire piece of stone with the door; and were contained in two holes of the immoveable rock, one at the top, the other at the bottom.

From this description it is obvious to start a question, how such doors as these were made; whether they were cut out of the rock, in the same place and manner as they now hang; or whether they were brought, and fixed in their station like other doors? One of these must be supposed to have been done; and which soever part we choose, as most probable, it seems at first glance to be not without its difficulty. But thus much I have to say, for the resolving of this riddle (which is wont to create no small dispute amongst pilgrims), viz. that the door which was left hanging, did not touch its lintel by at least two inches; so that I believe it might easily have been lifted up and unhinged. And the doors which had been thrown down, had their hinges at the upper end twice

as long as those at the bottom; which seems to intimate pretty plainly, by what method this work was accomplished.

From these sepulchres we returned toward the city again, and just by Herod's gate were shewn a grotto full of filthy water and mire. This passes for the dungeon in which Jeremiah was kept by Zedekiah, till enlarged by the charity of Ebed Meleck, Jer. 38. At this place we concluded our visits for that evening.

Monday, March 29.—The next day being Easter Monday, the mofolem or governor of the city set out, according to custom, with several bands of foldiers, to convey the pilgrims to Jordan. Without this guard, there is no going thither, by reason of the multitude and insolence of the Arabs in these parts. The fee to the mofolem for his company and foldiers upon this occasion, is twelve dollars for each Frank pilgrim, but if they be ecclesiasticks, fix; which you must pay, whether you are disposed to go the journey or stay in the city. We went out at St. Stephen's gate, being in all, of every nation and sex, about two thousand pilgrims. Having crossed the valley of Jehosaphat, and part of Mount Olivet, we came in half an hour to Bethany; at present only a small village. At the first entrance into it, is an old ruin, which they call Lazarus's castle, supposed to have been the mansion house of that favourite of our Lord. At the bottom of a small descent, not far from the castle, is shewn the sepulchre out of which he was raised to a second mortality, by that enlivening voice of Christ, 'Lazarus come forth.' You descend into the sepulchre by twenty-five steep stairs; at the bottom of which, you arrive first in a small square room, and from thence you creep down into another lesser room about a yard and a half deeper, in which the body is said to have been laid. This place is held in great veneration by the Turks, who use it for an oratory, and demand of all christians a small caphar for their admission into it.

About a bow shot from hence you pass by the place which, they say, was Mary Magdalen's habitation; and then descending a steep hill, you come to the Fountain of the Apostles; so called, because, as the tradition goes, those holy persons were wont to refresh themselves here, in their frequent travels between Jerusalem and Jericho. And indeed it is a thing very probable, and no more than I believe is done by all that travel this way; the fountain being close by the road side, and very inviting to the thirsty passenger.

From this place you proceed in an intricate way amongst hills and valleys interchangeably; all of a very barren aspect at present, but discovering evident signs of the labour of the husbandman in ancient times. After some hours travel in this sort of road, you arrive at the mountainous desert into which our blessed Saviour was led by the Spirit, to be tempted by the Devil. A most miserable dry barren place it is, consisting of high rocky mountains, so torn and disordered, as if the earth had here suffered some great convulsion, in which its very bowels had been turned outward. On the left hand, looking down in a deep valley, as we passed along, we saw some ruins of small cells and cottages, which they told us were formerly the habitations of hermits retiring hither for penance and mortification. And certainly there could not be found in the whole earth a more comfortless and abandoned place, for that purpose. From the top of these hills of desolation, we had, however, a delightful prospect of the mountains of Arabia, the Dead Sea, and the plain of Jericho; into which last place we descended, after about five hours march from Jerusalem. As soon as we entered the plain, we turned up on the left hand, and going about one hour that way, came to the foot of the Quarantania; which, they say, is the mountain into which the Devil took our blessed Saviour, when he tempted him with that visionary scene of all the kingdoms and glories of the world. It is, as St. Matthew styles it, an exceeding high mountain, and in its ascent not only

difficult, but dangerous. It has a small chapel at the top, and another about half way up, founded upon a prominent part of the rock: near this latter are several caves and holes in the side of the mountain, made use of anciently by hermits, and by some at this day, for places to keep their Lent in; in imitation of that of our blessed Saviour. In most of these grotts we found certain Arabs quartered, with fire-arms, who obstructed our ascent, demanding two hundred dollars for leave to go up the mountains. So we departed without farther trouble, not a little glad to have so good an excuse for not climbing so dangerous a precipice.

Turning down from hence into the plain, we passed by a ruined aqueduct, and a convent in the same condition: and in about a mile's riding came to the fountain of El-liska; so called, because miraculously purged from its brackishness by that prophet, at the request of the men of Jericho, 2 Kings, 2. 19. Its waters are at present received in a basin, about nine or ten paces long, and five or six broad; and from thence issuing out in good plenty, divide themselves into several small streams, dispersing their refreshment to all the field between this and Jericho, and rendering it exceeding fruitful. Close by the fountain grows a large tree spreading into boughs over the water, and here in the shade we took a collation, with the father guardian, and about thirty or forty friars more, who went this journey with us.

About one third of an hour's distance from hence is Jericho, at present only a poor nasty village of the Arabs. We were here carried to see a place where Zaccheus's house is said to have stood; which is only an old square stone building, on the south side of Jericho. About two furlongs from hence, the mosque, with his people had encamped; and not far from them we took up our quarters this night.

Tuesday, March 30.—The next morning we set out very early for Jordan, where we arrived in two hours. We found the plain very barren as we passed along it, producing nothing but a kind of samphire, and other such marine plants. I observed in many places of the road, where puddles of water had stood, a whiteness upon the surface of the ground; which, upon trial, I found to be a crust of salt, caused by the water to rise out of the earth, in the same manner as it does every year in the valley of Salt near Aleppo, after the winter's inundation. These saline efflorescences I found at some leagues distance from the Dead Sea; which demonstrates, that the whole valley must be all over plentifully impregnated with that mineral.

Within about a furlong of the river, at that place where we visited it, there was an old ruined church and convent, dedicated to St. John in memory of the baptizing of our blessed Lord. It is founded, as near as could be conjectured, to the very place where he had the honour to perform that sacred office, and to wash Him who was infinitely purer than the water itself. On the farther side of the forementioned convent there runs along a small descent, which you may fitly call the first and outermost bank of Jordan; as far as which it may be supposed the river does, or at least did anciently overflow, at some seasons of the year, viz. at the time of harvest, Josh. 3. 15, or as it is expressed, Chron. 12. 15, in the first month, that is in March. But at present (whether it be because the river has, by its rapidity of current, worn its channel deeper than it was formerly, or whether because its waters are diverted some other way) it seems to have forgot its ancient greatness: for we could discern no sign or probability of such overflowsings, when we were there, which was the thirtieth of March, being the proper time for these inundations. Nay, so far was the river from overflowing, that it ran at least two yards below the brink of its channel.

After having descended the outermost bank, you go about a furlong upon a level strand, before you come to the immediate bank of the river. This second bank is

so beset with bushes and trees, such as tamarisk, willows, oleanders, &c. that you can see no water till you have made your way through them. In this thicket recently (and the same is reported of it at this day) several sorts of wild beasts were wont to harbour themselves; whose being washed out of the covert by the overflowings of the river, gave occasion to that allusion, Jerem. 49. 19, and 50. 44. 'He shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan'.

No sooner were we arrived at the river, and dismounted, in order to satisfy that curiosity and devotion, which brought us thither, but we were alarmed by some troops of Arabs appearing on the other side, and firing at us; but at too great a distance to do any execution. This intervening disturbance hindered the friars from performing their service prescribed for this place; and seemed to put them in a terrible fear of their lives, beyond what appeared in the rest of the company; though considering the fordidness of their present condition, and the extraordinary rewards, which they boast to be their due in the world to come, one would think in reason, they of all men should have the least cause to discover so great a fear of death, and so much fondness of a life like theirs.

But this alarm was soon over, and every one returned to his former purpose: some stripped and bathed themselves in the river; others cut down boughs from the trees; every man was employed one way or other, to take a memorial of this famous stream. The water was very turpid, and too rapid to be swam against. For its breadth, it might be about twenty yards over; and in depth it far exceeded my height. On the other side there seemed to be a much larger thicket than on that where we were; but we durst not swim over, to take any certain account of that region, for fear of the Arabs; there being three guns fired just over against us, and (as we might guess by their reports) very near the river.

Having finished our design here, we were summoned to return by the mosolem; who carried us back into the middle of the plain, and there sitting under his tent, made us pass before him, man by man, to the end he might take the more exact account of us, and lose nothing of his caphar. We seemed at this place to be near the Dead Sea, and some of us had a great desire to go nearer, and take a view of those prodigious waters. But this could not be attempted, without the licence of our commander in chief. We therefore sent to request his permission for our going, and a guard to attend us; both which he readily granted, and we immediately prosecuted our purpose.

Coming within about half an hour of the sea, we found the ground uneven, and varied into hillocks, much resembling those places in England where there have been anciently lime-kilns. Whether these might be the pits at which the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah were overthrown by the four kings, Gen. 14. 12, I will not determine.

Coming near the sea we passed through a kind of coppice, of bushes and reeds; in the midst of which our guide, who was an Arab, shewed us a fountain of fresh water, rising not above a furlong from the sea; fresh water he called it, but we found it brackish.

The Dead Sea is enclosed on the east and west with exceeding high mountains; on the north it is bounded with the plain of Jericho, on which side also it receives the waters of Jordan; on the south it is open, and extends beyond the reach of the eye. It is said to be twenty-four leagues long, and six or seven broad.

On the shore of the lake we found a black sort of pebbles, which being held in the flame of a candle soon burns, and yields a smoke of an intolerable stench. It has this property, that it loses only of its weight, but not of its bulk by burning. The hills

bordering upon the lake, are said to abound with this sort of sulphureous stones. I saw pieces of it at the convent of St. John in the Wildneefs, two feet square. They were carved in basso relievo, and polished to as great a lustre as black marble is capable of, and were designed for the ornament of the new church at the convent.

It is a common tradition, that birds attempting to fly over this sea, drop down dead into it; and that no fish, nor other sort of animal can endure these deadly waters. The former report I saw actually confuted, by several birds flying about and over the sea, without any visible harm; the latter also I have some reason to suspect as false, having observed among the pebbles on the shore, two or three shells of fish resembling oyster-shells. These were cast up by the waves, at two hours distance from the mouth of Jordan; which I mention, lest it should be suspected that they might be brought into the sea that way.

As for the bitumen, for which the sea had been so famous, there was none at the place where we were. But it is gathered near the mountains on both sides in great plenty. I had several lumps of it brought me to Jerusalem. It exactly resembles pitch, and cannot readily be distinguished from it, but by the sulphureousness of its smell and taste.

The water of the lake was very limpid, and salt to the highest degree; and not only salt, but also extreme bitter and nauseous. Being willing to make an experiment of its strength, I went into it, and found it bore up my body in swimming with an uncommon force. But as for that relation of some authors, that men wading into it were buoyed up to the top, as soon as they go as deep as the navel; I found it, upon experiment, not true.

Being desirous to see the remains (if there were any) of those cities anciently situate in this place, and made so dreadful an example of the divine vengeance, I diligently surveyed the waters, as far as my eye could reach; but neither could I discern any heaps of ruins, nor any smoke ascending above the surface of the water; as is usually described in the writings and maps of geographers. But yet I must not omit what was confidently attested to me by the father guardian, and procurator of Jerusalem; both men in years, and seemingly not destitute either of sense or probity, viz. that they had once actually seen one of these ruins; that it was so near the shore, and the waters so shallow, at that time, that they together with some Frenchmen went to it, and found there several pillars, and other fragments of buildings. The cause of our being deprived of this sight was, I suppose, the height of the water.

On the west side of the sea is a small promontory, near which, as our guides told us, stood the monument of Lot's metamorphosed wife; part of which (if they may be credited) is visible at this day. But neither would the present occasion permit us to go and examine the truth of this relation; neither, had the opportunity served, could we give faith enough to their report, to induce us to go on such an errand.

As for the apples of Sodom, so much talked of, I neither saw, nor heard of any hereabouts: nor was there any tree to be seen near the lake, from which one might expect such a kind of fruit*; which induces me to believe that there may be a greater deceit in this fruit, than that which is usually reported of it; and that its very being as well as its beauty, is a fiction, only kept up, as my lord Bacon observes many other false notions are, because it serves for a good allusion, and helps the poets to a similitude.

In our return from the Dead Sea, at about one hour's distance from it, we came to an old ruined Greek convent. There was good part of the church remaining, with

* Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. 5. cap. 5.

several pieces of painting entire; as the figures of several Greek saints, and over the altar the representation of our Lord's last supper, with this text of holy writ fairly inscribed, *Λάβετε φάγίτε*, &c. Hereabout, and also in many other places of the plain, I perceived a strong scent of honey and wax, (the sun being very hot); and the bees were very industrious about the blossoms of that salt weed which the plain produces. In about one hour and a half more we returned to our tents and company, at the same place where we slept the night before; and there we spent this night also.

Amongst the products of this place, I saw a very remarkable fruit, called by the Arabs *zacho-ne*. It grows upon a thorny bush, with small leaves; and both in shape and colour resembles a small unripe walnut. The kernel of this fruit the Arabs bray in a mortar; and then putting the pulp into scalding water, they skim off an oil, which rises to the top. This oil they take inwardly for bruises, and apply it outwardly to green wounds, preferring it before balm of Gilead. I procured a bottle of it, and have found it, upon small trials, a very healing medicine. The roses of Jericho were not to be found at this season.

Wednesday, March 31.—This morning we all decamped at half an hour after two, and returning the same way by which we came, arrived in about six hours near the walls of Jerusalem. Our company did not think fit to enter the city, resolving to go immediately for Bethlehem. In order to which, we turned down into the valley of Jehosaphat; and so passing by the city, instantly took the road to the place intended.

From Jerusalem to Bethlehem, is but two hours travel. The country through which the road lies, is the valley of Rephaim; as may be gathered from Jos. Ant. lib. 4. cap 10. A valley so famous for being the theatre of David's victories against the Philistines, 2 Sam. 5. 23. In the road you meet with these following remarkable places. First, a place said to be the house of Simeon, that venerable old prophet, who taking our blessed Saviour in his arms, sung his 'nunc dimittis' in the temple. Secondly, the famous turpentine tree, in the shade of which the blessed Virgin is said to have reposed, when she was carrying Christ in her arms, to present him to the Lord at Jerusalem. Thirdly, a convent dedicated to St. Elias, the impress of whose body, the Greek monks residing here pretend to shew in a hard stone, which was wont to serve him for his bed. Near this convent also is a well, where you are told it was that the star appeared to the eastern magi, to their exceeding joy. Fourthly, Rachel's tomb; this may probably be the true place of her interment, mentioned Gen. 35. 19. But the present sepulchral monument can be none of that which Jacob erected: for it appears plainly to be a modern and Turkish structure. Near this monument is a little piece of ground, in which are picked up a little sort of small round stones, exactly resembling pease; concerning which they have a tradition here, that they were once truly what they now seem to be; but that the blessed Virgin petrified them by a miracle, in punishment to a surly rustick, who denied her the charity of a handful of them to relieve her hunger.

Being arrived at Bethlehem, we immediately made a circular visit to all the holy places belonging to it: as namely, the place where it is said our blessed Lord was born; the manger in which it is said he was laid; the chapel of St. Joseph, his supposed father; that of the Innocents; those of St. Jerom, of St. Paula and Eustochium, and of Eusebius of Cremona; and lastly, the school of St. Jerom. All which places it shall suffice just to name.

From the top of the church, we had a large prospect of the adjacent country. The most remarkable places in view were Tekoah, situate on the side of a hill, about nine miles distant to the southward; Engedi, distant about three miles eastward; and some-
what

what farther off, the same way, a high sharp hill, called the Mountain of the Franks, I saw defended by a party of the crusaders forty years after the loss of Jerusalem.

Thursday, April 1.—This morning we went to see some remarkable places in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. The first place that we directed our course to, was the famous fountains, pools and gardens, about one hour and a quarter distant from Bethlehem towards, said to have been the contrivance and delight of king Solomon. To these various and places of pleasure that great prince is supposed to allude, Eccl. 2. 5, 6, where amongst the other instances of his magnificence, he reckons up his gardens, and vineyards, and pools.

As for the pools, they are three in number, lying in a row above each other; being so disposed, that the waters of the uppermost may descend into the second, and those of the second into the third. Their figure is quadrangular; the breadth is the same in all, amounting to about ninety paces; and in their length there is some difference between them: the first being about one hundred and sixty paces long, the second two hundred, the third two hundred and twenty. They all are lined with wall, and plaistered, and contain a great depth of water.

Close by the pools is a pleasant castle of a modern structure; and at about the distance of one hundred and forty paces from them, is the fountain from which principally they derive their waters. This, the friars will have to be that sealed fountain, to which the holy spouse is compared, Can. 4. 12. And, in confirmation of this opinion, they pretend a tradition, that king Solomon shut up these springs, and kept the door of them sealed with his signet; to the end that he might preserve the waters for his drinking, in their natural freshness and purity. Nor was it difficult thus to secure them, they rising under ground, and having no avenue to them but a little hole like to the mouth of a narrow well. Through this hole you descend directly down, but not without some difficulty, for about four yards; and then arrive in a vaulted room, fifteen paces long, and eight broad. Joining to this, is another room of the same fashion, but somewhat less. Both these rooms are covered with handsome stone arches, very ancient, and perhaps the work of Solomon himself.

You find here four places at which the water rises: from those separate sources it is conveyed by little rivulets, into a kind of basin, and from thence is carried by a large subterraneous passage down into the pools. In the way, before it arrives at the pools, there is an aqueduct of brick pipes, which receives part of the stream, and carries it by many turnings and windings, about the mountains, to Jerusalem.

Below the pools here runs down a narrow rocky valley, enclosed on both sides with high mountains. This, the friars will have to be the enclosed garden, alluded to in the same place of the Canticles before cited. ‘A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed.’ What truth there may be in this conjecture, I cannot absolutely pronounce. As to the pools, it is probable enough, they may be the same with Solomon’s; there not being the like store of excellent spring-water to be met with any where else, throughout all Palestine. But for the gardens one may safely affirm, that if Solomon made them, in the rocky ground which is now assigned for them, he demonstrated greater power and wealth in finishing his design, than he did wisdom in choosing the place for it.

From these memorials of Solomon, we returned towards Bethlehem again, in order to visit some places nearer home. The places we saw were the field where it is said the Magi were watching their flocks when they received the glad tidings of the birth of Christ; and not far from the field, the village where they dwelt; and a little on the right hand of the village, an old desolate nunnery built by St. Paula, and
made

made the more memorable by her dying in it. These places are all within about half a mile of the convent, eastward; and with these we finished this morning's work.

Having seen what is usually visited on the south and east of Bethlehem, we walked out after dinner to the westward, to see what was remarkable on that side. The first place we were guided to was the Well of David, so called, because held to be the same that David so passionately thirsted after, 2 Sam. 23. 15. It is a well (or rather a cistern) supplied only with rain, without any natural excellency in its waters to make them desirable; but it seems David's spirit had a farther aim.

About two furlongs beyond this well, are to be seen some remains of an old aqueduct, which anciently conveyed the waters from Solomon's pools to Jerusalem. This is said to be the genuine work of Solomon; and may well be allowed to be in reality, what it is pretended for. It is carried all along upon the surface of the ground, and is composed of stones — feet square, and — thick, perforated with a cavity of — inches diameter, to make the channel. These stones are let into each other with a fillet framed round about the cavity to prevent leakage; and united to each other with so firm a cement, that that they will sometimes sooner break (though a kind of coarse marble) than endure a separation. This train of stones was covered, for its greater security, with a case of smaller stones, laid over it in a very strong mortar. The whole work seems to be endued with such absolute firmness, as if it had been designed for eternity. But the Turks have demonstrated in this instance, that nothing can be so well wrought, but they are able to destroy it. For of this strong aqueduct, which was carried formerly five or six leagues, with so vast expence and labour, you see now only here and there a fragment remaining.

Returning from this place, we went to see the Greek and Armenian convents; which are contiguous to that of the Latins, and have each their several doors opening into the chapel of the Holy Manger. The next place we went to see was the grot of the blessed Virgin. It is within thirty or forty yards of the convent; and is revered upon the account of a tradition, that the blessed Virgin here hid herself and her divine Babe from the fury of Herod, for some time before their departure into Egypt. The grot is hollowed into a chalky rock; but this whiteness they will have to be not natural, but to have been occasioned by some miraculous drops of the blessed Virgin's milk, which fell from her breast while she was suckling the Holy Infant. And so much are they possessed with this opinion, that they believe the chalk of this grotto has a miraculous virtue for encreasing women's milk. And I was assured from many hands, that it is very frequently taken by the women hereabouts, as well Turks and Arabs, as Christians, for that purpose, and that with very good effect; which perhaps may be true enough, it being well known how much fancy is wont to do in things of this nature.

Friday, April 2.—The next morning, presenting the guardian with two chequens a piece for his civilities to us, we took our leave of Bethlehem, desiring just to go visit the Wilderness and convent of St. John Baptist, and so return to Jerusalem.

In this stage we first crossed part of that famous valley, in which it is said that the Angel in one night did such prodigious execution, in the army of Sennacherib. Having travelled about half an hour, we came to a village called Boathellah; concerning which they relate this remarkable property, that no Turk can live in it above two years. By virtue of this report, whether true or false, the Christians keep the village to themselves without molestation; no Turk being willing to stake his life in experimenting the truth of it. In somewhat less than an hour more we came to the fountain, where they told us, but falsely, that Philip baptized the Ethiopian eunuch. The

passage here is so rocky and uneven, that pilgrims finding how difficult the road is for a single horseman, are ready to think it impossible that a mariat (such as the eunuch rode in, Acts 8. 28) should ever have been able to go this way. But it must not be judged what the road was in ancient times, by what the negligence of the Turks has now reduced it to; for I observed not far from the fountain, a place where the rock had been cut away in old time, in order to lay open a good road; by which it may be supposed that the same care was used all along this passage, though now time and negligence have obliterated both the fruit and almost the signs of such labour.

A little beyond this fountain, we came to that which they call the village of St. Philip; at which ascending a very steep hill, we arrived at the Wilderness of St. John; a wilderness it is called, as being very rocky and mountainous; but is well cultivated, and produces plenty of corn, vines, and olive trees. After a good hour's travel in this wilderness, we came to the cave and fountain, where, as they say, the Baptist exercised those severe austerities related of him, Matt. 3. 4. Near this cell there still grow some old locust trees, the monuments of the ignorance of the middle times. These the friars aver to be the very same that yielded sustenance to the Baptist; and the popish pilgrims, who dare not be wiser than such blind guides, gather the fruit of them, and carry it away with great devotion.

Having done with this place, we directed our course toward the convent of St. John, which is about a league distant eastward. In our way we passed along one side of the valley of Elah, where David slew the giant, that deser of the army of Israel, 1 Sam. 17. We likewise in sight Modon, a village on the top of a high hill, the burying place of those heroic defenders of their country, the Maccabees.

Being come near the convent, we were led a little out of the way, to visit a place which they call the house of Elizabeth, the mother of the Baptist. This was formerly a convent also; but it is now a heap of ruins, and the only remarkable place left in it is a grotto, in which (you are told) it was that the blessed Virgin saluted Elizabeth, and pronounced her divine Magnificat, Luke 1. 46.

The present convent of St. John, which is now inhabited, stands at about three furlongs distant from this house of Elizabeth; and is supposed to be built at the place where St. John was born. If you chance to ask how it came to pass, that Elizabeth lived in one house, when she was big with the Baptist, and in another when she brought him forth? the answer you are like to receive is, that the former was her country, the latter her city, habitation; and that it is no wonder for a wife of one of the priests of better rank (such as she was, Luke 1. 6.) to be provided with such variety.

The convent of St. John has been, within these four years, rebuilt from the ground. It is at present a large square building, uniform and neat all over; but that which is most eminently beautiful in it, is its church. It consists of three aisles, and has in the middle a handsome cupola, under which is a pavement of Mosaic, equal to, if not exceeding the finest works of the ancients in that kind. At the upper end of the north aisle, you go down seven marble steps, to a very splendid altar, erected over the very place where they say the holy Baptist was born. Here are artificers still employed, in adding further beauty and ornament to this convent; and yet it has been so expensive a work already, that the friars themselves give out, there is not a stone laid in it but has cost them a dollar; which considering the large sums exacted by the Turks for licence to begin fabrics of this nature, and also their perpetual extortion and avarias afterwards, besides the necessary charge of building, may be allowed to pass for no extravagant hyperbole.

Returning

Returning from St. John's toward Jerusalem, we came in about three quarters of an hour to a convent of the Greeks, taking its name from the holy cross. This convent is very neat in its structure, and in its situation delightful. But that which most deserves to be noted in it, is the reason of its name and foundation. It is because here is the earth, that nourished the root, that bore the tree, that yielded the timber that made the cross. Under the high altar you are shewn a hole in the ground, where the stump of the tree stood, and it meets with not a few visitants so much verier stocks than itself, as to fall down and worship it. This convent is not above half an hour from Jerusalem; to which place we returned this evening, being the fifth day since our departure thence.

After our return, we were invited into the convent, to have our feet washed; a ceremony performed to each pilgrim by the father guardian himself. The whole society stands round, singing some Latin hymns, all the while the father guardian is doing his office; and when he has done, every friar comes in order, and kisses the feet of the pilgrim. All this was performed with great order and solemnity; and if it served either to testify a sincere humility and charity in them, or to improve those excellent graces in others, it might pass for no unuseful ceremony.

Saturday, April 3.—We went about mid-day to see the function of the holy fire. This is a ceremony kept up by the Greeks and Armenians, upon a persuasion that every Easter eve there is a miraculous flame descends from heaven into the Holy Sepulchre, and kindles all the lamps and candles there, as the sacrifice was burnt at the prayers of Elijah, 1 Kings, 18.

Coming to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, we found it crowded with a numerous and distracted mob, making a hideous clamour very unfit for that sacred place, and better becoming bacchanals than christians. Getting with some struggle through this crowd, we went up into the gallery on that side of the church next the Latin convent, whence we could discern all that passed in this religious frenzy.

They began their disorders by running round the Holy Sepulchre with all their might and swiftness, crying out as they went, *Huia!* which signifies, 'This is he, or this is it;' an expression by which they assert the verity of the christian religion. After they had by these vertiginous circulations and clamours turned their heads, and inflamed their madness, they began to act the most antic tricks and postures, in a thousand shapes of distraction. Sometimes they dragged one another along the floor all round the sepulchre; sometimes they set one man upright on another's shoulders, and in this posture marched round; sometimes they took men with their heels upward, and hurried them about in such an indecent manner, as to expose their nudities; sometimes they tumbled round the sepulchre, after the manner of tumblers on the stage. In a word, nothing can be imagined more rude or extravagant, than what was acted upon this occasion.

In this tumultuous frantic humour they continued from twelve till four of the clock: the reason of which delay was, because of a suit that was then in debate before the *cadi*, betwixt the Greeks and Armenians; the former endeavouring to exclude the latter from having any share in this miracle. Both parties having expended (as I was informed) five thousand dollars between them, in this foolish controversy; the *cadi* at last gave sentence, that they should enter the Holy Sepulchre together, as had been usual at former times. Sentence being thus given, at four of the clock both nations went on with their ceremony. The Greeks first set out, in a procession round the Holy Sepulchre, and immediately at their heels followed the Armenians. In this order they

compelled the Holy Sepulchre thrice, having produced all their gallantry of standards, streamers, crucifixes, and embroidered habits upon this occasion.

Toward the end of this procession, there was a pigeon came fluttering into the cupola over the Sepulchre; at sight of which, there was a greater shout and clamour than before. This bird, the Latins told us, was purposely let fly by the Greeks, to deceive the people into an opinion that it was a visible descent of the Holy Ghost.

The procession being over, the suffragan of the Greek patriarch (he being himself at Constantinople), and the principal Armenian bishop approached to the door of the sepulchre, and cutting the string with which it was fastened and sealed, entered in, shutting the door after them; all the candles and lamps within having been before extinguished, in the presence of the Turks and other witnesses. The exclamations were doubled, as the miracle drew nearer its accomplishment; and the people pressed with such vehemence towards the door of the sepulchre, that it was not in the power of the Turks set to guard it, with the severest drubs to keep them off. The cause of their pressing in this manner, is the great desire they have to light their candles at the holy flame, as soon as it is first brought out of the sepulchre; it being esteemed the most sacred and pure, as coming immediately from heaven.

The two miracle-mongers had not been above a minute in the holy sepulchre, when the glimmering of the holy fire was seen, or imagined to appear, through some chinks of the door; and certainly Bedlam itself never saw such an unruly transport as was produced in the mob at this sight.

Immediately after, out came the two priests with blazing torches in their hands, which they held up at the door of the sepulchre, while the people thronged about with inexpressible ardour; every one striving to obtain a part of the first and purest flame. The Turks, in the mean time, with huge clubs, laid them on without mercy; but all this could not repel them, the excess of their transport making them insensible of pain. Those that got the fire applied it immediately to their beards, faces, and bosoms, pretending that it would not burn like an earthly flame; but I plainly saw, none of them could endure this experiment long enough to make good that pretension.

So many hands being employed, you may be sure it could not be long before innumerable tapers were lighted. The whole church, galleries, and every place seemed instantly to be in a flame: and with this illumination the ceremony ended.

It must be owned, that those two within the sepulchre performed their part with great quickness and dexterity; but the behaviour of the rabble without, very much discredited the miracle. The Latins take a great deal of pains to expose this ceremony, as a most shameful imposture, and a scandal to the Christian religion; perhaps out of envy, that others should be matters of so gainful a business; but the Greeks and Armenians pin their faith upon it, and make their pilgrimages chiefly upon this motive; and it is the deplorable unhappiness of their priests, that having acted the cheat so long already, they are forced now to stand to it, for fear of endangering the apostacy of their people.

Going out of the church, after the rout was over, we saw several people gathered about the stone of unction, who, having got a good store of candles lighted with the holy fire, were employed in daubing pieces of linen with the wicks of them and the melting wax; which pieces of linen were designed for winding-sheets; and it is the opinion of these poor people, that if they can but have the happiness to be buried in a shroud smutted with this celestial fire, it will certainly secure them from the flames of hell.

Sunday, April 4.—This day being our Easter, we did not go abroad to visit any places, the time requiring an employment of another nature.

Monday, April 5.—This morning we went to see some more of the curiosities which had been yet unvisited by us. The first place we came to was that which they call St. Peter's prison, from which he was delivered by the Angel, Acts 12. It is close by the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and still serves for its primitive use. About the space of a furlong from thence, we came to an old church, held to have been built by Helena, in the place where stood the house of Zebedee. This is in the hands of the Greeks, who tell you, that Zebedee being a fisherman, was wont to bring fish from Joppa thither, and to vend it at this place. Not far from thence we came to the place where, they say, stood anciently the iron gate, which opened to Peter of its own accord. A few steps farther, is the small church built over the house of Mark, to which the Apostle directed his course, after his miraculous gird-delivery. The Syrians (who have this place in their custody) pretend to shew you the very window at which Rhoda looked out, while Peter knocked at the door. In the church they shew a Syriac manuscript of the New Testament in folio, pretended to be eight hundred and fifty-two years old; and a little stone font, used by the Apostles themselves in baptizing. About one hundred and fifty paces farther in the same street, is that which they call the house of St. Thomas, converted formerly into a church, but now a mosque. Not many paces farther is another street crossing the former, which leads you on the right hand to the place where they say our Lord appeared, after his resurrection, to the three Marys, Matth. 28. 9. Three Marys, the friars tell you, though in that place of St. Matthew mention is made but of two. The same street carries you on the left hand to the Armenian convent. The Armenians have here a very large and delightful space of ground; their convent and gardens taking up all that part of Mount Sion which is within the walls of the city. Their church is built over the place where, they say, St. James, the brother of John, was beheaded, Acts 12. 2. In a small chapel on the north-side of the church, is shewn the very place of his decollation. In this church are two altars set out with extraordinary splendour, being decked with rich mitres, embroidered copes, crosses both silver and gold, crowns, chalices, and other church utensils without number. In the middle of the church is a pulpit made of tortoise-shell and mother of pearl, with a beautiful canopy or cupola over it, of the same fabric. The tortoise-shell and mother of pearl are so exquisitely mingled and inlaid in each other, that the work far exceeds the materials. In a kind of anti-chapel to this church, there are laid up on one side of an altar, three large rough stones, esteemed very precious; as being, one of them, the stone upon which Moses cut the two tables, when he broke them, in indignation at the idolatry of the Israelites; the other two being brought, one from the place of our Lord's baptism, the other from that of his transfiguration.

Leaving this convent, we went a little farther to another small church, which was likewise in the hands of the Armenians. This is supposed to be founded in the place where Annas's house stood. Within the church, not far from the door, is shewn a hole in the wall, denoting the place where one of the officers of the High priest smote our blessed Saviour, John 18. 22. The officer, by whose impious hand that blow was given, the friars will have to be the same Malchus whose ear our Lord had healed. In the court before this chapel is an olive tree, of which it is reported, that Christ was chained to it for some time by order of Annas, to secure him from escaping.

From the house of Annas we were conducted out of Sion gate, which is near adjoining to that which they call the house of Cajaphas, where is another small chapel belonging also to the Armenians. Here, under the altar, they tell us is deposited that

very stone which was laid to secure the door of our Saviour's sepulchre, Mat. 27. 60. It was a long time kept in the church of the Sepulchre; but the Armenians, not many years since, stole it from thence by a stratagem, and conveyed it to this place. The stone is two yards and a quarter long, high one yard, and broad as much. It is plaistered all over, except in five or six little places, where it is left bare to receive the immediate kisses and other devotions of pilgrims. Here is likewise shewn a little cell said to have been our Lord's prison, until the morning when he was carried from hence before Pilate; and also the place where Peter was frighted into a denial of his master.

A little farther without the gate is the church of the Coenaculum, where they say Christ instituted his last supper. It is now a mosque, and not to be seen by Christians. Near this is a well, which is said to mark out the place at which the Apostles divided from each other, in order to go every man to his several charge; and close by the well are the ruins of a house in which the blessed Virgin is supposed to have breathed her last. Going eastward, a little way down the hill, we were shewn the place where a Jew arrested the corpse of the Blessed Virgin, as she was carried to her interment; for which impious presumption, he had his hand withered wherewith he had seized the bier. About as much lower in the middle of the hill, they shew you the grot in which St. Peter wept so bitterly for his inconstancy to his Lord.

We extended our circuit no farther at this time; but entered the city again at Sion gate. Turning down as soon as we had entered, on the right hand, and going about two furlongs close by the city wall, we were had into a garden lying at the foot of Mount Moriah, on the south side. Here we were shewn several large vaults, annexed to the mountain on this side, and running at least fifty yards under ground. They were built in two aisles, arched at top with huge firm stone, and sustained with tall pillars consisting each of one single stone, and two yards in diameter. This might, possibly, be some under-ground work made to enlarge the area of the Temple; for Josephus seems to describe some such work as this, erected over the valley on this side of the Temple, *Ant. Jud. lib. 15. cap. ult.*

From these vaults, we returned toward the convent. In our way we passed through the Turkish bazars, and took a view of the beautiful gate of the Temple; but we could but just view it in passing, it not being safe to stay here long, by reason of the superstition of the Turks.

Tuesday, April 6.—The next morning we took another progress about the city. We made our exit at Bethlehem gate, and turning down on the left hand under the castle of the Pisans, came, in about a furlong and a half, to that which they call Bathsheba's pool. It lies at the bottom of Mount Sion, and is supposed to be the same in which Bathsheba was washing herself, when David spied her from the terrace of his palace. But others refer this accident to another lesser pool in a garden, just within Bethlehem gate; and, perhaps, both opinions are equally in the right.

A little below this pool, begins the valley of Hinnom; on the west side of which is the place called anciently the Potters Field, and afterwards the Field of Blood, from its being purchased with the pieces of silver which were the price of the blood of Christ; but at present, from that veneration which it has obtained amongst Christians, it is called Campo Sancto. It is a small plat of ground, not above thirty yards long, and about half as much broad. One moiety of it is taken up by a square fabric twelve yards high, built for a charnel house. The corpses are let down into it from the top, there being five holes left open for that purpose. Looking down through these holes we could see many bodies under several degrees of decay; from which it may be

conjectured; that this grave does not make that quick dispatch with the corpses committed to it, which is commonly reported. The Armenians have the command of this burying place, for which they pay the Turks a rent of one sequin a day. The earth is of a chalky substance hereabouts.

A little below the Campo Sancto, is shewn an intricate cave or sepulchre, consisting of several rooms one within another, in which the Apostles are said to have hid themselves, when they forsook their Master, and fled. The entrance of the cave discovers signs of its having been adorned with painting in ancient times.

A little farther the valley of Hinnom terminates that of Jehosaphat running cross the mouth of it. Along the bottom of this latter valley runs the brook Cedron; a brook in winter-time, but without the least drop of water in it all the time we were at Jerusalem.

In the valley of Jehosaphat, the first thing you are carried to is the well of Nehemiah; so called, because reputed to be the same place from which that restorer of Israel recovered the fire of the altar, after the Babylonish captivity, 2 Macc. 1. 19. A little higher in the valley, on the left hand, you come to a tree, supposed to mark out the place where the evangelical prophet was fawn asunder. About one hundred paces higher, on the same side, is the pool of Siloam. It was anciently dignified with a church built over it: but when we were there, a tanner made no scruple to dress his hides in it. Going about a furlong farther on the same side, you come to the fountain of the blessed Virgin, so called because she was wont (as is reported) to resort thither for water; but at what time, and upon what occasions, it is not yet agreed. Over against this fountain, on the other side of the valley, is a village called Siloe, in which Solomon is said to have kept his strange wives; and above the village is a hill called the Mountain of Offence, because there Solomon built the high places mentioned, 1 Kings, 11. 7, his wives having perverted his wife heart to follow their idolatrous abominations in his declining years. On the same side, and not far distant from Siloe, they shew another Aceldama, or Field of Blood; so called, because there it was that Judas, by the just judgment of God, met with his compounded death, Mat. 27. 5. Acts 1. 18, 19. A little farther on the same side of the valley, they shewed us several Jewish monuments. Amongst the rest there are two noble antiquities, which they call the Sepulchre of Zachary, and the Pillar of Absalom. Close by the latter, is the Sepulchre of Jehosaphat, from which the whole valley takes its name.

Upon the edge of the hill, on the opposite side of the valley, there runs along in a direct line, the wall of the city. Near the corner of which, there is a short end of a pillar, jetting out of the wall. Upon this pillar the Turks have a tradition, that Mahomet shall sit in judgment at the last day; and that all the world shall be gathered together in the valley below, to receive their doom from his mouth. A little farther northward is the gate of the Temple. It is at present walled up, because the Turks here have a prophecy, that their destruction shall enter at that gate; the completion of which prediction they endeavour by this means to prevent. Below this gate, in the bottom of the valley, is a broad hard stone, discovering several impressions upon it, which you may fancy to be footsteps. These the friars tell you are prints made by our blessed Saviour's feet, when after his apprehension he was hurried violently away to the tribunal of his blood-thirsty persecutors.

From hence, keeping still in the bottom of the valley, you come in a few paces to a place, which they call the Sepulchre of the blessed Virgin. It has a magnificent descent down into it of forty-seven stairs: on the right hand, as you go down, is the Sepulchre of St. Anna, the mother; and on the left, that of St. Joseph, the husband of the blessed Virgin.

Having finished our visit to this place, we went up the hill toward the city. In the side of the ascent, we were shewn a broad stone, on which they say St. Stephen suffered martyrdom; and not far from it is a grot, into which they tell you the outrageous Jewish zealots cast his body, when they had satiated their fury upon him. From hence we went immediately to St. Stephen's gate, so called from its vicinity to this place of the protomartyr's suffering; and so returned to our lodging.

Wednesday, April 7.—The next morning we set out again, in order to see the sanctuaries, and other visitable places of Mount Olivet. We went out at St. Stephen's gate, and crossing the valley of Jehosaphat, began immediately to ascend the mountains. Being got about two thirds of the way up, we came to certain groves cut with intricate windings and caverns under ground: these are called the Sepulchres of the Prophets. A little higher up, are twelve arched vaults under ground, standing side by side; these were built in memory of the twelve Apostles, who are said to have compiled their creed in this place. Sixty paces higher you come to the place, where they say Christ uttered his prophecy concerning the final destruction of Jerusalem, Mat. 2. 4. And a little on the right hand of this, is the place where they say he dic'd a second time the Pater noster to his disciples, Luke 11. 1, 2. Somewhat higher is the cave of St. Pelagia; and as much more above that, a pillar, signifying the place where an angel gave the blessed Virgin three days warning of her death. At the top of the hill, you come to the place of our blessed Lord's ascension. Here was anciently a large church, built in honour of that glorious triumph: but all that now remains of it is only an octagonal cupola, about eight yards in diameter, standing, as they say, over the very place where were set the last footsteps of the Son of God here on earth. Within the cupola there is seen, in a hard stone, as they tell you, the print of one of his feet. Here was also that of the other foot sometime since; but it has been removed from hence by the Turks into the great mosque upon Mount Moriah. This chapel of the ascension, the Turks have the custody of, and use it for a mosque. There are many other holy places about Jerusalem, which the Turks pretend to have a veneration for, equally with the Christians; and under that pretence they take them into their own hands. But whether they do this out of real devotion, or for lucre's sake, and to the end that they may exact money from the Christians for admission into them, I will not determine.

About two furlongs from this place northward, in the highest part of Mount Olivet; and upon that was anciently erected an high tower, in memory of that apparition of the two angels to the Apostles, after our blessed Lord's ascension, Acts 1. 10, 11. from which the tower itself had the name given it of *Turris Galilai*! This ancient monument remained till about two years since, when it was demolished by a Turk, who had bought the field in which it stood: but nevertheless you have still, from the natural height of the place, a large prospect of Jerusalem, and the adjacent country, and of the Dead Sea, &c.

From this place, we descended the mount again by another road. At about the midway down, they shew you the place where Christ beheld the city, and wept over it, Luke 19. 41. Near the bottom of the hill is a great stone, upon which, you are told, the blessed Virgin let fall her girdle after her assumption, in order to convince St. Thomas, who, they say, was troubled with a fit of his old incredulity upon this occasion. There is still to be seen a small winding channel upon the stone, which they will have to be the impression made by the girdle when it fell, and to be left for the conviction of all such as shall suspect the truth of their story of the assumption.

About twenty yards lower they shew you Gethsemane; an even plat of ground, not above fifty-seven yards square, lying between the foot of Mount Olivet and the brook Cedron.

Cedron. It is well planted with olive trees, and those of so old a growth, that they are believed to be the same that stood here in our blessed Saviour's time. In virtue of which persuation, the olives, and olive stones, and oil which they produce, became an excellent commodity in Spain. But that these trees cannot be so ancient as is pretended, is evident from what Josephus testifies, lib. 7. Bell. Jud. cap. 15; and in other places, viz. that Titus, in his siege of Jerusalem, cut down all the trees within about one hundred furlongs of Jerusalem; and that the soldiers were forced to fetch wood so far, for making their mounts, when they assaulted the Temple.

At the upper corner of the garden is a flat naked ledge of rock, reputed to be the place on which the Apostles, Peter, James, and John, fell asleep during the agony of our Lord. And a few paces from hence is a grotto, said to be the place, in which Christ underwent that bitter part of his passion.

About eight paces from the place where the Apostles slept, is a small shred of ground, twelve yards long, and one broad, supposed to be the very path on which the traitor Judas walked up to Christ, saying, 'Hail master, and killed him.' This narrow path is separated by a wall out of the midst of the garden, as a *terra desolata*; a work the more remarkable, as being done by the Turks, who, as well as Christians, detest the very ground on which was acted such an infamous treachery.

From hence we crossed the brook Cedron, close by the reputed sepulchre of the blessed Virgin; and entering at St. Stephen's gate, returned again to the convent.

Thursday, April 8. — We went to see the palace of Pilate, I mean the place where they say it stood, for now an ordinary Turkish house possesses its room. It is not far from the gate of St. Stephen, and borders upon the area of the Temple on the north side. From the terrace of this house you have a fair prospect of all the place where the Temple stood; indeed the only good prospect that is allowed you of it: for there is no going within the borders of it, without forfeiting your life, or, which is worse, your religion. A fitter place for an august building could not be found in the whole world than this area. It lies upon the top of Mount Moriah, over against Mount Olivet, the valley of Jehosaphat lying between both mountains. It is, as far as I could compute by walking round it without, five hundred and seventy of my paces in length, and three hundred and seventy in breadth; and one may still discern marks of the great labour that it cost, to cut away the hard rock, and to level such a spacious area upon so strong a mountain. In the middle of the area stands at present a mosque of an octagonal figure, supposed to be built upon the same ground, where anciently stood the *Sanctum Sanctorum*. It is neither eminent for its largeness, nor its structure; and yet it makes a very stately figure, by the sole advantage of its situation.

In this pretended house of Pilate is shewn the room in which Christ was mocked with the ensigns of royalty, and buffeted by the soldiers. At the coming out of the house is a descent, where was anciently the *Scala Sancta*. On the other side of the street (which was anciently part of the palace also) is the room where they say our Lord was scourged. It was once used for a stable by the son of a certain bassa of Jerusalem: but presently upon this profanation, they say, there came such a mortality amongst his horses, as forced him to resign the place, by which means it was redeemed from that sordid use; but, nevertheless, when we were there, it was no better than a weaver's shop. In our return from Pilate's palace, we passed along the Dolourous Way, in which walk we were shewn in order: first, the place where Pilate brought our Lord forth to present to the people, with this mystick saying, 'Behold the man!' secondly, where Christ fainted thrice, under the weight of his cross: thirdly, where the blessed Virgin swooned away at so tragical a spectacle: fourthly, where St. Veronica presented to him the handkerchief

to wipe his bleeding brows: fifthly, where the foldiers compelled Simon, the Cyrenian, to bear his crofs. All which places I need only to name.

Friday, April 9.—We went to take a view of that which they call the Pool of Bethesda. It is one hundred and twenty paces long, and forty broad, and at leaft eight deep, but void of water. At its weft end it difcovers fome old arches, now dammed up. Thefe, fome will have to be the five porches in which fate that multitude of lame, halt, and blind, Joh. 5. But the mifchief is, inftead of five, there are but three of them. This pool is contiguous on one fide, to St. Stephen's gate; on the other, to the area of the Temple.

From hence we went to the convent or nunnery of St. Anne. The church here is large and entire, and fo are part of the lodgings; but both are defolate and neglected. In a grotto under the church is fhewn the place, where, they fay, the bleffed Virgin was born. Near this church they fhew the pharifee's houfe, where Mary Magdalen exhibited thofe admirable evidences of a penitent affection towards our Saviour; 'wafhing his feet with her tears, and wiping them with her hair', Luke 7. 38. This place alfo has been anciently dignified with holy buildings, but they are now neglected.

This was our morning's work. In the afternoon we went to fee Mount Gihon, and the pool of the fame name. It lies about two furlongs without Bethlehem gate weftward. It is a ftately pool, one hundred and fix paces long, and fixty-feven broad, and lined with wall and plaifter; and was, when we were there, well ftored with water.

Saturday, April 10.—We went to take our leaves of the Holy Sepulchre, this being the laft time that it was to be opened this feftival.

Upon this finifhing day, and the night following, the Turks allow free admittance for all people, without demanding any fee for entrance as at other times; calling it a day of charity. By this promifcuous license, they let in not only the poor, but, as I was told, the lewd and vicious alfo; who come hither to get convenient opportunity for proftitution, prophaning the holy places in fuch a manner (as it is faid), that they were not worfe defiled even then when the heathens here celebrated their Aphrodisia.

Sunday, April 11.—Now began the Turks Byram, that is, the feaft which they celebrate after their Lent, called by them Ramadam. This being a time of great libertinifm among the rabble, we thought it prudent to confine ourfelves to our lodgings for fome time, to the end that we might avoid fuch infolences as are ufual in fuch times of publick feftivity. Our confinement was the lefs incommodious, becaufe there was hardly any thing, either within or about the city, which we had not already vifited.

Monday, April 12; Tuesday, April 13.—We kept clofe to our quarters, but however not in idleneff, the time being now come when we were to contrive, and provide things in order for our departure. We had a bad account, from all hands, of the country's being more and more embroiled by the Arabs; which made us fomewhat unresolved what way and method to take for our return. But during our fufpence it was told us, that the mofolem was likewise upon his return to his mafter, the baffa of Tripoli; upon which intelligence we refolved, if poffible, to join ourfelves to his company.

Wednesday, April 14.—We went with a fmall prefent in our hands to wait upon the mofolem, in order to enquire the time of his departure, and acquaint him with our defire to go under his protection. He affured us of his fetting out the next morning; fo we immediately took our leaves in order to prepare ourfelves for accompanying him.

I was willing before our departure to meafure the circuit of the city: fo taking one of the friars with me, I went out in the afternoon, in order to pace the walls round. We
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went out at Bethlehem gate, and proceeding on the right hand, came about to the same gate again. I found the whole city 4630 paces in circumference, which I computed thus :

	Paces.
From Bethlehem gate to the corner on the right hand	400
From that corner to Damascus gate	680
From Damascus gate to Herod's	380
From Herod's gate to Jeremiah's prison	150
From Jeremiah's prison to the corner next the valley of Jehosaphat	225
From that corner to St. Stephen's gate	385
From St. Stephen's gate to the Golden gate	240
From the Golden gate to the corner of the wall	380
From that corner to the Dung gate	470
From the Dung gate to Sion gate	605
From Sion gate to the corner of the wall	215
From that corner to Bethlehem gate	500

In all, paces 4630

The reduction of my paces to yards, is by casting away a tenth part, ten of my paces making nine yards ; by which reckoning the 4630 paces amount to 4167 yards, which make just two miles and a half.

Thursday, April 15.—This morning our diplomata were presented us by the father guardian, to certify our having visited all the holy places ; and we presented the convent fifty dollars a man, as a gratuity for their trouble ; which offices having past betwixt us, we took our leaves.

We set out together with the mofolem, and proceeding in the same road by which we came, lodged the first night at Kane Leban. But the mofolem left us here, and continued his stage as far as Naplofa ; so we saw him no more. The country people were now every where at plough in the fields, in order to sow cotton. It was observable, that in ploughing they used goads of an extraordinary size. Upon measuring of several I found them about eight feet long, and at the bigger end six inches in circumference. They were armed at the lesser end with a sharp prickle for driving the oxen, and at the other end with a small spade, or paddle of iron, strong and massy, for cleansing the plough from the clay that encumbers it in working. May we not from hence conjecture, that it was with such a goad as one of these, that Shamgar made that prodigious slaughter related of him, Judg. 3. 31 ? I am confident that whoever should see one of these instruments, would judge it to be a weapon not less fit, perhaps fitter, than a sword, for such an execution. Goads of this sort I saw always used hereabouts, and also in Syria ; and the reason is, because the same single person both drives the oxen, and also holds and manages the plough, which makes it necessary to use such a goad as is above described, to avoid the encumbrance of two instruments.

Friday, April 16.—Leaving Kane Leban we proceeded still in our former road ; and passing by Naplofo and Samaria, we came to the fountain Selee, and there took up our lodging this night.

Saturday, April 17.—The next morning we continued on in the same road that we travelled when outward bound, 'till we came to Caphar Arab. At this place we left our former way, and instead of turning off on the left hand to go for Acra, we kept our course straight forwards, resolving to cross directly athwart the plain of Efdraelon, and to visit Nazareth.

Proceeding in this course from Caphar Arab, we came in about half an hour to Jeneen. This is a large old town, on the skirts of Efdraelon: it has in it an old castle, and two mosques, and is the chief residence of the emir Chibly. Here we were accosted with a command from the emir not to advance any farther, 'till he should come in person to receive of us his caphars. This was very unwelcome news to us, who had met with a trial of his civility before. But however we had no remedy, and therefore thought it best to comply as contentedly as we could. Having been kept thus in suspense from two in the morning 'till sun-set, we then received an order from the prince, to pay the caphar to an officer, whom he sent to receive it, and dismiss us.

Having received this license, we made all the haste we could to dispatch the caphar, and to get clear of these Arabs, but notwithstanding all our diligence, it was near midnight before we could finish. After which we departed, and entering immediately into the plain of Efdraelon, travelled over it all night, and in seven hours reached its other side. Here we had a very steep and rocky ascent; but however in half an hour we mastered it, and arrived at Nazareth.

Sunday, April 18.—Nazareth is at present only an inconsiderable village, situate in a kind of round concave valley, on the top of an high hill. We were entertained at the convent built over the place of the Annunciation. At this place are as it were immured, seven or eight Latin fathers, who live a life truly mortified, being perpetually in fear of the Arabs, who are absolute lords of the country.

We went in the afternoon to visit the sanctuary of this place. The church of Nazareth stands in a cave, supposed to be the place where the blessed Virgin received that joyful message of the Angel, 'Hail thou that art highly favoured,' &c. Luke 1. 28. It resembles the figure of a cross. That part of it that stands for the tree of the cross is fourteen paces long, and six over; and runs directly into the grot, having no other arch over it at top, but that of the natural rock: the traverse part of the cross is nine paces long and four broad, and is built athwart the mouth of the grot. Just at the section of the cross are erected two granite pillars, each two feet and one inch diameter, and about three feet distance from each other. They are supposed to stand on the very places, one, where the Angel, the other, where the blessed Virgin stood at the time of the Annunciation. Of these pillars, the innermost being that of the blessed Virgin, has been broke away by the Turks, in expectation of finding treasure under it; so that eighteen inches length of it is clean gone, between the pillar and its pedestal. Nevertheless it remains erect; though by what art it is sustained, I could not discern. It touches the roof above, and is probably hanged upon that; unless you had rather take the friars account of it, viz. that it is supported by a miracle.

After this we went to see the house of Joseph, being the same, as they tell you, in which the Son of God lived for near thirty years, in subjection to man, Luke 2. 51. Not far distant from hence they shew you the synagogue, where our blessed Lord preached that sermon, Luke 4. by which he so exasperated his country-men. Both these places lie north west from the convent, and were anciently dignified each with a handsome church; but these monuments of queen Helena's piety are now in ruins.

Monday, April 19.—This day we destined for visiting Mount Tabor, standing by itself in the plain of Efdraelon, about two or three furlongs within the plain.

Its being situated in such a separate manner has induced most authors to conclude, that this must needs be that holy mountain (as St. Peter styles it, 2 Pet. 1. 18.) which was the place of our blessed Lord's Transfiguration, related Mat. 17. Mark 9. There you read that Christ 'took with him Peter, James, and John, into a mountain apart';

from which description they infer, that the mountain there spoke of can be no other than Tabor. The conclusion may possibly be true; but the argument used to prove it, seems incompetent; because the term *zar' hazz*, or apart, most likely relates to the withdrawing and retirement of the persons there spoken of; and not the situation of the mountain.

After a very laborious ascent, which took up near an hour, we reached the highest part of the mountain. It has a plain area at top, most fertile and delicious, of an oval figure, extended about one furlong in breadth, and two in length. This area is enclosed with trees on all parts, except toward the south. It was anciently environed with walls, and trenches, and other fortifications, of which it exhibits many remains at this day.

In this area there are in several places, cisterns of good water; but those which are most devoutly visited, are three contiguous grottos made to represent the three tabernacles which St. Peter proposed to erect, in the astonishment that possessed him at the glory of the Transfiguration. 'Lord (says he) it is good for us to be here: let us make three tabernacles, one for thee, &c.'

I cannot forbear to mention in this place an observation, which is very obvious to all that visit the Holy-Land, viz. that almost all passages and histories related in the gospel are represented, by them that undertake to shew where every thing was done, as having been done most of them in grottos; and that even in such cases, where the condition and circumstances of the actions themselves seem to require places of another nature.

Thus, if you would see the place where St. Anne was delivered of the blessed Virgin, you are carried to a grotto; if the place of the Annunciation, it is also a grotto; if the place where the blessed Virgin saluted Elizabeth; if that of the Baptist's, or that of our blessed Saviour's Nativity; if that of the agony, or that of St. Peter's repentance, or that where the Apostles made the creed, or this of the Transfiguration, all these places are also grottos. And in a word, where-ever you go, you find almost every thing is represented as done under ground. Certainly grottos were anciently held in great esteem; or else they could never have been assigned, in spite of all probability, for the places in which were done so many various actions. Perhaps it was the hermits way of living in grottos from the fifth or sixth century downward, that has brought them ever since to be in so great reputation.

From the top of Tabor you have a prospect, which, if nothing else, well rewards the labour of ascending it. It is impossible for man's eyes to behold a higher gratification of this nature. On the north west you discern at a distance the Mediterranean; and all round you have the spacious and beautiful plains of Esdraelon and Galilee, which present you with a view of so many places memorable for the resort and miracles of the Son of God.

At the bottom of Tabor westward stands Daberah, a small village, supposed by some to take its name from Deborah, that famous judge and deliverer of Israel. Near this valley is the fountain of Kishon.

Not many leagues distant eastward you see Mount Hermon; at the foot of which is seated Nain, famous for our Lord's raising the widow's son there, Luke 7. 14; and Endor, the place where dwelt the witch consulted by Saul. Turning a little southward, you have in view the high mountains of Gilboah, fatal to Saul and his sons.

Due east you discover the sea of Tiberias, distant about one day's journey; and close by that sea, they shew a steep mountain, down which the seine ran, and perished in the waters. Mat. 8. 32.

A few points towards the north appears that which they call the 'Mount of the Beatitudes;'

Beatitudes;’ a small rising from which our blessed Saviour delivered his sermon in the 5, 6, 7 chapters of St. Matthew. Not far from this little hill is the city Saphet, supposed to be the ancient Bethulia. It stands upon a very eminent and conspicuous mountain, and is seen far and near. May we not suppose that Christ alludes to this city in those words of his sermon, Mat. 5. 14, ‘A city set on a hill cannot be hid’? A conjecture which seems the more probable, because our Lord in several places, affects to illustrate his discourse by comparisons taken from objects that were then present before the eyes of his auditors. As when he bids them ‘behold the fowls of the air, chap. 6. 16, and the lilies of the field, *ibid.* v. 28.’

From Mount Tabor you have likewise the sight of a place, which they will tell you was Dothaim, where Joseph was sold by his brethren; and of the field, where our blessed Saviour fed the multitude with a few loaves, and fewer fishes. But whether it was the place where he divided the five loaves and two fishes amongst the five thousand, Mat. 14. 16, &c. or the seven loaves amongst the four thousand, Mat. 15. 32, I left them to agree among themselves.

Having received great satisfaction in the sight of this mountain, we returned to the convent the same way that we came. After dinner we made another small excursion, in order to see that which they call the ‘Mountain of the precipitation’; that is, the brow of the hill from which the Nazarites would have thrown down our blessed Saviour, being incensed at his sermon preached to them, Luke 4. This precipice is at least half a league distant from Nazareth southward. In going to it you cross first over the vale in which Nazareth stands; and then going down two or three furlongs in a narrow cleft between the rocks, you there clamber up a short, but difficult way on the right hand; at the top of which, you find a great stone standing on the brink of a precipice, which is said to be the very place, where our Lord was destined to be thrown down by his enraged neighbours, had he not made a miraculous escape out of their hands. There are in the stone several little holes, resembling the prints of fingers thrust into it. These, if the friars say truth, are the impressions of Christ’s fingers, made in the hard stone, while he resisted the violence that was offered to him. At this place are seen two or three cisterns for saving water, and a few ruins; which is all that now remains of a religious building founded here by the empress Helena.

Tuesday, April 20.—The next morning we took our leaves of Nazareth, presenting the guardian five a-piece for his trouble and charge in entertaining us. We directed our course for Acra; in order to which, going at first northward, we crossed the hills that encompassed the vale of Nazareth on that side. After which we turned to the westward, and passed in view of Cana of Galilee; the place signalized with the beginning of Christ’s miracles, John 2. 11. In an hour and half more we came to Sepharia; a place revered for being the reputed habitation of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the blessed Virgin. It had once the name of Diocesaria, and was a place in good repute; but at present it is reduced to a poor village, shewing only here and there a few ruins, to testify its ancient better condition. On the west side of the town stands good part of a large church, built on the same place, where they say stood the house of Joachim and Anna; it is fifty paces long, and in breadth proportionable.

At Sepharia begins the delicious plain of Zabulon. We were an hour and a half in crossing it; and, in an hour and a half more, passed by a desolate village on the right hand, by name Satyra. In half an hour more we entered the plains of Acra, and in one hour and a half more arrived at that place. Our stage this day was somewhat less than seven hours; it lay about west and by north, and through a country very delightful, and fertile beyond imagination.

Wednesday,

Wednesday, April 21.—At Acra we were very courteously treated by the French consul and merchant, as we had been when outward bound. Having staid only one night, we took our leaves; and returning by the same way of the coast, that I have described before, came the first night to our old lodgings at Solomon's cisterns, and the second to Sidon.

Thursday, April 22.—Three hours distant from Sidon, we were carried by the French consul to see a place, which we passed by unregarded in our journey outward; though it very well deserves a traveller's observation.

At about the distance of a mile from the sea, there runs along a high rocky mountain; in the side of which are hewn a multitude of grotts, all very little differing from each other; they have entrances of about two feet square. On the inside you find in most, or all of them, a room of about four yards square; on the one side of which is the door, on the other three, are as many little cells, elevated about two feet above the floor. Here are of these subterraneous caverns (as I was informed by those who had counted them) two hundred in number. They go by the name of the grotts of ——. The great doubt concerning them is, whether they were made for the dead or the living. That which makes me doubt of this is, because though all the ancient sepulchres in this country, very much resemble these grottos; yet they have something peculiar in them, which induces one to believe they might be designed for the reception of the living; for several of the cells within were of a figure not fit for having corpses deposited in them, being some a yard square, some more, and some less, and seeming to be made for family uses. Over the door of every cell, there was a channel cut to convey the water away, that it might not annoy the rooms within. And because the cells were cut above each other, some higher, some lower, in the side of the rock, there were convenient stairs cut, for the easier communication betwixt the upper and nether regions. At the bottom of the rock were also several old cisterns for storing up water. From all which arguments it may, with probability at least, be concluded, that these places were contrived for the use of the living, and not of the dead. But what sort of people they may be that inhabited this subterraneous city, or how long ago they lived, I am not able to resolve; true it is, Strabo describes the habitations of the Troglodytæ to have been somewhat of this kind.

Friday, April 23.—We continued this day at Sidon, being treated by our friends of the French nation with great generosity.

Saturday, April 24.—This morning we took our leaves of the worthy French consul, and the rest of our other friends of that nation, in order to go for Damascus.

Damascus lies near due east from Sidon; it is usually esteemed three days journey distant, the road lying over the mountain Libanus and Anti-Libanus.

Having gone about half an hour through the olive yards of Sidon, we came to the foot of Mount Libanus. In two hours and a half more we came to a small village called Caphar Milki. Thus far our ascent was easy; but now it began to grow more steep and difficult; in which having laboured one hour and one third more, we then came to a fresh fountain called Ambus Lee; where we encamped for this night. Our whole stage was four hours and one third; our course east.

Sunday, April 25.—The next day we continued ascending for three good hours, and then arrived at the highest ridge of the mountain, where the snow lay close by the road. We began immediately to descend again on the other side, and in two hours came to a small village called Meshgarah, where there gushes out, at once, from the side of the mountain, a plentiful stream, which falling down into a valley below, makes
a fine

a fine brook, and after a current of about two leagues, loses itself in a river called Letane.

At Meshgarah there is a caphar * demanded by the Druses, who are the possessors of these mountains. We were for a little while perplexed by the excessive demand made upon us by the caphar-men; but finding us obstinate, they desisted.

Having gone one hour beyond Meshgarah, we got clear of the mountain, and entered into a valley called Bocat. This Bocat seems to be the same with Bicath Aven, mentioned in Amos i. 5, together with Eden and Damascus; for there is very near it, in Mount Libanus, a place called Eden to this day. It might also have the name of Aven, that is Vanity, given it, from the idolatrous worship of Baal practised at Balbeck or Heliopolis, which is situate in this valley. The valley is about two hours over, and in length extends several days journey, lying near north east and south west. It is enclosed on both sides with two parallel mountains, exactly resembling each other; the one that which we lately passed over between this and Sidon, the other opposite against it towards Damascus. The former I take to be the true Libanus, the latter Anti-Libanus; which two mountains are no where so well distinguished as at this valley.

In the bottom of the valley, there runs a large river called Letane. It rises about two day's journey northward, not far from Balbeck; and keeping its course all down the valley, falls at last into the river Casimeer, or (as it is erroneously called) Eleutherus.

Thus far our course had been due east; but here we inclined some points toward the north. Crossing obliquely over the valley, we came in half an hour to a bridge over the river Letane. It consists of five stone arches, and is called Kor Aren, from a village at a little distance of the same name. At this bridge we crossed the river, and having travelled about an hour and a half on its bank, pitched our tents there for this night. Our whole stage was eight hours.

Monday, April 26.—The next morning we continued our oblique course over the valley Bocat. In an hour we passed close by a small village called Jib Jeneen, and in three quarters of an hour more, came to the foot of the mountain Anti-Libanus. Here we had an easy ascent, and in half an hour passed by, on our right hand, a village called Uzzi. In three quarters of an hour more we arrived at Ayta, a village of christians of the Greek communion. At this last place the road began to grow very rocky and troublesome; in which having travelled an hour, we arrived at a small rivulet called Ayn Yentloe. Here we entered into a narrow cleft between two rocky mountains, passing through which, we arrived in four hours at Demafs, gently descending all the way. At Demafs a small caphar † is demanded; which being dispatched, we put forward again, but had not gone above an hour and an half, when it grew dark, and we were forced to stop at a very inhospitable place, but the best we could find; affording no grass for our horses, nor any water, but just enough to breed frogs, by which we were ferenaded all night.

Tuesday, April 27.—Early the next morning we deserted this uncomfortable lodging, and in about an hour arrived at the river Barrady; our road still descending. This is the river that waters Damascus, and enriches it with all its plenty and pleasure. It is not so much as twenty yards over; but comes pouring down from the mountains with great rapidity, and with so vast a body of water, that it abundantly supplies all the thirty gardens, and the city of Damascus.

* Half per Frank, quarter per servant.

† Quarter per head.

We crossed Barrady at a new bridge over it, called Dummar. On the other side our road ascended, and in half an hour brought us to the brink of a high precipice, at the bottom of which the river runs; the mountain being here cleft asunder to give it admission into the plain below.

At the highest part of the precipice is erected a small structure, like a Sheikh's sepulchre, concerning which the Turks relate this story; that their prophet, coming near Damascus, took his station at that place for some time, in order to view the city; and considering the ravishing beauty and delightfulness of it, he would not tempt his frailty by entering into it, but instantly departed with this reflection upon it, that there was but one paradise designed for man, and for his part he was resolved not to take his in this world.

You have, indeed, from the precipice, the most perfect prospect of Damascus. And certainly no place in the world can promise the beholder, at a distance, greater voluptuousness. It is situate in an even plain, of so great extent, that you can but just discern the mountains that compass it on the farther side. It stands on the west side of the plain, at not above two miles distance from the place where the river Barrady breaks out from between the mountains; its gardens extending almost to the very place.

The city itself is of a long straight figure; its ends pointing near north east and south west. It is very slender in the middle, but swells bigger at each end, especially at that to the north east. In its length, as far as I could guess by my eye, it may extend near two miles. It is thick set with mosques and steeples, the usual ornaments of the Turkish cities; and is encompassed with gardens, extending no less, according to common estimation, than thirty miles round, which makes it look like a noble city in a vast wood. The gardens are thick set with fruit trees of all kinds, kept fresh and verdant by the waters of Barrady. You discover in them many turrets, and steeples, and summer-houses, frequently peeping out from amongst the green boughs, which may be conceived to add no small advantage and beauty to the prospect. On the north side of this vast wood is a place called Solhees, where are the most beautiful summer-houses and gardens.

The greatest part of this pleasantness and fertility proceeds, as I said, from the waters of Barrady, which supply both the gardens and city in great abundance. This river, as soon as it issues out from between the cleft of the mountain before-mentioned, into the plain, is immediately divided into three streams, of which the middlemost and biggest runs directly to Damascus through a large open field, called the Ager Damascus, and is distributed to all the cisterns and fountains of the city. The other two (which I take to be the work of art) are drawn round, one to the right hand, and the other to the left, on the borders of the gardens, into which they are let as they pass, by little currents, and so dispersed all over the vast wood; inasmuch that there is not a garden but has a fine quick stream running through it, which serves not only for watering the place, but is also improved into fountains, and other water-works very delightful, though not contrived with that variety of exquisite art which is used in Christendom.

Barrady being thus described, is almost wholly drunk up by the city and gardens. What small part of it escapes, is united, as I was informed, in one channel again, on the south east side of the city; and after about three or four hours course, finally loses itself in a bog there, without ever arriving at the sea.

The Greeks, and from them the Romans, call this river Chrysotheos. But as for Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, mentioned, 2 Kings, 5. 12, I could find no memory, so much as of the names remaining. They must doubtless have been only

two branches of the river Barada; and one of them was probably the same stream that now runs through the *Agha Dargah*, directly to the city, which seems by its serpentine way to be a natural channel. I know not well where to find; but it is no wonder, being they may and do change and alter the courses of this river, according to their own capricious and pleasurable humours.

We continued a good while upon the precipice, to take a view of the city; and indeed it is a hard matter to leave a position which presents you so charming a landscape. It exhibits the paradise below as a most fair and delectable place, and yet will hardly suffer you to stir away, to go to it; thus at once inviting you to the city, by the pleasure which it seems to promise, and detaining you from it by the beauty of the prospect.

Coming down the hill into the plain, we were there met by a janizary from the convent, sent to conduct us into the city. He did not think fit to carry us in at the west gate (which was now still a lane) and so all across the city, to the Latin convent where we were to lodge, for fear the *Matemens*, who are a very bigotted and insolent race, should be offended at to pass a number of Franks as we were; to avoid which danger, he led us round about the city, where we arrived at the gate. The garden walls are of a very singular structure. They consist of great pieces of earth, made in the fashion of brick, and hardened in the sun. In their dimensions they are two yards long each, and somewhat more than one broad, and half a yard thick. Two rows of these placed edge ways, one upon another, make a cheap, expeditious, and, in this dry country, a durable wall.

In passing between the gardens we also observed their method of scouring the channels. They put a great bough of a tree in the water, and fasten to it a yoke of oxen. Upon the bough there sits a good weighty fellow, to press it down to the bottom, and to drive the oxen. In this equipage the bough is dragged all along the channel, and serves at once both to cleanse the bottom, and also to mud and fatten the water for the greater benefit of the gardens.

Entering at the east gate, we went immediately to the convent, and were very courteously received by the guardian, father Raphael, a *Majorkine* by birth, and a person, who though he had dedicated himself to the contemplative life, yet is not unfit for any affairs of the active.

Wednesday, April 28.—This morning we walked out to take a view of the city. The first place we went to visit was the house of an eminent Turk. The streets here are narrow, as is usual in hot countries, and the houses are all built, on the outside, of no better a material than either sun-burnt brick, or Flemish wall, daubed over in as coarse a manner as can be seen in the vilest cottages. From this dirty way of building, they have this amongst other inconveniences, that upon any violent rain, the whole city becomes, by the washing of the houses, as it were a quagmire.

It may be wondered what should induce the people to build in this base manner, when they have in the adjacent mountains such plenty of good stone, for nobler fabricks. I can give no reason for it, unless this may pass for such; that those who first planted here, finding so delicious a situation, were in haste to come to the enjoyment of it; and therefore nimbly set up those extemporary habitations, being unwilling to defer their pleasure so long, as whilst they might erect more magnificent structures: which primitive example their successors have followed ever since.

But however, in these mud walls you find the gates and doors adorned with marble portals, carved and inlaid with great beauty and variety. It is an object not a little surprising, to see mud and marble, state and fordidness, so mingled together.

In the inside, the houses discover a very different face from what you see without. Here you find, generally, a large square court, beautified with variety of fragrant trees, and marble fountains, and compassed round with splendid apartments and duans. The duans are floored and adorned on the sides with variety of marble, mixed in Mosaic knots and mazes. The ceilings and traves are, after the Turkish manner, richly painted and gilded. They have, generally, artificial fountains springing up before them in marble basons; and, as for carpets and cushions, are furnished out to the height of luxury. Of these duans they have, generally, several on all sides of the court, being placed at such different points, that at one or other of them, you may always have either the shade or the sun, which you please.

Such as I have described was the house we went to see; and I was told the rest resemble the same description.

In the next place we went to see the church of St. John Baptist, now converted into a mosque, and held too sacred for christians to enter, or almost to look into. However, we had three short views of it, looking in at three several gates. Its gates are vastly large, and covered with brass, stamped all over with Arab characters, and in several places with the figure of a chalice, supposed to be the ancient ensign or arms of the Mamalukes. On the north side of the church is a spacious court, which I could not conjecture to be less than one hundred and fifty yards long, and eighty or one hundred broad. The court is paved all over, and enclosed on the south side by the church, on the other three sides by a double cloister, supported by two rows of granite pillars of the Corinthian order, exceeding lofty and beautiful.

On the south side the church joins to the bazars, and there we had an opportunity just to peep into it. It is within spacious and lofty, built with three isles, between which are rows of polished pillars of a surprising beauty; unless, perhaps, we were tempted to over value what was so sparingly permitted to our survey.

In this church are kept the head of St. John, and some other relics esteemed so holy, that it is death even for a Turk to presume to go into the room where they are kept. We were told here by a Turk of good fashion, that Christ was to descend into this mosque at the day of judgment, as Mahomet was to do into that of Jerusalem; but the ground and reason of this tradition, I could not learn.

From the church we went to the castle, which stands about two furlongs distant, towards the west. It is a good building of the castle manner; in length it is three hundred and forty paces, and in breadth about what I said. We were admitted but just within the gate, where we saw store of ancient armour and armour, the spoils of the christians in former times. Amongst the artillery we saw a Roman balista; but this was a place not long to be gazed upon by such as we were. At the east end of the castle there hangs down in the middle of the wall a stone cut in stone; of what use I know not, unless to boast the skill of the artificer.

Leaving this place we went to view the bazar, which we found crowded with people, but destitute of any thing else worth observing.

Thursday, April 20.—Very early this morning we went to see the yearly great pomp of the Hadgees setting out on their pilgrimage to Mecca; Oslan, born of Tripoli, being appointed their emir or conductor for this year. For our better security from the insolences of the over zealous votaries, we hired a shop in one of the bazars through which they were to pass.

In this famous calvalcade there came first forty six dillies, that is, religious madmen, carrying each a silk streamer, mixed either of red and green, or of yellow and green; after these came three troops of segmen, an order of soldiers amongst the

Turks; and next to them, some troops of spahces, another order of soldiery. These were followed by eight companies of mugrubines (to the Turks call the Barbaroses) on foot: these were fellows of a very formidable aspect, and were designed to be left in a garrison, maintained by the Turks somewhere in the desert of Arabia, and relieved every year with fresh men. In the midst of the mugrubines, there passed six small pieces of ordnance. In the next place came on foot the soldiers of the castle of Damascus, fantastically armed with coats of mail, gauntlets, and other pieces of old armour. These were followed by troops of janizaries, and their aga, all mounted. Next were brought the bassa's two horse tails, ushered by his aga of the court; and next after the tails followed six led horses, all of excellent shape, and nobly furnished. Over the saddle there was a girt upon each led horse, and a large silver target gilded with gold.

After these horses came the mahmal. This is a large pavilion of black silk, pitched upon the back of a very great camel, and spreading its curtains all round about the beast down to the ground. The pavilion is adorned at top with a gold ball, and with gold fringes round about. The camel that carries it wants not also his ornaments of large ropes of beads, fish-shells, fox-tails, and other such fantastical finery hanged upon his head, neck, and legs. All this is designed for the state of the alcoran, which is placed with great reverence under the pavilion, where it rides in state both to and from Mecca. The alcoran is accompanied with a rich new carpet which the Grand Signior sends every year for the covering of Mahomet's tomb, having the old one brought back in return for it, which is esteemed of an inestimable value, after having been so long next neighbour to the prophet's rotten bones. The beast which carries this sacred load, has the privilege to be exempted from all other burdens ever after.

After the mahmal came another troop, and with them the bassa himself; and last of all, twenty loaded camels, with which the train ended, having been three quarters of an hour in passing.

Having observed what we could of this shew (which perhaps was never seen by Franks before), we went to view some other curiosities. The first place we came to was the Ager Damascenus, a long beautiful meadow, just without the city, on the west side. It is divided in the middle by that branch of the river Barrady which supplies the city; and is taken notice of, because of a tradition current here, that Adam was made of the earth of this field.

Adjoining to the Ager Damascenus is a large hospital; it has within it a pleasant square court, enclosed on the south side by a stately mosque, and on its other sides with cloisters, and lodgings of no contemptible structure.

Returning from hence homeward, we were shewn by the way a very beautiful bagnio; and not far from it a coffee-house capable of entertaining four or five hundred people, shaded over head with trees, and with matts when the boughs fail. It had two quarters for the reception of guests; one proper for the summer, the other for the winter. That designed for the summer was a small island, washed all round with a large swift stream, and shaded over head with matts and trees. We found here a multitude of Turks upon the duans, regaling themselves in this pleasant place; there being nothing which they behold with so much delight as greens and water: to which if a beautiful face be added, they have a proverb, that all three together make a perfect antidote against melancholy.

In the afternoon, we went to visit the house which, they say, was sometime the house of Ananias, the restorer of sight to St. Paul. Acts 9. 17. The place shewn for it is (according to the old rule) a small grotto or cellar, affording nothing remarkable, but only that there are in it a christian altar, and a Turkish praying place, seated nearer to each other, than well agrees with the nature of such places.

Our next walk was out of the east gate, in order to see the place (they say) of St. Paul's vision, and what else is observable on that side. The place of the vision is about half a mile distant from the city, eastward; it is close by the way side, and has no building to distinguish it, nor do I believe it ever had; only there is a small rock or heap of gravel which serves to point out the place.

About two furlongs nearer the city, is a small timber structure resembling the cage of a country borough. Within it is an altar erected; there you are told, the holy Apostle rested for some time in his way to this city, after his vision, Acts 9. 8.

Being returned to the city, we were shewn the gate at which St. Paul was let down in a basket, Acts 9. 25. This gate is at present walled up, by reason of its vicinity to the east gate, which renders it of little use.

Entering again into the city, we went to see the great patriarch residing in this city. He was a person of about forty years of age. The place of his residence was mean, and his person and converse promised not any thing extraordinary. He told me there were more than one thousand two hundred souls of the Greek communion in that city.

Friday, April 30.—The next day we went to visit the gardens, and to spend a day there. The place where we disposed of ourselves was about a mile out of town. It afforded us a very pleasant summer-house, having a plentiful stream of water running through it. The garden was thick set with fruit trees, but without any art or order. Such as this, are all the gardens hereabouts; only with this odds, that some of them have their summer-houses more splendid than others, and their waters improved into greater variety fountains.

In visiting these gardens, Franks are obliged either to walk on foot, or else to ride upon asses; the insolence of the Turks not allowing them to mount on horseback. To serve them upon these occasions, here are hackney asses always standing ready equipped for hire. When you are mounted, the master of the ass follows his beast to the place whither you are disposed to go; goading him up behind with a sharp pointed stick, which makes him dispatch his stage with great expedition. It is apt sometimes to give a little disgust to the generous traveller, to be forced to submit to such marks of scorn; but there is no remedy; and if the traveller will take my advice, his best way will be to mount his ass contentedly, and to turn the affront into a motive of recreation, as we did. Having spent the day in the garden, we returned in the evening to the convent.

Saturday, May 1.—The next day we spent at another garden, not far distant from the former; but far exceeding it in the beauty of its summer-house, and the variety of its fountains.

Sunday, May 2.—We went, as many of us as were disposed, to Sydonaiia, a Greek convent about four hours distant from Damascus, to the northward, or north by east; the road, excepting only two steep ascents, is very good. In this stage we passed by two villages, the first called Tall, the second Meneen. At a good distance on the right hand is a very high hill, reported to be the same on which Cain and Abel offered their sacrifices; and where also the former slew his brother, setting the first example of blood shed to the world.

Sydonaiia is situated at the farther side of a large vale on the top of a rock. The rock is cut with steps all up, without which it would be inaccessible. It is fenced all round at the top with a strong wall, which incloses the convent. It is a place of very mean structure, and contains nothing in it extraordinary, but only the wine made here, which, indeed, is most excellent. This place was at first founded and

endowed by the emperor Justinian. It is at present possessed by twenty Greek monks, and forty nuns, who seem to live promiscuously together, without any order or regulation.

Here are upon this rock, and within a little compass round about it, no less than sixteen churches or oratories, dedicated to several names. The first to St. John; second to St. Paul; third, to St. Thomas; fourth, to St. Babylas; fifth, to St. Barbara; sixth, to St. Calliphor; seventh, to St. Joseph; eighth, to St. Lazarus; ninth, to the blessed Virgin; tenth, to St. Demetrius; eleventh, to St. Saba; twelfth, to St. Peter; thirteenth, to St. George; fourteenth, to All Saints; fifteenth, to the Ascension; sixteenth, to the Transfiguration of our Lord; from all which, we may well conclude this place was held anciently in no small repute for sanctity. Many of these churches I actually visited; but found them so ruined and desolate, that I had not courage to go to all.

In the chapel made use of by the convent for their daily services, they pretend to shew a great miracle, done here some years since; of which take this account, as I received it from them.

They had once in the church a little picture of the blessed Virgin, very much resorted to by supplicants, and famous for the many cures and blessings granted in return to their prayers. It happened that a certain sacrilegious rogue took an opportunity to steal away this marvellous picture; but he had not kept it long in his custody, when he found it metamorphosed into a real body of flesh. Being struck with wonder and remorse at so prodigious an event, he carried back the prize to its true owners, confessing and imploring forgiveness for his crime. The monks having recovered so great a jewel, and being willing to prevent such another disaster for the future, thought fit to deposit it in a small chest of stone; and placing it in a little cavity in the wall behind the high altar, fixed an iron grate before it, in order to secure it from any fraudulent attempts for the future. Upon the grates there are hanged abundance of little toys and trinkets, being the offerings of many votaries in return for the success given to their prayers at this shrine. Under the same chest in which the incarnate picture was deposited, they always place a small silver basin, in order to receive the distillation of an holy oil, which they pretend issues out from the inclosed image, and does wonderful cures in many distempers, especially those affecting the eyes.

On the east side of the rock is an ancient sepulchre hollowed in the firm stone. The room is about eight yards square, and contains in its sides (as I remember) twelve chests for corpses. Over the entrance there are carved six statues as big as the life, standing in three niches, two in each niche. At the pedestals of the statues may be observed a few Greek words, which as far as I was able to discern them in their present obscurity are as follows:

ΕΤΟΥΤΙΦ - -
ΙΟΥΛΑ Δ ΑΡΤε
ωΔΙΡΟΕ ΚΑΙ
ΠΡΕΙΓΚΥ ΓΥΝΗ

Under the first.

Ι[ΟΥ]ΛΑ Δ ΦΙ[ΛΙ]
Π ΠΙΡΟC
[Κ]ΑΙ ΔΟΜΝCΙΝΑ
ΓΥΝΗ

Under the second.

ΙΟΥΛΑ Δ ΔΗΜΗ
ΤΡΙΟC ΚΑ[Ι] Α[ΡΤΙ]
ΑΔΝΗ ΓΥ[ΝΗ]
ΠΑΝΤΑC ΕΠΟΙΟΥ[Ν]

Under the third niche.

A gentleman in our company and myself have reason to remember this place, for an escape we had in it. A drunken janizary passing under the window where we were, chanced to have a drop of wine thrown out upon his vest. Upon which innocent provocation, he presented his pistol at us in at the window: had it gone off, it must have been

been fatal to one or both of us, who fate next the place. But it pleased God to restrain his fury. This evening we returned again to Damascus.

Monday, May 3.—This morning we went to see the street called Straight, Acts 9. 11. It is about half a mile in length, running from east to west through the city. It being narrow, and the houses jutting out in several places on both sides, you cannot have a clear prospect of its length and straightness. In this street is shewn the house of Judas, with whom St. Paul lodged; and in the same house is an old tomb, said to be Ananias's; but how he should come to be buried here, they could not tell us, nor could we guess; his own house being shewn us in another place. However, the Turks have a reverence for this tomb, and maintain a lamp always burning over it.

In the afternoon, having presented the convent with ten per man for our kind reception, we took our leaves of Damascus, and shaped our course for Tripoli; designing in the way to see Balbeck, and the cedars of Libanus. In order to this, we returned the same way by which we came; and crossing the river Barrady again at the bridge of Dummur, came to a village of the same name a little farther, and there lodged this night. We travelled this afternoon three hours.

Tuesday, May 4.—This morning we left our old road, and took another more northerly. In an hour and a half we came to a small village called Sinie; just by which, is an ancient structure on the top of an high hill, supposed to be the tomb of Abel, and to have given the adjacent country in old times the name of Abilene. The fratricide also is said by some to have been committed in this place. The tomb is thirty yards long; and yet it is here believed to have been but just proportioned to the stature of him who was buried in it. Here we entered into a narrow gut, between two steep rocky mountains, the river Barrady running at the bottom. On the other side of the river were several tall pillars, which excited our curiosity, to go and take a view of them. We found them part of the front of some ancient, and very magnificent edifice, but of what kind we could not conjecture.

We continued upon the banks of Barrady, and came in three hours to a village called Maday; and in two hours more to a fountain called Ayn il Hawra, where we lodged. Our whole stage was somewhat less than seven hours; our course near north west.

Wednesday, May 5.—This morning we passed by the fountain of Barrady, and came in an hour and two thirds to a village called Surgawich. At this place we left the narrow valley, in which we had travelled ever since the morning before, and ascended the mountain on the left hand. Having spent in crossing it two hours, we arrived a second time in the valley of Bocat; here, steering northerly directly up the valley, we arrived in three hours at Balbeck. Our stage this day was near seven hours, and our course near about west.

At Balbeck we pitched at a place less than half a mile distant from the town, eastward, near a plentiful and delicious fountain, which grows immediately into a brook; and running down to Balbeck, adds no small pleasure and convenience to the place.

In the afternoon we walked out to see the city. But we thought fit, before we entered, to get license of the governor, and to proceed with all caution. Being taught this necessary care by the example of some worthy English gentlemen of our factory, who visiting this place in the year 1689, in their return from Jerusalem, and suspecting no mischief, were basely intrigued by the people here, and forced to redeem their lives at a great sum of money.

Balbeck is supposed to be the ancient Heliopolis, or City of the Sun; for that the

word imports. Its present Arab, which is perhaps its most ancient name, inclines to the same importance. For Baal, though it imports all idols in general, of whatsoever sex or condition, yet it is very often appropriated to the sun, the sovereign idol of this country.

The city enjoys a most delightful and commodious situation on the east side of the valley of Bocat. It is of a square figure, compassed with a tolerable good wall, in which are tower all round at equal distances. It extends, as far as I could guess by the eye, about two furlongs on a side. Its houses within are all of the meanest structure, such as are usually seen in Turkish villages.

At the south west side of the city is a noble ruin, being the only curiosity for which this place is wont to be visited. It was anciently a heathen temple; together with some other edifices belonging to it, all truly magnificent; but in latter times these ancient structures have been patched and pieced up with several other buildings, converting the whole into a castle, under which name it goes at this day. The adjectitious buildings are of no mean architecture, but yet easily distinguishable from what is more ancient.

Coming near these ruins, the first thing you meet with is a little round pile of building, all of marble. It is encircled with columns of the Corinthian order, very beautiful, which support a cornice that runs all round the structure, of no ordinary state and beauty. This part of it that remains, is at present in a very tottering condition, but yet, the Greeks use it for a church; and it were well if the danger of its falling, which perpetually threatens, would excite those people to use a little more fervour in their prayers than they generally do; the Greeks being seemingly the most undevout and negligent at their divine service of any sort of people in the christian world.

From this ruin you come to a large firm pile of building, which though very lofty and composed of huge square stones, yet I take to be part of the adjectitious work; for one sees in the inside some fragments of images in the walls and stones, with Roman letters upon them, set the wrong way. In one stone we found graven *divis*. and in another line *mosc*. Through this pile you pass in a stately arched walk or portico, one hundred and fifty paces long, which leads you to the temple.

The temple is an oblong square, in breadth thirty two yards, and in length sixty four, of which eighteen were taken up by the *Πρόναος* or anti-temple; which is now tumbled down, the pillars being broke that sustained it. The body of the temple, which now stands, is encompassed with a noble portico, supported by pillars of the Corinthian order, measuring six feet and three inches in diameter, and about forty-five feet in height, consisting all of three stones a piece. The distance of the pillars from each other, and from the wall of the temple, is nine feet. Of these pillars there are fourteen on each side of the temple and eight at the end, counting the corner pillars in both numbers.

On the capitals of the pillars there runs all round a stately architrave, and cornice rarely carved. The portico is covered with large stones hollowed arch-wise, extending between the columns and the wall of the temple. In the center of each stone is carved the figure of some one or other of the heathen gods or goddesses, or heroes. I remember amongst the rest a Ganymede, and the eagle flying away with him, so lively done, that it excellently represented the sense of that verse in Martial,

Illæsum timidis unguibus hæsit onus.

The

The gate of the temple is twenty-one feet wide; but how high could not be measured, it being in part filled up with rubbish. It is moulded and beautified all round with exquisite sculpture. On the nethermost side of the portal, is carved a Fame hovering over the head as you enter, and extending its wings two thirds of the breadth of the gate; and on each side of the eagle is described a Fame likewise upon the wing. The eagle carries in its pounces a caduceus, and in his beak the strings or ribbons coming from the ends of two festoons, whose other ends are held and supported on each side by the two Fames. The whole seemed to be a piece of admirable sculpture.

The measure of the temple within, is forty yards in length, and twenty in breadth. In its walls all round are two rows of pilasters, one above the other; and between the pilasters are niches, which seem to have been designed for the reception of idols. Of these pilasters, there are eight in a row, on each side; and of the niches nine.

About eight yards distance from the upper end of the temple, stands part of two fine channelled pillars; which seem to have made a partition in that place, and to have supported a canopy over the throne of the chief idol, whose station appears to have been in a large niche at this end. On that part of the partition which remains, are to be seen carvings in relievo, representing Neptune, tritons, fishes, sea-gods, Arion and his dolphin, and other marine figures. The covering of the whole fabrick is totally broken down, but yet this I must say of the whole, as it now stands, that it strikes the mind with an air of greatness beyond any thing that I ever saw before, and is an eminent proof of the magnificence of the ancient architecture.

About fifty yards distant from the temple, is a row of Corinthian pillars, very great and lofty; with a most stately architrave and cornice at top. This speaks itself to have been part of some very august pile, but what one now sees of it is but just enough to give a regret that there should be no more of it remaining.

Here is another curiosity of this place, which a man had need be well assured of his credit before he ventures to relate, lest he should be thought to strain the privilege of a traveller too far. That which I mean is a large piece of the old wall or Περὶ τοῦ, which encompassed all these structures last described. A wall made of such monstrous great stones, that the natives hereabouts (as it is usual in things of this strange nature) ascribe it to the architecture of the devil. Three of the stones, which were larger than the rest, we took the pains to measure, and found them to extend sixty-one yards in length; one twenty-one, the other two each twenty yards. In deepness they were four yards each, and in breadth of the same dimension. These three stones lay in one and the same row, end to end. The rest of the wall was made also of great stones, but none I think, so great as these. That which added to the wonder was, that these stones were lifted up into the wall, more than twenty foot from the ground.

In the side of a small ascent, on the east part of the town, stood an old single column of the Tuscan order, about eighteen or nineteen yards high, and one yard and a half in diameter. It had a channel cut in its side from the bottom to the top; from whence we judged it might have been erected for the sake of raising water.

At our return to our tents, we were a little perplexed by the servants of the mosque, about our caphar. We were contented at last to judge it at ten per Frank, and five per servant, rather than we would engage in a long dispute at such a place as this.

Near the place where we were lodged was an old mosque, and (as I said before) a fine fountain. This latter had been anciently beautified with some handsome stonework

work round it, which was now almost ruined; however, it afforded us this imperfect inscription:

ΤΩΝ ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕΩΝ ΠΡΩΝΕΩΚΤΙΣ ΤΟΧΑΝΝ
ΒΛΕΠΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΔΩΚΕΝ ΩΡΡΕΚΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΟΝ
ΧΡΥΣΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΧΡΕΙΣΩΣΙ ΒΙΟΤΕ ΜΕΤΑ
ΥΑΩΡΤΕΝΥΝ-ΡΕΣΤΙ ΗΓΛΑΙΟΝ ΠΟΛΥ
ΕΥΧΑΙΣΘΕ ΟΔΟ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ.

Thursday, May 6.—Early this morning we departed from Balbeck, directing our course straight across the valley. As we passed by the walls of the city, we observed many stones inscribed with Roman letters and names; but all confused, and some placed upside down: which demonstrates that the materials of the walls were the ruins of the ancient city.

In one place we found these letters, *RMPTITVEPR*, in other these, *VARI—*; in another, *NERIS*; in others *LVCIL—*, and *SEVERI*, and *CELNAE*, and *FIRMI*; all which serve only to denote the resort which the Romans had to this place in ancient times.

In one hour we passed by a village called *Ye ad*; and in an hour more went to see an old monumental pillar, a little on the right hand of the road. It was nineteen yards high, and five feet in diameter of the Corinthian order. It had a table for an inscription on its north side, but the letters are now perfectly erased. In one hour more we reached the other side of the valley, at the foot of Mount Anti-Libanus.

We immediately ascended the mountain, and in two hours came to a large cavity between the hills, at the bottom of which was a lake called by its old Greek name, *Limone*. It is about three furlongs over, and derives its waters from the melting of the snow. By this lake our guides would have had us staid all night; assuring us that if we went up higher in the mountains, we should be forced to lie amongst the snow: but we ventured that, preferring a cold lodging, before an unwholesome one. Having ascended one hour, we arrived at the snow; and proceeding amongst it for one hour and a half more, we then chose out as warm a place as we could find in so high a region; and there we lodged this night upon the very top of Libanus. Our whole stage this day was seven hours and a half.

Libanus is in this part free from rocks, and only rises and falls with small, easy unevenness, for several hours riding; but is perfectly barren and desolate. The ground, where not concealed by the snow, appeared to be covered with a sort of white slates thin and smooth. The chief benefit it serves for, is, that by its exceeding height, it proves a conservatory for abundance of snow, which thawing in the heat of summer, affords supplies of water to the rivers and fountains in the valleys below. We saw in the snow, prints of the feet of several wild beasts, which are the sole proprietors of these upper parts of the mountains.

Friday, May 7.—The next morning we went four hours almost perpetually upon deep snow; which, being frozen, bore us and our horses; and then descending for about one hour, came to a fountain called, from the name of an adjacent village, *Ayn il Hadede*. By this time we were got into a milder and better region.

Here was the place where we were to strike out of the way, in order to go to Canoline and the Cedars. And some of us went upon this design, whilst the rest chose rather to go directly for Tripoli, to which we had not now above four hours. We took
with

with us a guide, who pretended to be well acquainted with the way to Canobine; but he proved an ignorant director; and after he had led us about for several hours in intricate and untrodden mazes amongst the mountains, finding him perfectly at a loss, we were forced to forsake our intended visit for the present, and to steer directly for Tripoli; where we arrived late at night, and were again entertained by our worthy friends, Mr. consul Hastings and Mr. Pilher, with their wonted friendship and generosity.

Saturday, May 8.—In the afternoon Mr. consul Hastings carried us to see the castle of Tripoli. It is pleasantly situate on a hill, commanding the city; but has neither arms nor ammunition in it, and serves rather for a prison than a garrison. There was shut up in it at this time a poor christian prisoner, called Sheck Eunice, a Maronite. He was one that had formerly renounced his faith, and lived for many years in the Mahometan religion; but in his declining age, he both retracted his apostacy, and died to atone for it; for he was impaled by order of the bassà two days after we left Tripoli. This punishment of impaling is commonly executed amongst the Turks for crimes of the highest degree; and is certainly one of the greatest indignities and barbarities that can be offered to human nature. The execution is done in this manner. They take a post of about the bigness of a man's leg, and eight or nine feet long, and make it very sharp at one end. This they lay upon the back of the criminal, and force him to carry it to the place of execution; imitating herein the old Roman custom, of compelling malefactors to bear their crosses. Being arrived at the fatal place, they thrust in the stake at the fundament of the person who is the miserable subject of this doom; and then taking him by the legs, draw on his body upon it, until the point of the stake appears at his shoulders. After this they erect the stake, and fasten it in a hole dug in the ground. The criminal, sitting in this posture upon it, remains not only still alive, but also drinks, smokes, and talks, as one perfectly sensible; and thus some have continued for twenty-four hours. But generally after the tortured wretch has remained in this deplorable and ignominious posture an hour or two, some one of the standers-by is permitted to give him a gracious stab to the heart; so putting an end to his unexpressible misery.

Sunday, May 9.—Despairing of any other opportunity, I made another attempt this day to see the Cedars and Canobine. Having gone for three hours across the plain of Tripoli, I arrived at the foot of Libanus; and from thence continually ascending, not without great fatigue, came in four hours and a half to a small village called Eden, and in two hours and a half more to the Cedars.

The noble trees grow amongst the snow near the highest part of Lebanon; and are remarkable as well for their own age and largeness, as for those frequent allusions made to them in the word of God. Here are some of them very old, and of a prodigious bulk; and others younger of a smaller size. Of the former I could reckon up only sixteen; and the latter are very numerous. I measured one of the largest, and found it twelve yards six inches in girth, and yet found; and thirty-seven yards in the spread of its boughs. At about five or six yards from the ground, it was divided into five limbs, each of which was equal to a great tree.

After about half an hour spent in surveying this place, the clouds began to thicken, and to fly along upon the ground, which so obscured the road, that my guide was very much at a loss to find our way back again. We rambled about for seven hours thus bewildered, which gave me no small fear of being forced to spend one night more at Libanus. But at last, after a long exercise of pains and patience, we arrived at the

way that goes down to Canobine; where I arrived by that time it was dark, and found a kind reception, answerable to the great need I had of it, after so long a fatigue.

Canobine is a convent of the Maronites, and the seat of the patriarch, who is at present F. Stephanus Edenensis, a person of great learning and humanity. It is a very mean structure, but its situation is admirably adapted for retirement and devotion; for there is a very deep rupture in the side of Libanus, running at least seven hours travel directly up into the mountain. It is on both sides exceeding steep and high, clothed with fragrant greens from top to bottom, and every where refreshed with fountains, falling down from the rocks in pleasant cascades; the ingenious work of Nature. These streams, all uniting at the bottom, make a full and rapid torrent, whose agreeable murmuring is heard all over the place, and adds no small pleasure to it. Canobine is seated on the north side of this chasm, on the steep of the mountain, at about the mid-way between the top and the bottom. It stands at the mouth of a great cave, having a few small rooms fronting outward, that enjoy the light of the sun; the rest are all under ground. It had for its founder the emperor Theodosius the Great, and though it has been several times rebuilt, yet the patriarch assured me, the church was of the primitive foundation. But whoever built it, it is a mean fabric, and no great credit to its founder. It stands in the grot, but fronting outwards receives a little light from that side. In the same side there were also hanged in the wall two small bells, to call the monks to their devotions; a privilege allowed no where else in this country; nor would they be suffered here but that the Turks are far enough off from the hearing of them.

The valley of Canobine was anciently (as it well deserves) very much resorted to for religious retirement. You see here still hermitages, cells, monasteries, almost without number. There is not any little part of rock that jets out upon the side of the mountain, but you generally see some little structure upon it for the reception of monks and hermits; though few or none of them are now inhabited.

Monday, May 10.—After dinner I took my leave of the patriarch, and returned to Tripoli. I steered my course down by a narrow oblique path, cut in the side of the rupture, and found it three hours before I got clear of the mountain, and three more afterwards before I came to Tripoli.

Tuesday, May 11.—This day we took our leaves of our worthy Tripoli friends, in order to return for Aleppo. We had some debate with ourselves, whether we should take the same way which we came when outward-bound, or a new one by Emissa Hempse and Hamal. But we had notice of some disturbances upon this latter road; so we contented ourselves to return by the same way we came; for having had enough by this time both of the pleasure and of the fatigue of travelling, we were willing to put an end to both, the nearest and speediest way. All that occurred to us new, in these days travel, was a particular way used by the country people in gathering their corn; it being now harvest time. They plucked it up by handfuls from the roots; leaving the most fruitful fields as naked as if nothing had ever grown on them. This was their practice in all places of the East that I have seen; and the reason is, that they may lose none of their straw, which is generally very short, and necessary for the sustenance of their cattle; no hay being here made. I mention this because it seems to give light to that expression of the Psalmist, ps. 129. 6, 'Which withereth before it be plucked up,' where there seems to be a manifest allusion to this custom. Our new translation renders this place otherwise; but in so doing it differs from most,

or all other copies ; and here we may truly say, the old is the better. There is, indeed, mention of a mower in the next verse ; but then it is such a mower as fills not his hand ; which confirms rather than weakens the preceding interpretation.

Returning, therefore, by our former stages, without any notable alteration or occurrence, we came in eight days to the Honey Kane ; at which place we found many of our Aleppine friends ; who, having heard of our drawing homeward, were come to meet us, and welcome us home. Having dined together, and congratulated each other upon our happy re-union, we went onward the same evening to Aleppo.

Thus, by God's infinite mercy and protection, we were restored all in safety to our respective habitations. And here, before I conclude, I cannot but take notice of one thing more, which I should earnestly recommend to the devout and grateful remembrance of every person engaged in this pilgrimage, viz. that amongst so great a company as we were, amidst such a multiplicity of dangers and casualties, such variety of food, airs, and lodgings (very often none of the best), there was no one of us that came to any ill accident throughout our whole travels ; and only one that fell sick by the consequences of the journey after our return ; which I esteem the less diminution to so singular a mercy, in regard that amongst so many of my dear friends and fellow travellers, it fell to my own share to be the sufferer.

Δόξα Θεῷ.

Since the Book was printed off, the two following Letters, relating to the same Subject, were communicated by the Reverend Mr. Osborn, Fellow of Exeter College ; to whom they were sent by the Author, in answer to some Questions proposed by him.

SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of June 27, 1698, and returned you an answer to it in brief, about three months since ; promising to supply what was then wanting at some other opportunity ; which promise I shall now make good. You desired an account of the Turks, and of our way of living amongst them. As to the former, it would fill a volume to write my whole thoughts about them. I shall only tell you at present, that I think they are very far from agreeing with that character which is given of them in Christendom ; especially for their exact justice, veracity, and other mortal virtues : upon account of which I have sometimes heard them mentioned with very extravagant commendations, as though they far exceeded christian nations. But I must profess myself of another opinion ; for the christian religion, how much soever we live below the true spirit and excellency of it, must still be allowed to discover so much power upon the minds of it's professors, as to raise them far above the level of a Turkish virtue. It is a maxim that I have often heard from our merchants, that a Turk will always cheat when he can find an opportunity. Friendship, generosity, and wit (in the English notion), and delightful converse, and all the qualities of a refined and ingenuous spirit, are perfect strangers to their minds ; though in traffic and worldly negotiations, they are acute enough ; and are able to carry the accounts of a large commerce in their heads, without the help of books, by a natural arithmetic, improved by custom and necessity. Their religion is framed to keep up great outward gravity and solemnity, without begetting the least good tincture of wisdom or virtue in the mind. You shall have them at their hours of prayer (which are four a

day always) addressing themselves to their devotions with the most solemn and critical washings, always in the most public places, where most people are passing; with most lowly and most regular prostrations, and a hollow tone; which are, amongst them, the great excellencies of prayer. I have seen them in an affected charity, give money to bird-catchers (who make a trade of it) to restore the poor captives to their natural liberty, and at the same time hold their own slaves in the heaviest bondage. And at other times they will buy flesh to relieve indigent dogs and cats; and yet curse you with famine and pestilence, and all the most hideous execrations: in which way these Eastern nations have certainly the most exquisite rhetoric of any people upon earth. They know hardly any pleasure but that of the sixth sense. And yet with all this, they are incredibly conceited of their own religion, and contemptuous of that of others; which I take to be the great artifice of the Devil, in order to keep them his own. They are a perfect visible comment upon our blessed Lord's description of the Jewish pharisees. In a word, lust, arrogance, covetousness, and the most exquisite hypocrisy compleat their character. The only thing that ever I could observe to commend in them, is the outward decency of their carriage, the profound respect they pay to religion and to every thing relating to it, and their great temperance and frugality. The dearness of any thing is no motive in Turkey, though it be in England, to bring it into fashion.

As for our living amongst them, it is with all possible quiet and safety, and that is all we desire, their conversation being not in the least entertaining. Our delights are among ourselves; and here being more than forty of us, we never want a most friendly and pleasant conversation. Our way of life resembles, in some measure, the academical. We live in separate squares, shut up every night after the manner of colleges. We begin the day constantly, as you do, with prayers; and have our set times for business, meals, and recreations. In the winter we hunt in the most delightful campaign twice a week; and in the summer go as often to divert ourselves under our tents, with bowling and other exercises; so that you see we want not diversions, and these all innocent and manly. In short, it is my real opinion, that there is not a society out of England that, for all good and desirable qualities, may be compared to this. But enough of this confusion, which I would have shortened and put in better order if I had time.

March 10, 1698-9.

SIR,

AS for your questions about Gehazi's posterity, and the Greek excommunications, I have little to answer; but yet I hope enough to give you and your friend satisfaction. When I was in the Holy Land, I saw several that laboured under Gehazi's distemper, but none that could pretend to derive his pedigree from that person. Some of them were poor enough to be his relations, particularly at Sichem (now Naplosu) there were no less than ten (the same number that was cleansed by our Saviour not far from the same place) that came a begging to us at one time. Their manner is to come with small buckets in their hands, to receive the alms of the charitable; their touch being still held infectious, or at least unclean. The distemper, as I saw it in them, was very different from what I have seen it in England; for it not only defiles the whole surface of the body with a foul scurf, but also deforms the joints of the body, particularly those of the wrists and ancles; making them swell with a gouty scrofulous substance, very loathsome to look upon. I thought their legs resembled those of old battered horses, such as are often seen in drays in England. The whole distemper,

indeed, as it there appeared, was so noisome that it might well pass for the utmost corruption of the human body on this side the grave. And certainly the inspired pen-men could not have found out a fitter emblem, whereby to express the uncleanness and odiousness of vice. But to return to Gehazi: it is no wonder if the descent from him be by time obscured, seeing the best of the Jews, at this time of day, are at a loss to make out their genealogies. But besides, I see no necessity in scripture for his lines being perpetuated. The term (for ever) is, you know, often taken in a limited sense in holy writ, of which the designation of Phineas's family to the priesthood, Numb. 25. 13, may serve for an instance. His posterity was, you know, cut entirely off from the priesthood, and that transferred to Eli (who was one of another line) about 300 years after.

I have enquired of a Greek priest, a man not destitute either of sense or probity, about your other question. He positively affirmed it, and produced an instance of his own knowledge in confirmation of it. He said, that about fifteen years ago, a certain Greek departed this life without absolution, being under the guilt of a crime which involved him in the sentence of excommunication, but unknown to the church. He had christian burial given him; and about ten years after, a son of his dying, they had occasion to open the ground near where his body was laid, in order to bury his son by him, by which means they discovered his body as entire as when it was first laid in the grave. The shroud was rotted away, and the body naked and black, but perfectly found. Report of this being brought to the bishop, he immediately suspected the cause of it; and sent several priests (of whom the relator was one) to pray for the soul of the departed, and to absolve him at his grave; which they had no sooner done, but (as the relator goes on) the body instantly dissolved and fell into dust like slackened lime, and so (well satisfied with the effect of their absolution) they departed. This was delivered to me *verbo sacerdotis*. The man had hard fortune ~~not~~ to die in the Romish communion, for then his body being found so entire, would ~~have~~ entitled him to faintship; for the Romanists, as I have both heard and seen, are wont to find out and maintain the relics of saints by this token. And the same sign, which proves an *anathema maranatha* amongst the Greeks, demonstrates a saint amongst the papists; perhaps both equally in the right.

April 12, 1700.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR'S JOURNEY FROM ALEPPO TO THE RIVER EUPHRATES, THE CITY BEER, AND TO MESOPOTAMIA.

WE set out from Aleppo, April 17, 1699, and steering east-north-east, somewhat less, we came in three hours and a half to Surbafs.

Tuesday, April 18.—We came in three hours and a half to Bezay, passing by Bab, where there is a good aqueduct *Dyn il Daab**, to which you descend by about thirty steps; and Lediff, a pleasant village. Our course thus far was east and by north. In the afternoon we advanced three hours further, course north east, to an old ruined place, formerly of some consideration, called Acamy; it is situated in the wilderness on a hill encompassed by a valley; it was large, and had the footsteps of some symmetry, good walls and buildings.

* The dialect of Daab.

Wednesday,

Wednesday, April 19.—We went east and by north, and in four hours arrived at Bambych. This place has no remnants of its ancient greatness but its walls, which may be traced all round, and cannot be less than three miles in compass. Several fragments of them remain on the east side, especially at the east gate; and another piece of eighty yards long, with towers of large square stone extremely well built. On the north side I found a stone with the busts of a man and woman, large as the life; and under, two eagles carved on it. Not far from it, on the side of a large well, was fixed a stone with three figures carved on it, in basso relievo. They were two tyrens, which twining their fishy tails together, made a seat, on which was placed sitting a naked woman, her arms and the tyrens on each side mutually entwined.

On the west side is a deep pit of about 100 yards diameter. It was low, and had now water in it, and seemed to have had great buildings all round it, with the pillars and ruins of which it is now in part filled up; but not so much but that there was still water in it. Here are a multitude of subterraneous aqueducts brought to this city; the people attested no fewer than fifty. You can ride no where about the city without seeing them. We pitched by one about a quarter of a mile east of the city, which yields a fine stream; and, emptying itself into a valley, waters it, and makes it extremely fruitful. Here, perhaps, were the pastures of the beasts designed for sacrifices. Here are now only a few poor inhabitants, though anciently all the north side was well inhabited by Saracens, as may be seen by the remains of a noble mosque and a bagnio a little without the walls. We were here visited by a company of Begdelies, who were incamped some hours further towards Euphrates, having about 1000 horse there.

Thursday, April 20.—For avoiding the Begdelies, we hired a guide, who conducted us a by-way. We travelled north-north-east, over a desert ground, and came in three hours to a small rivulet called Sejour, which falls into the Euphrates about three hours below Jerabolus. In about two hours more we came to a fine fruitful plain, covered with extraordinary corn, lying between the hills and the river Euphrates. In about an hour and a half's travelling through this plain on the banks of the river, we came to Jerabolus. This place is of a semicircular figure, its flat side lying on the banks of Euphrates; on that side it has a high long mount, close by the water, very steep. It was anciently built upon (and at one end of it I saw fragments of) very large pillars, a yard and a half diameter, and capitals and cornices well carved. At the foot of the mount was carved on a large stone a beast resembling a lion, with a bridle in his mouth, and I believe anciently a person sitting on it; but the stone is in that part now broke away; the tail of the beast was couped.

Round about this place are high banks cast up, and there is the footsteps of walls on them. The gates seem to have been well built; the whole was 2250 paces, that is yards, in circumference. The river is here as large as the Thames at London; a long bullet-gun could not shoot a ball over it, but it dropt into the water. Here is found a large serpent, which has legs and claws, called Woralla. I was told by a Turk, that a little below this place, when the river is low, may be seen the ruins of a stone-bridge over the river; for my own part I saw it not, nor do I much rely on the Turk's veracity. The river seemed to be lately fallen very suddenly, for the banks were freshly wet, two yards and more above the water. It was here north and south.

Friday, April 21.—We kept close on the banks of Euphrates, and in two hours and a half crossed a fine rivulet called Towzad; and in two hours more arrived over against Beer, and pitched on a flat, close by the river side. Observing the latitude of the place by my quadrant, I found the angle between the sun and the zenith to be 22 degrees; and

and the declination this day being 15 degrees 10 minutes, the whole is 37 degrees 10 minutes.

Saturday, April 22.—We continued at our station, not daring to cross the river, for fear of falling into the hands of the chiah of the bashaw of Urfa, who was then at Beer ordering many boats of corn down to Bagdal. We were supplied, at the same time, with provisions by Sheck Aslyne, to whom we made returns.

Sunday, April 23.—The chiah being now departed, Sheck Aslyne invited us over to Beer; we crossed in a boat of the country, of which they have a great many, this being the great pass into Mesopotamia. The boats are of a miserable fabric, flat and open in the fore part, for horses to enter; they are large enough to carry about four horses each. Their way to cross is, by drawing up the boat as high as they know to be necessary, and then with wretched oars striking over, she falls a good way down by the force of the stream, before they arrive at the further side.

Having saluted Aslyne, we were conducted to see the castle; which is a large old building on the top of a great long rock, separated by a great gulph or natural bottom, from the land. At first coming within the gates, which are of iron, we saw several large globes of stone about twenty inches diameter; and great axles of iron, with wheels, which were entire blocks of wood two feet thick in the nave, and cut somewhat to an edge toward the periphery; and screws to bend bows or engines, as also several brass field pieces.

Ascending up the sides of the rock by a way cut obliquely, you come to the castle: At first entrance, you find a way cut under ground down to the river. In the castle, the principal things we saw were, first a large room full of old arms; I saw there glass bottles to be shot at the end of arrows; one of them was stuck at the end of an arrow, with four pieces of tin by its sides, to keep it firm. Vast large cross bows and beams, seemingly designed for battering rams; and Roman saddles and head-pieces of a large size, some of which were painted; and some large thongs for bow-strings, and bags for flinging stones. But the jealousy of the Turks would not permit us to stay so long as would have been requisite for a perfect examination of these antiquities.

From the castle we returned to Aslyne, and were civilly treated. In the evening we went up into the country of Mesopotamia. The hills are chalky and steep, and come close to the water side without a plain intervening, as it is upon the side of Syria; so that Beer stands on the side of a hill. However, it has a couple of fine streams that run over the top of the hill; one of which drives two mills, and so runs down to the city, which is well walled. In the side of the hill, there is a kane under ground, cut into the rock, with fifteen large pillars left to support its roof.

Monday, April 24.—We left Beer, and travelling west, came in three hours to Nizib, a place well situated at the head of the Towzad. Here is an old small church, very strong and entire; only the cupola in the middle of the cross is broke down, and its space covered with leaves, to fit the place for a mosque. I believe the Turks made the places to which they turn in prayers, empty niches, to shew that they worshipped one invisible God, not to be represented by images. In two hours we came from Nizib to a good christian village called Uwur; and in an hour and a half more, to a well in the desert.

Tuesday, April 25.—We travelled west near two hours; and came through a fine country, diversified into small hills and valleys, to a village called Adjia, having left Silam and two other villages on the right hand. At Adjia rises the river of Aleppo, from a large fountain, at once; and just above it runs the Sajour, which might be let into it by a short cut of ten yards. From Adjia our course was well north west. The
banks

banks of the Sejour are well planted with trees and villages. In two little hours we came to Antab, having crossed the Sejour at a bridge about three quarters of an hour before. Leaving the city on the right hand, we passed under its walls, and pitched about three quarters of an hour from it, on a plain field on the banks of the Sejour.

Antab stands mostly on a hill, having a castle on a round mount, at its north side, exactly resembling that of Aleppo, though much less. It has a very deep ditch round it; and at the foot of the mount within the ditch, is a gallery cut through the rock all round the castle, with portals for shot; and it is faced with stone walls, where the rock was not strong enough. The houses have generally no upper rooms; the bazars are large. I saw here a fine stone very much resembling porphyry; being of a red ground, with yellow specks and veins, very glossy. It is dug just by Antab.

Antab is doubtless Antiochia penes Taurum: in the skirts of which it stands, and is not far distant from the highest ridge: it is about two thirds as big as Aleppo.

Wednesday, April 26.—We passed through a fruitful mountainous country, and came in seven hours and a quarter to Rowant castle. It stands on the top of a round steep hill, and has been strong for the times it was built in. It is probably a Saracen fabrick, and is now in ruins. At the foot of the hill westward runs the river Ephreen; its course is south south west. Our course from Antab to Rowant was north west and by north.

Thursday, April 27.—We continued travelling through the mountains, which were now somewhat more uneven and precipitous, but watered every where with fine springs and rivulets. In about six hours we came to Corus; our course was south west, having crossed the Ephreen about two thirds of an hour before. Just by Corus is the river Sabon, that is, Chor or Char, which encompasses most part of the city.

Corus stands on a hill, consisting of the city and castle. The city stands northerly; and from its north end ascending, you come at last to a higher hill to the southward, on which stands the castle. The whole is now in ruins, which seems to have been very large, walled very strongly with huge square stones. Within are observable the ruins, pillars, &c. of many noble buildings. On the west side there is a square enclosure of great capacity, compassed with good walls and five gates, which admitted into it; as one may discern by the ruins of them. I conjectured they might be the cathedral.

Below the castle hill, to the southward, stands a noble old monument. It is six square, and opens at six windows above; and is covered with a pyramidical cupola. In each angle within is a pillar of the Corinthian order, of one stone; and there is a fine architrave all round just under the cupola, having had heads of oxen carved on it; and it ends a-top with a large capital of the Corinthian order; near this several sepulchral altars, of which only one has a legible inscription.

Friday, April 28.—We left Corus, and without the town about half a mile south east, we descended down through a way cut obliquely on the side of a precipice, which leads to a bridge of seven arches of a very old structure, over the river Sabon. And about a quarter of a mile further, we came to another bridge of three very large arches over the river Ephreen. These bridges are very ancient, and well built of square stone. Three pillars have an acute angle on the side against the stream, and a round buttress on the other side, and on both sides are niches for statues. They were well paved a-top with large stones, and are doubtless, as well as that of the other side of the town, the work of the excellent and magnificent Theodorit.

From this bridge in about three hours, with a course south south east, or south east and by south, we arrived at Jan-Belads. From Jan-Belads to Chillis is one hour and

and two thirds, course north north east. Chillis is a large populous town, and has fifteen mosques that may be counted without the town; and it has large bazars. Many medals are found here, which seem to argue it to be ancient; but under what name I know not.

Aleppo bears from Jan-Bolads south and by east; Seck-Berukel south south west. An hour from Jan-Bolads is Azafs. And two hours further, we lodged in the plain, which about Chillis and Azafs is very wide and no less fruitful. This country is always given to the validea or grand-signor's mother.

Saturday, April 29.—We arrived by God's blessing safe in Aleppo, having travelled about five hours with a course south and by east.

Δέξαι Θεῶν,

OF THE VALLEY OF SALT, WHICH IS ABOUT FOUR HOURS FROM ALEPPO.

THIS valley is of two or three hours extent; we were three quarters of an hour in crossing one corner of it. It is of an exact level, and appears at a distance like a lake of water. There is a kind of a dry crust of salt all over the top of it; which sounds, when the horses go upon it, like frozen snow when it is walked upon. There are three or four small rivulets empty themselves into this place, and wash it all over, about autumn, or when the rains fall.

In the heat of the summer the water is dried off, and when the sun has scorched the ground, there is found remaining the crust of salt aforesaid; which they gather and separate into several heaps, according to the degrees of fineness; some being exquisitely white, others alloyed with dirt.

It being soft in some places, our horses hoofs struck in deep; and there I found in one part a soft brown clay, in another a very black one, which to the taste was very salt, though deep in the earth. Along on one side of the valley, viz. that towards Gibul, there is a small precipice about two men's lengths, occasioned by the continual taking away the salt; and in this you may see how the veins of it lie. I broke a piece of it, of which that part that was exposed to the rain, sun, and air, though it had the sparks and particles of salt, yet it had perfectly lost its flavour, as in St. Matthew, chap. 5. The inner part, which was connected to the rock, retained its flavour, as I found by proof.

In several places of the valley, we found that the thin crust of salt upon the surface, bulged up, as if some insect working under it had raised it; and taking off the part we found under it efflorescences of pure salt shot out according to its proper figure.

At the neighbouring village Gibul, is kept the magazines of salt, where you find great mountains (as I may say) of that mineral, ready for sale. The valley is farmed of the grand signior at 1200 dollars per annum.

A JOURNAL FROM GRAND CAIRO TO MOUNT SINAI, AND BACK AGAIN,

IN COMPANY WITH SOME MISSIONARIES DE PROPAGANDA FIDE.
AT GRAND CAIRO,

TRANSLATED FROM A MANUSCRIPT WRITTEN BY THE PREFETTO OF EGYPT,

By the Right Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, Lord Bishop of Clogher.

TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,

BEING possessed of the original Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, mentioned by my worthy friend Dr. Pococke, in his Travels through the East*; which was written by the Prefetto of the Franciscans in Egypt, who set out from the Convent de Propaganda fide at Grand Cairo, A. D. 1722, I think proper to communicate to you a translation of it, in hopes of exciting you, who are now erected into a Society of Antiquaries, to make some enquiry into those ancient characters, which as we learn from it, are discovered in great numbers in the wilderness of Sinai, at a place well known by the name of Gebel el Mokatab, or the Written Mountains, which are so particularly described in this Journal, that it is impossible for an inquisitive traveller to be at a loss in his searches after them. By carefully copying a good quantity of these letters, I should apprehend, that the ancient Hebrew character, which is now lost, may be recovered.

I do not suppose such a copy of them, as would be sufficient for the end proposed, could be taken by any traveller in the time ordinarily allowed for a journey between Cairo and Mount Sinai; but I imagine, if a person was sent on purpose to live for some time at Tor, on the coast of the Red-sea, he might make such an acquaintance with the Arabs living near the Written Mountains, by the civility of his behaviour, and by frequently making them small presents, that it would be no great difficulty in six months, or thereabouts, to attain the desired end.

As this will require a good capacity and industry in the person employed, and likewise must be attended with some expence, I do not know to whom I can apply more properly, than to your honourable society, to look out for a suitable person to be employed on this errand. As to the expence, I am willing to bear any proportion of it which you shall think proper, in order to have this design thoroughly effected.

* "In one of the roads from the convent to Suez, there is exactly such another stone as the rock of Massa and Meribah in Rephidim, with the same sort of openings all down, and the signs where the water ran. I was desirous to pass by it on my return, but unfortunately was led another way. I asked the Arabs about it, who told me it was likewise called the Stone of Moses, and that they judged it had the same virtues as the other. The first account I had of it, I can very much depend upon, being from a manuscript journal, writ by the present Prefetto of Egypt from the Propaganda fide, who went this journey with an English gentleman now in London."—*Pococke's Descr. of the Egypt.* vol. i. p. 147.

AN EXACT JOURNAL FROM CAIRO TO MOUNT SINAI.

BEGUN THE FIRST OF SEPTEMBER. 1722.

Sept. 1.—**A**LL our companions having assembled at my house, viz. Clow Abrahim Moslaad, Jacob Uhabez Abdelaziz, merchants; also Mon Beraoue, the son of a French merchant, and three brothers, James of Bledonia missionary de propaganda fide, Elias of Aleppo, of the Society of Jesus, and Charles of the Franciscan Order, superior of the Capuchins; about three o'clock in the afternoon, after a brotherly embrace, and having taken leave of all the rest of my domesticks and friends, we went to the convent of the monks of Mount Sinai that dwell here at Cairo; immediately going from whence we arrived at the famous gate called Babel Naaser*; where we made some stay to take an accurate view of that ancient and magnificent piece of building; and in the mean time the whole caravan being assembled we departed, under the conduct of one of the surbassi, and accompanied by several orientals who were friends to the Cairo merchants, directed our course due east, among those ruins and ancient monuments which remain of the city of the Sun†, as is most probable, which are now every where interspersed with Turkish sepulchres; and after a journey of a good half hour from the gate of the city, we arrived at a place called Ukah Elt haar‡, to which the aforementioned buildings, towers, or other ruins, extend; which time has, for the most part, consumed. In this place, the monks of Mount Sinai have an ancient house, formerly sufficiently large and famous, and built of hewn stone; but unless it be soon repaired by those monks, it will add to the number of its neighbouring ruins. Here we staid all night with our camels and other beasts, being tolerably well accommodated; and only incommoded by the noisy sonnets of our eastern friends, who according to the custom of the country, designed these their unharmonious vociferations as a compliment.

Sept. 2.—At break of day we all arose, and having loaded our fifty camels (for of that number our caravan consisted), we took leave of our Cairo friends, and about five in the morning departed from this place, some on horses, some on camels, and some on dromedaries; but I for curiosity, as well as conveniency sake, made myself to be carried after the manner of the Turks in a mohie, but sitting after our own fashion; two of which seats are fixed on a camel, hanging down on either side, carrying two persons: this kind of carriage, when persons are accustomed to it, is convenient enough. But Mr. Beraoue unfortunately chose a fine horse, which as he was not able to manage, would have broke his neck, if he had not soon dismounted, and changed it for a camel.

And pursuing our journey, after a good hour we passed through a place called by the inhabitants Sibel alem; the part of it that remains to the right hand of the road, is very agreeable, consisting of a tower or mosque surrounded with trees, with ripe dates hanging down from them; which afforded a pleasant prospect.

After three quarters of an hour we passed by another place called Matharna, which lay on the left hand of the road, very pleasantly situated in the midst of trees; and in this place the learned for the most part agree, formerly stood the city of the Sun§; of whose antiquities there is nothing now remaining, but one obelisk, sixty-six feet high, and having each side, which is seven feet eight inches broad, engraved all over with hieroglyphical characters. It stands about half an Italian mile beyond the village. This

* Or Baab el Naasar. See Oct. 16. † Or Heliopolis. ‡ Or Ukah el Bahar. See Oct. 15.

§ Quære, how does this agree with what he said in his last day's journey?

obelisk is erect, but there is another near it of the same magnitude, which lies upon the ground.

Continuing our route for an hour and a quarter we passed by another village called El Marge, which lies on the right hand of the road, and, like those before mentioned, was surrounded with palm-trees. And after another hour, that is, about nine o'clock, having come to a place called Chanke; where we pitched our tents, and refreshed ourselves, after having suffered much from the burning heat of the sun. Here the inhabitants of the place, who are called Bedwins, live in tents, after the manner of the Arabians. It was pitious to behold the poverty of those habitations under a poor tent, I might indeed lay under a black piece of coarse canvas, subdivided into three apartments; in the most retired of which the women have residence; in the middle some of the men and women live promiscuously; and in the outermost are kept all the beast and cattle of the field, the cocks and hens, and goats. Which seemed to me to be a lively representation of the manner of habitation practised by the ancient patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c.

Sept. 3.—After three o'clock in the afternoon we departed from this place, and in about an hour's journey we lost sight of that chain of mountains*, which we saw towards the south, at a great distance from us. And a little after, we saw, towards the north, hills of sand, appearing not unlike our hills in Italy when covered with snow, and which continued in view for three hours; but at length, when it was late in the evening, we lost sight of these also; I am told, however, they reach all the way to Damietta. Here then we halted at about a quarter after eight, remaining all night in the open air; not far from another caravan, more numerous than ours, which had stopped in this very place, though it had set out before us.

Sept. 4.—Early in the morning, about half an hour after four, we departed from hence, directing our journey always either due east, or east-north-east, through a number of little hills which were interperfed here and there; till we stopped, about half an hour after ten, in an agreeable spot of ground, adorned with a beautiful verdure, where we dined; and pursuing our journey from thence about one in the afternoon, about five we came to a parcel of ragged mountains called Huhebi, situated towards the south; and after we had continued our route for three hours more we rested about eight o'clock.

Sept. 5.—Having risen at midnight along with the moon, we departed from this place about half an hour after one; and making our way over hills, as the day appeared we perceived we had passed the summit of them, and were up in the descent, which declined very gently and gradually. At three quarters after seven we passed by Hagirut, on the left hand of which are two places where there is water that is barely tolerable for men to drink, but full good enough for the camels. The Arabs often take possession of these places in the time of war.

Soon after we had passed by this place, still continuing on the descent, we discovered the Red-sea, and some ships in port, two of which were then actually departing towards Gidda; and having passed much such another place as Hagirut, called Birel Suefs, where there is good water for camels, we came at length safe and found about three quarters after ten in the morning to Suefs, and leaving the gate of the city upon the right hand, we pitched our tents on the outside of the walls, on the sea-shore, with the city to the south of us, and the sea to the north-east; and remained under our tents during the heat of the day.

* Possibly it was from where hereabouts that Moses turned to go and encamp before Etham, when, according to the observation of Pharaoh, he seemed to be intangled in the land; or in that ridge of mountains which lay towards the South. See Exod. xiii. 20. xiv. 2, 3; and Shaw's Travels, p. 345.

The city of Suez is small and inconsiderable, and its walls half in ruins, with three small turrets or moschs. It is situated in 29 degrees 50 minutes of north latitude, at the extremity of the Red-sea, having the sea to the east, and the port to the south, which is surrounded on the east side by an island, and in which there were then ten ships preparing to set sail by the first opportunity, whose companies at present composed the greatest part of the inhabitants of that city. When they are gone, the remainder of the inhabitants return towards Cairo, leaving only one or two persons behind to guard the place; and all this on account of the great scarcity of water and provisions, for nothing will grow thereabouts, and there is no water nearer than six or seven hours journey towards the north east; to bring which the camels set out about four o'clock in the afternoon, and arriving about midnight, as soon as they had filled their vessels, they return and generally get back to Suez about eight o'clock in the morning. A small vessel of water is sold for three or four medinas*, and the larger vessels for eight or ten medinas, according to the demand for it.

Not far from our tents there was a little hill, or rather a gentle rising ground, with the ruins of some ancient buildings which they say are the remains of some famous city. There are also on this hill two cannons, which lie on the ground, and which upon viewing narrowly, I perceived were cast by the Turks, because upon the smaller one were Arabic characters, expressing the year when they were made, which upon computation I found to be about one hundred and ninety-seven years ago. The less was ten feet long, and its bore about seven inches and three quarters French measure; the larger, of a more ordinary kind of workmanship, was near twice as long, being nineteen feet long, and its bore seven inches and a half. There were also several other cannons lying in the city, made of brass, but cast with more skill than those before mentioned.

Sept. 6.—We set out from this place early in the morning, and to avoid going a great way about, round the northern point of this arm of the Red-sea, we went by boat from this part of Africa to that part of Asia which lies directly over against it, at the distance of one quarter of an Italian mile. In our passage, we actually met some vessels going to Suez to purchase the water, which as I mentioned before, was brought thither to be sold, on camels backs from the mountains.

And now having passed the Red-sea, the heat of the sun being excessively great, we again loaded our camels, and departed from our landing place about eleven o'clock, and after a journey of three hours to the east-south-east, leaving some mountains † at a great distance towards our left hand, and having the Red-sea on our right, we rested about two o'clock near certain fountains called Ain el Musa, or the Fountains of Moses, situated among little hills; which I went to, and found the water tolerably good, but with a little saltness; and no sooner does it rise out of the bowels of the earth, but it is lost again in the sand, or as I may say, is in the day time instantly absorbed by the burning and thirsty sand. At night it seems to flow further than it does by day, as may be seen by the traces it leaves behind; and I believe, if the place were cleansed (it being very full of dirt and mud), the water would be sweeter, and there would be a larger current, for there are three springs which run not far from each other, into which the Arabs suffer the camels to enter when they drink.

From these fountains may be plainly seen a wonderful aperture ‡ in the mountains on the other side of the Red Sea, through and from which the children of Israel entered into the Red Sea, when Pharaoh and his host were drowned; which aperture is situated west-south-west from these fountains of Moses; and the breadth of the sea here.

* A medina is id. † English money.

† The mountains and cattle of Sedur or Shur. See Gen. xv. 18, and Forsske's Travels, p. 134.

‡ Caused by Moses Pila-bnoth, or the mouth, or opening of Hmoth. Exod. xiv. 2, and by the Greeks Clysmia. Philest. lib. iii. cap. 6.

about, where the the children of Israel passed it, is about four or five hours journey. But from Suez by land to these fountains would be seven or eight hours journey.

The place where we then were is called Sedur; we rested ourselves in it till sun-set. At last, about a quarter after six, we set forward on our journey, and going in the dark through the desert of Sedur, we wandered here and there out of our road, till we stopped about midnight to take a little rest upon a small hill of sand, where they say there are abundance of serpents; but, thanks to God, we received no harm.

Sept. 7.—About three quarters after six in the morning we again began our travels, journeying through the desert of Vardan*, still moving more and more from the Red Sea. In this desert we stopped to refresh ourselves, about three quarters after ten, or about three leagues distant from the Red Sea. And after dinner (here I was very much out of order) we again set forward about three o'clock, travelling through the plains in excessive hot weather, till eight at night, when we rested.

Sept. 8.—From this place we departed about three o'clock in the morning, making our way over several hills and vales, which brought us towards the mountain Gebel Hamam el Faran†. And about seven o'clock we found several trees, and some verdant spots of earth, in the midst of the barren sand; and there came from the mountains a most delightful breeze, which sensibly refreshed my bowels; so that I was surprizingly restored to my health.

At length we entered into an exceeding pleasant and agreeable wood, at the foot of the aforesaid mountain of Hamam el Faran, and rested ourselves at three quarters after eight, in a place called Garundu; which is a small, but most delightful valley, full of certain trees with which it is beautified, and which emit a most agreeable odour, not unlike the smell of the balsam of Peru. There are also in this place many palm-trees, and in the bottom of the vale is a rivulet flowing from the aforementioned mountain, the water of which is tolerably good, and in sufficient plenty, but is however not free from some bitterness, though it is very clear. After it has run through this valley for some hours towards the west, it then empties itself into the Red Sea. Many think this to be the place mentioned, Exod. xv. 23. where it is said of the Israelites, that 'When they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter; till the Lord shewed unto Moses a tree, which when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet.'

Sept. 9.—We departed from this delicious place at one o'clock in the morning; but behold, scarce were we got out of the valley, when our guides found that two of their camels were missing (they had been stolen by some thieves during the night time), and therefore the caravan stopped, till they went in search of their lost camels; but not being able to hear any tidings of them, we proceeded on our journey all that night and the next day till a quarter after eleven, without suffering any great inconveniences from the hills and vales we passed over, upon which we met with several green tufts, and prickly trees, called in Arabic *chafim*, though on either hand of us our road was bounded with huge and rugged mountains. And having taken a moderate dinner under one of these mountains of marble, we departed from thence at three quarters

* Or Ouardan. Pococke's Trav. p. 139.

† In this journal of Oct. 8, these mountains are described under the character of the Mountains of Hamam el Pharaone, or the baths of Pharao; which I suppose to be a mistake in the people of the country, who, not knowing why these baths should be called the baths of Faran, or rather Paran, have given them the name of the baths of Pharao. But in the times of Moses this whole country was known by the name of the wilderness of Paran, Gen. xxi. 21, Num. x. 12, xii. 16, xiii. 3, 26, 1 Sam. xxv. 1, whence Mount Sinai was also called Mount Paran, Deut. xxxiii. 2, Hab. iii. 3, and therefore probably these baths were originally the baths of Paran. See Pococke's Trav. p. 139.

after three ; and continuing our journey still in a sandy, but tolerably even road, though between hills and mountains on every side, we came towards the setting of the sun, to a large and spacious plain, which had a gentle ascent up to it, but was itself environed by mountains. After we had passed this, we came about nine o'clock at night, by an easy descent, to a valley called Nefo, which was about a league distant from an Arab village of the same name, where was a spring of exceeding good and delightful water.

Sept. 10.—Having pitched our tents, we remained here, in order to provide ourselves with water, till four o'clock in the evening ; at which time we again set forward on our journey ; and as soon as we had passed the aforementioned valley, we began to rise over hills and mountains by a tolerably easy ascent, till, having as it were overcome the mountain, we rested at a place called Chamil.

Sept. 11.—In the morning, at a quarter after five, we departed from this place, and through a rugged road, in which there lay a great many blocks of marble, with great difficulty we got up on a very high mountain. In this road, on each hand of us, were exceeding high mountains, of the most beautiful granates of various colours, but chiefly red. At length about three quarters after eleven, we reached the summit of the mountain, or rather of the mountains, but with great difficulty ; and from this place we were able to discover mount St. Catharine. And from thence descending by a tolerably easy road, we came to a valley in a plain, where, at place called El Barah, we stopped at three quarters after one ; and having made a short meal under a tree, we set forward again about two o'clock ; going up the mountain by a road neither very steep nor rugged ; which when we had gotten the better of, we began to descend again by a tolerably open road to a valley between two exceeding high mountains of marble. And as soon as we had arrived at this valley, which was about sun-set, we immediately turned our course to the left, where we also came to another valley, beset with high mountains on either side ; and, having got to the top of the hill, we halted, about half an hour after seven, at a place called Marah, where we staid all night, greatly distressed with the sharpness and severe coldness of the air. From this place to Mount Sinai the road is tolerably even and pleasant, with mountains of granite marble on either side.

Sept. 12.—Having risen a little after midnight, we departed from this place about half an hour after two, and going through a sandy road, which lay in a valley between mountains, we came about sun-rise to a most pleasant and agreeable place called Barak, where was a very delightful wood, which appeared the more charming because hitherto our road had lain only over rocks, hills, and mountains, the very sight of which alone was sufficient to terrify the traveller. And having amused ourselves for the space of an hour with the delightfulness of this wood, we again proceeded on our journey, which led us twisting and twining between rugged mountains sometimes eastward, sometimes northward, and sometimes southward, though we never were out of our way. And about eight o'clock we came to a rock, which stands by itself, where the Turks say the prophet Mahomet rested himself ; and where, when he attempted to sit down, the rock yielded under him like the softest wax, and formed itself into the shape of a seat for him (there appears indeed a little hollow in the stone, which may have given rise to this tradition), and on that account the Turks approach the place with great reverence, stroking the stone with the palms of their hands, and kissing it with their lips.

And now continuing our journey towards Mount Sinai, in order to go the best road, we took a great circuit towards the left hand, though there is another shorter and

more direct road; yet because there are some steep ascents and descents in it, our guides chose the left-hand road, though the longer, as being better for the camels. And about three quarters after nine, as we were passing by a mosque where a certain Schiech Saleh was buried, who is held by the Turks in great veneration, several of our guides and passengers went thither to receive a benediction; and that the camels and the rest of the beasts might be partakers of it, they brought from thence a small quantity of sand with which they sprinkled them.

At length, about mid-day we discovered some square buildings in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai, which, as I was informed, the Arabs make use of as repositories for their corn; and on the other side, upon the left hand, we discovered the garden belonging to the convent, full of trees, which is situated just at the foot of Mount Sinai. And going in a south-west direction, when we came just over against the afore-said garden, we saw another vale lie open to the south-east, in the middle of which, at the distance of half an hour, stands the convent of the holy Mount Sinai; to which all of us, partly out of devotion and partly because of the difficulty of the road, ascended on foot between two exceeding high mountains, that to the north-east called Mount St. Bessin *, and the other to the right called Horeb or Choreb. In the middle between these two mountains is situated the convent of Mount Sinai, in twenty-eight degrees of north latitude: it is built in an oblong figure, with only one great door, which directly faces the north-west, and looks into that vale through which we came. The wall of the convent towards the north-west, as well as that to the south east, are equally two hundred and four feet long of French measure. And the other two, one of which faces the south-west, and the other the north-east, are each two hundred and forty-five feet long, being for the most part built of square stones six feet and one third broad; but the walls are of an unequal height, according to the inequality of the foundation. I measured the corner which looks towards the west, and it was forty-five feet high.

And forasmuch as the great door is always walled up, to prevent the incursions of the Arabs, immediately after the entrance of a new archbishop, which happened this very year, every other person who is desirous of going into the convent must be drawn up with a rope to a great window, thirty feet high from the ground, in that part of the wall which looks to the north-east. And when one is got into the convent, there is nothing of curiosity to be seen, all the buildings and edifices, especially those which concern the friars or the religious, and the smaller chapels, being built of rough bricks, in great confusion and irregularity, without either symmetry or order, making here and there crooked and dark passages, with several ascents and descents; only the building of the great church of the Transfiguration of our Saviour Jesus Christ may be considered as worthy our observation. It was built, they say, by the emperor Justinian; and is in length eighty feet, and in breadth fifty three; but the breadth is diminished by a wall on either side at nine feet distance from the outward wall, for the conveniency of chapels which are made in it, as I shall hereafter mention; so that there remains only thirty-five feet in the clear. In this great aisle are three rows of pillars forming three naves, and the pavement is finely adorned with variety of figures in different kinds of marble. But the great altar is after the custom of the Greeks, entirely gilt.

The presbytery is of an oval figure both within and without; and adorned with Mosaic work representing the Transfiguration of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and on

* Qu. St. Episteme. Pococke's Travels, vol. i. p. 143, 147.

the outside is the statue of the emperor Justinian, who was the founder of the church. Before the presbytery are four candlesticks, two of which are very magnificent, being six feet high, and made of brass richly ornamented; and of the like workmanship there are two more hanging down in the middle of the church, which are capable of holding several candles. There are besides many lamps hanging up and down in the church, some of silver and some of gold; the most remarkable are those that hang in the presbytery, which are for the most part all of gold; but that which hangs in the great altar is also set with jewels.

Next to this church of the Transfiguration is the little chapel of the Bush*, which stands on the place where our Lord appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire out of the bush, as described Exod. iii. 2, and immediately adjoins to the wall of the presbytery. This chapel is ten feet broad and seventeen feet long; the pavement of it is adorned with the same kind of works as that of the church; and the walls with porcelain; there are in it several lamps both of gold and silver. It was built, they say, by queen Helena; and the place where the bush grew is supposed to be directly under the altar, and is covered with plates of silver; over which stand two large silver candlesticks, eight feet high. On the other side of this chapel are two other chapels; that to the south is called the chapel of the Seventy Martyrs, and that to the north is the chapel of St. James.

When you come into the great church, there are on the south side three chapels; the first that of St. John the Evangelist, the second of St. Simon the Stylite, and the third of the Saints Cosma and Damianus. And on the other side towards the north, there are also three more, viz. first, of St. Andipe; secondly, of the Saints Constantine and Helena; and the third of St. Mariana. This whole church is covered with lead.

Besides this church and these chapels, there are seventeen other little churches or chapels situate here and there in the convent; 1. That of St. Peter and St. Paul, which is tolerably large and roomy; 2. St. George; 3. St. Stephen; 4. St. Michael the Archangel; 5. St. Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostome; 6. Demetrius the Martyr; 7. St. Nicholas; 8. St. Moses and Aaron; 9. St. Sergius Wachus; 10. St. John Baptist; 11. St. Anthony the Abbot; 12. Of the Five Martyrs, Eustratius, Euxendius, Barbarius, Orestus, and Eugenius; 13. St. John the Evangelist; 14. St. Catharine; 15 and 16. Two Episcopal Chapels; 17. One in the garden where the friars are buried. And besides all these chapels there is a mosque with a turret for the Turks, which stands near the western door of the great church; for the preservation of which, they say, they have several immunities granted them under the hand of the prophet Mahomet. There is nothing else in the convent remarkable.

There is no record when this convent was built, except what remains on a stone over the great door, the inscription on which is in Arabic characters so ancient, that none of us could read them, except the year, *opp*, which denotes 520. This stone, according to the tradition of the fathers of the convent, first stood over the chapel of the Bush, and was placed there by St. Helena; but, after the great church, and the walls of the convent were built, this stone was moved out of its ancient place, and fixed in the wall where it now stands. But in my opinion, this history is without foundation, because St. Helena lived in the fourth century, whereas the afore-mentioned inscription belongs

* It is from this piece of history that this part of Mount Horeb is called Mount Sinai, the Hebrew for a bush being *jene*.

in the sixth century : I rather think therefore that this stone was engraved and fixed up by the order of Justinian, who was the founder of the convent.

When we first came into the convent, we were received by the fathers and brothers of the convent with the greatest affection and regard, and especially by the archbishop Jeanikins, who was the superior and president of the place ; and who gave us a very elegant supper, and assigned us very convenient apartments, consisting of five chambers, in a part of the convent that was newly built ; and also for our better accommodation, indulged us with the liberty of going when we pleased into the garden ; which is not permitted even to the monks. And we having there pitched a tent, dined and supped in it every day while we staid.

The aforesaid garden is situated on the outside of the walls of the convent, to the north-west ; to which there is a passage under ground from the convent with iron gates to it. This garden is sufficiently spacious, and very well supplied with good water, with which it is daily watered, and by that means produces great quantities of all sorts of plants, and herbs, and trees ; such as almonds, apples, peaches, olives, figs, pomegranates, pears, and in particular most delicious grapes both red and white : and as this month happened to be the season for ripe grapes, as well as many other fruits, we gave a loose to our appetites ; and the air of the place being exceeding fine and wholesome, indulged our palates with great freedom and luxury.

The temperature of the air seemed to me as moderate, as if I had been in one of the most temperate climates of France in the month of September ; the heat of the day not being excessive, nor the night air insufferably cold. However, I cannot but think that the heat of this place in summer, as well as the cold in winter, must be almost insupportable, since, during the winter season, the snow falls here in great abundance.

September 13.—This day being Holy Sunday, we were invited to attend at church, as we usually did on other days, where the archbishop himself officiated, and sang the mass clothed in his *pontificalibus*, wearing on his head a sort of imperial crown made in silver, of exquisite workmanship ; with the rest of the ministers that attended him, in very sumptuous apparel ; which when ended, we dined in the common refectory of the convent, with the archbishop and the rest of the monks, who eat only of one dish. After dinner, all of us standing up, we took each a moderate piece of bread, cut from one loaf, and drank also all out of one cup, the archbishop beginning first. When all had drunk, we broke up, and departed. This ceremony is observed as a mark of mutual love and charity.

September 15.—At two in the afternoon we went out of the convent to see the holy places thereabouts ; and as soon as we got out we began to ascend the mountain, which is made tolerably convenient by the means of stone steps cut in it up to Mount Sinai, to the number of fifteen thousand (the way to it is directly southward) : and after an ascent of a small half hour we came to a most delicious fountain of cold water, which springs directly out of the rock, formed here into a kind of grotto. The Greeks tell many wonderful stories of this water, but as they seem to be without foundation, I think it more adviseable not to repeat them.

Going on further for another half hour we came to a small church or chapel, dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary ; and proceeding from hence by the steps, came to a narrow part of the road adorned with a gate ; where, they say, many confessional priests used formerly to sit, to hear the confessions of the pilgrims that came to visit these places, and were not permitted to proceed any further, till they had obtained remission of their sins ; so that being made clean by the participation of this sacrament, they

they might proceed to obtain a benediction from the Lord, and mercy from God our Saviour, repeating as they went, the third verse of the xxivth Psalm, 'Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? and who shall stand in his holy place? Even he that hath clean hands, and a pure heart, &c.'

As soon as we had passed the gate, we saw on our right hand a very high mountain towards the west, being almost perpendicular over us: near the summit of which there grew, as it were in despite of nature, a beautiful green tree, which appeared as if it grew out of a wall. And at about the distance of another quarter of an hour, we came to another gate, which when we had passed, we entered into a beautiful plain, where are two delightful cypress trees, and two olive trees, near to a well of sweet water, which, as they say, is only a collection of water that is made by the winter snows and rains. And to this part of Mount Horeb it was that Elias the prophet fled from the face of Jezebel, as is mentioned 1 Kings xix. 9, where it is said, that, when he arrived at the Mount of God, 'he came thither to a cave, and lodged there;' which cave exists to this very day, and is situated at the foot of Mount Sinai, and is now inclosed in a church built of red and white granite marble; the entrance into which is from the west. The dimensions of this cave are, in length five feet, in depth four feet, and height four and a half; which when we had visited, we returned to the well, and lodged all night under the olive trees. This plain where we lay was entirely surrounded with mountains, that formed two valleys, one of them extending itself to the south-south-west, and leading directly to the convent of the Forty Martyrs; the other stretching to the north-west.

September 16.—Early in the morning, before break of day, we began to ascend the holy Mount Sinai from the aforesaid church of St. Elias, and found the ascent to be very sharp; so that unless the aforementioned steps had been made in the hill, by laying broad stones one upon another, we should have found the ascent to be exceeding difficult, it being much more steep than the ascent of the preceding day. The course of our road lay directly towards the south; and after an ascent of three quarters of an hour we were shewed the place, a little out of the road to the left hand, where the Mahometans say that Mahomet, together with his camel, was taken up by the angel Gabriel into heaven; and that this camel was of such a size, that it stood with one of its feet at Mecca, another at Damascus, the third at Cairo, and the fourth on Mount Sinai; where still remains the mark made by the impression of his foot in the very marble rock. However the Greek monks acknowledge that this mark was made by themselves, to gain the more veneration from the Turks for this holy mountain, it not on account of its own sanctity, and the wonderful works performed there by God, yet at least on account of this miraculous impression of the camel's foot. Accordingly, it has prevailed on all Mahometans to treat this place with the highest regard.

At length, after a small quarter of an hour, we arrived on the holy Mount Sinai, and as soon as we had got on the plain, which is on the top of it, we immediately saw a church and a Turkish mosque. Formerly indeed there was a large church built upon this place, which almost covered and occupied as it were the whole plain; but this was destroyed by the Turks, who left only one part, towards the north, for the use of the Christians, and reserved the other, towards the south, for the use of the Mahometans.

Before you come to the church of the Christians there is a cave in the rock adjoining to it, into which there is a very narrow entrance. In this place, the tradition is, that Moses saw the glory of the Lord, as mentioned Exodus xxxiii. 21. 'And the Lord said, behold there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock; and it shall come to pass while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and I

will cover thee with mine hand while I pass by; and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts, but my face shall not be seen.* And accordingly it is said by common tradition, that it was in this cleft of the rock that Moses was hid by the Lord; but Moses, nevertheless, that he might have a better view of the fore-mentioned glory, having raised his head and body on high, left his entire figure impressed in the marble rock, to perpetuate the memory of this miracle. So that in the lower part of the rock there remains the impression, as if it had been in melted wax, of his knees* and both his hands, and in the upper part the impression of his back and one half of his face.

And going further on this plain, we entered into the church that is contiguous to the rock just mentioned, which church is subdivided into two chapels: in the larger the Greeks perform divine service, and in the other the Roman catholics; and in this place, they say, it was that Moses received the two tables of testimony, as mentioned Exodus xxxi. 18. 'And the Lord gave Moses in Mount Sinai two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God.' But on the other side of the mount, as I said, towards the south-south-west, stands the Turkish mosque, built in the form of an oblong, in which are hung up several vessels filled with myrrh, and other oblations which are customary with the Turks, who hold this place in the highest veneration; and I believe this mosque may be about seventy paces distant from the christian church, the superficies of this plain on the top of Mount Sinai not being very large.

Under the eastern part of this mosque there is another cave, greater than that of St. Elias, in which, they say, Moses commonly dwelt when he was upon the top of this holy mount. The door of this cave looks towards the valley which extends itself towards the south-west; and in this valley stands Rephidim, where mention is made, Exodus xvii. 1, that the Israelites murmured for want of water. From this mountain there is a fair prospect of Mount St. Catharine, lying towards the south-west, and of the Red-sea towards the south and west. After we had each of us performed our devotions, we immediately descended again towards the well on Mount Horeb, from whence we last came.

And after we had dined we departed from thence, at eleven o'clock, through the valley that extends itself towards the north-west, which conducted us, as it were in a circle, towards the south. In this journey we met with several places that were formerly inhabited, as also with some churches; the most remarkable is that of St. Panteleon; over which, near the summit of the mountain, on the left hand, towards the south east, there is a cave, in which two kings sons spent their lives in performing rigid penances. And a little further from this church we began to descend a very steep mountain for a whole hour; and when we came into the valley, we found a convent, which is called the convent of the Forty Martyrs.

The convent of the Forty Martyrs is situated in the midst of a vale, having Mount Sinai on the east, and Mount St. Catharine's on the west. But before I had entered the convent, two Arabs came up to me, and saluted me very amicably, and after they had lighted their match from my pipe, left me to wait at some distance for the arrival of a monk that was our guide, who had staid behind with the rest of our companions, for I had come hither alone, having outwalked the rest; but upon their arrival, the two Arabs stopped them, and threatened to fire among them, if they did not deliver up the monk who was their conductor, and oblige him to come out from among them; which when it was done, they took him and bound him, and carried him off to the neigh-

* *Query.* Might not the same chisels that engraved the impression of the foot of Mahomet's camel, have engraved those also of the knees and hands of Moses, &c.

bouring mountains; saying to the rest, 'Depart in peace, for we have no ill-will to you, but have a reckoning to make up with this rascal of a monk;' who followed them without attempting to resist.

This affair gave my companions a great deal of concern; for though they seemed able to have rescued the monk, yet they well knew that if those two Arabs had made any noise, they would, upon the least notice, have had an hundred more come to their assistance. For when two young Greeks, who were well armed, were going, contrary to the opinion of the rest, to the relief of the monk, the Arabs began immediately to fire at us; upon which we all retired instantly towards the convent, and left the monk in their hands, with whom they soon made up their reckoning, and paid him in stripes the account which they had to make up with the convent, of which he was the interpreter and procurator.

The convent of the Forty Martyrs has a small church, and but very indifferent accommodations for lodging; only the garden is large and handsome, and well stored with all kinds of fruit, and is surrounded as it were with a wood of olive trees. There is likewise a reservoir of good rain-water, and a small spring of fresh water, which running through it from the mountains, waters the gardens and all the adjacent valley.

September 17.—Early this morning those of our company who were hale and strong departed to go up the mountain of St. Catharine; but I, with about half the company, staid behind in the convent. The history of which journey is as follows: as soon as they were departed out of the convent, they began their journey towards the south-west, and after half an hour, they began to ascend a very rough mountain, and difficult of ascent; for as they were no steps formed upon it, but the whole way covered with small trundling stones, these gave way under the feet. In this road there is abundance of curious stones, and pendent rocks on either side, which are wonderfully marked by nature with the most beautiful veins, shooting forth in the resemblance of trees, whose branches are so very minute, and yet so very exact, that art could not possibly come up to it. And of these they brought back with them a good quantity.

After an hour's travel they came to the water called the Water of the Partridges, where this most delightful spring issues out of some rude marble rocks, which are of a black colour. This fountain, the Greeks say, broke out miraculously when the body of St. Catharine was carried from this mountain to the great convent, where her relics are preserved to this day; at which time the bearers of her corpse being ready to perish with thirst, the partridges, which attended her funeral from the summit of the mountain, conducted them to this place, and discovered the fountain to them.

From this water, after three quarters of an hour, our travellers came to a plain, from whence they were able to discover the summit of Mount St. Catharine; and after they had walked in this plain for a good half hour, they began again to ascend the mountain, the greatest difficulty of which is towards the top. So that the whole time of travelling from the convent of the Forty Martyrs to Mount St. Catharine may be looked upon to be about three hours.

On the summit of this mountain is a small plain, on which, according to the tradition of the Greeks, the body of St. Catharine the virgin and martyr, who suffered under the emperor Maximin, was deposited, having been brought thither by angels from Alexandria; and the mark of the place where she was laid, still remains to be seen as you look towards Mount Sinai, which stands to the north-east, at about four hours distance. The length of this impression* is seven feet in black and white marble granite, with a little mixture both of red and yellow spots. And about a year ago the monks built a small chapel over this tomb, seven feet eight inches broad, ten feet long, and six feet high.

* *Quere.* Might not the same workmen that engraved the impression of the feet of Mahomet's camel, have engraved this also?

From this mountain, which overlooks all the rest, there is an exceeding fine and extensive prospect. Mount Sinai, as I said before, lies towards the north-east, the Red-sea to the west, as also Tor, a place situated on the Red-sea, at two days journey distance from hence. To the south appears that extended arm of the Red-sea, which is called the Eluise Gulph, upon which the famous port of Elana formerly stood.

September 18.—We departed from this convent of the Forty Martyrs at a quarter after seven, through that vale which extends itself directly towards the north-west; and descending from the garden of the convent for a quarter of an hour, we came, as it were, through a wood of olive trees, to the church and cave of St. Onuphrius, in which he spent a devout life for forty years. Which, when we had visited, and gone for another quarter of an hour through the aforesaid valley, we came to the stone which is called by the Greeks the Stone of the Fountains; which Moses struck twice * with his rod, as is described Numb. xx. 11, where it is said, ‘And Moses lift up his hand, and with his rod he smote the rock twice; and the water came out abundantly.’

Which aforementioned stone † or solitary rock, is about twelve feet high, and about eight or ten feet broad, though it is not all of one equal breadth; it is a granite marble

* N. B. Here our traveller is mistaken in his quotation out of the Scriptures; for this is not the stone which Moses struck twice, as mentioned Numb. xx. 11, but the rock in the valley of Rephidim, where the children of Israel fought the Amalekites, before they arrived at Mount Sinai, as mentioned Exod. xvii. 7, whereas the stone which Moses struck twice, as mentioned Numb. xx. 11, is that stone which will be spoken of hereafter in this Journal, under the transactions of October 2.

† N. B. The Devil tempted our Saviour by quoting texts of Scripture; and as he hath continued ever since to endeavour by pious frauds to deceive, if possible, the very elect, he therefore exciteth men, of sometimes good intentions, to forge false miracles, to invalidate by that means, as far as lies in his power, those which were performed by our Saviour and his apostles. One flagrant instance of which, among many, are those cursed and hellish frauds practised by the Grecian monks of Mount Sinai, in graving impressions in the rock, of the foot of Mahomet's camel, and of the body of St. Catherine and of Moses; which would take off from the evidence which this wonderful rock of Meribah daily gives of the truth of the Mosaic history, if it was possible for the Devil to effect it. But as the marks in that stone are of such a nature, as that human art is not capable of imitating them, the finger of God sheweth its own handy-work in the supernatural fitness, which are broken deep into the solid granite in such a manner, as not possibly to have been effected by human art. To convince the reader of which, I shall here give him a copy of the description of this remarkable stone, as I find it in the Travels of Dr. Shaw and Dr. Pococke.

The description of this rock, as given us by my friend Dr. Shaw, is as follows: “After we had descended ‘‘wading in all difficulty down the western side of this mountain, we came into the other plain that is ‘‘between the two, which is Rephidim, Exod. xvii. 1. Here we still see that extraordinary antiquity, the rock ‘‘of Meribah, Exod. xvii. 6, which hath continued down to this day without the least injury from time or ‘‘corruption. It is a block of granite marble, about four yards square, lying tottering, as it were, and loose ‘‘in the middle of the valley, and seems to have formerly belonged to Mount Sinai, which hangs in a ‘‘vertical position all over this plain. ‘‘The waters which gushed out, and the stream which flowed ‘‘from it, Exod. xvii. 8, 21, have hollowed across one corner of this rock a channel about two inches deep ‘‘and two feet wide, appearing to be eroded all over like the inside of a tea-kettle that hath been long in ‘‘use. ‘‘In the hollowed channel, and in the sides of it, which are still preserved by the dew, we see all over this channel a ‘‘multitude of small holes, some of them four or five inches deep, and one or two in diameter, the lively and ‘‘evident remains of the fountains which have been formerly so many fountains. It likewise may be further observed, ‘‘that all these small holes and fountains be concerned in the contrivance; for every circumstance points out ‘‘the same purpose; and in the same manner with the rent in the rock of Mount Calvary at Jerusalem, never ‘‘fails to produce a religious surprize in all who see it.”

The account which is given by friend Dr. Pococke gives of it is this: “Here they shew the rock, which, ‘‘they say, Moses struck, and the waters flowed out, when God told him he would stand before him ‘‘in the wilderness of Sinai, which was afterwards called Massah and Meribah. It is on the foot of Mount ‘‘Sinai, and is a large stone, fifteen feet long, ten wide, and about twelve high. On both sides of ‘‘the stone, and at the top of the stone, for about the breadth of eight inches, it is discoloured ‘‘with the running of water; and all down this part on both sides, and at the top, are a ‘‘multitude of small holes, some of which resemble the lion's mouth, that is sometimes cut in stone ‘‘and sometimes not to be the work of a tool. There are about twelve on each side, and within every ‘‘one of these small holes, and in some also a crack perpendicularly down. There is also a crack from ‘‘the top of the stone, that extends two or three feet towards the north, and all round the south ‘‘side of the stone, and then round the stone of Moses.”

of a kind of brick colour, composed of red and white spots, which are both dusky in their kind; and stands by itself in the aforementioned valley as if it had grown out of the earth, on the right hand of the road towards the north-east. There remains on it to this day the lively impression of the miracle then wrought; for there are still to be seen places whence the water gushed out, six openings towards the south-west, and six others towards the north-east; and in those places where the water flowed, the clefts are still to be seen in the rock, as it were with lips.

Which, when we had attentively observed, we proceeded on our journey, going directly forward towards the north-west; and after a journey of a small half-hour reached the end of the aforesaid valley. Here we found a great plain, into which another valley opens itself, extending towards the north-east. In this great plain, towards the south-west, on a moderate rising, is situated the garden of the convent of Friars, which is guarded by the Arabs, and has a small stream of sweet water running constantly through it, and with which it is supplied; and in the said garden are nine very stately cedars, of which two exceed the rest in height, and are of a prodigious size; besides many other trees, such as apples, pears, vines, &c. The little church of St. Peter and St. Paul stands in the bottom of the garden, as also a small building belonging to the convent, which is inhabited by the Arabs who watch the garden.

In this great plain, which is on the outside of the garden, and which extends itself, as I observed before, towards the north-east, that * transaction is said to have happened which is described Numb. xvi. 32, concerning the rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, when the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up them and their families. This plain or vale is pretty near of one equal breadth. When we had travelled through it from the garden of the convent, about a small half-hour, we came to a place where the Greeks shewed us in the granite marble, which is of a brick-dust colour (as most of the neighbouring mountains are), a hole or cavity, where, they say, Aaron cast the head of the golden calf, as is described Exod. xxxii. 4, when the people gave him the golden ear-rings that were in their ears, and 'He received them at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf.' And ver. 24, Aaron is represented as excusing himself, saying, 'And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any gold, let him break it off; so they gave it me; then I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf.' This cavity is, indeed, formed in such a manner as to afford some small resemblance to the head of a calf, and hath marks in it something like horns; it is in length about two feet and a half, in breadth two feet, and in depth two. At the bottom of it is earth or sand, which seemed to me to be about three feet deep; but I cannot be positive as to that, since we neither had time nor opportunity for extracting it out of the cavity, or model, as the Greeks pretend it to be; much less could we discover any impression of a nose or mouth, or of ears or eyes; wherefore, as the holy Scriptures speak of the formation of a whole calf, and not of an head only, there seems to me to be a good deal of reason for rejecting this piece of tradition. The Greeks, however, to impose the more upon the ignorant, say, that though it rain ever so much, no water is seen to lie in this hole; they persist in this declaration, and alledge, in proof of it †,

* Here our traveller and his informers are again mistaken in the history of the transactions of the Israelites; for the rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, did not happen while Moses was upon Mount Sinai, or in the neighbourhood of it; nor till the Israelites had arrived at the foot of Mount Hor, which is quite at the other end of this promontory, and had refused to go and take possession of the land of Canaan after the return of the spies from thence, as mentioned Numb. xiv. 1, &c.

† Quotations out of the fathers for proof of a matter of fact, produced by persons who live upon the spot, seem to be an odd kind of argument. And the introduction of Pere Sicard's opinion, in opposition to this declaration of the Greeks, seems quite as odd; for they do not assert that snow will not lie there, but only that rain will not, which father Sicard's assertion does not contradict.

quartz runs out of the fissures; but Pere Claud Sicard says, that last year he found some flint actually lying in the cavity, and that it was quite filled with it; whence it is reasonable to believe, that the cause why the rain doth not lie in it, is owing to some hole at the bottom of the cavity, which emits it as fast as it enters and has passed through the sand. But that in this place, or hereabouts, the Israelites worshipped the golden calf, is somewhat probable, inasmuch as there are some rocks here twelve or fifteen feet high, upon which, when the golden calf was set up, it might easily be seen and adored by all the people who were encamped in this wide and extensive vale; and further, because this place likewise answers and is situated directly over an inlet another vale to the eastward, by which, they say, Moses descended from Mount Sinai, when he brought with him the tables of the testimony, and where, they say, it was that he broke them, when he came to the foot of the mountain.

Going on our journey through this valley, we came in a quarter of an hour, from the place distinguished by the head, to that garden which we first saw when we came into these parts: here we found a spring of fresh water, and much fruit. And now having altered our rout towards the south-east, at about the distance of a gun-shot from the garden, they shewed us a stone, about two feet high from the ground, on which are seen some unknown characters, which, however, they say, were engraved by Jeremiah the prophet in honour of Moses and Aaron, who were buried there. But this is what I give no credit to, since I find it written of the burial place * of Moses, Deut. xxxiv. 6. 'But no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.' At length, in a small half hour from hence, we arrived at the convent of Mount Sinai, making this day, from the convent of the Forty Martyrs hither, a journey of two hours and a quarter. And having finished our progress, we saw every thing that was to be seen here with the greatest satisfaction.

September 19.—The Greeks celebrated the feast of the blessed Virgin Mary. And the archbishop again officiated, clothed in his *pontificalibus*; and when mass was done, we were, as usual, conducted to the refectory, where, before dinner, we had our feet washed by some of the monks, the rest chanting their devotions during the operation. And as soon as the washing was over, every one, according to his inclination and abilities, gave for the use of the convent either one or two chequins. As for the rest of the time while we staid there, nothing remarkable happened.

October 1.—On this day we opened a chest, kept on the right hand of the presbytery, in which are preserved the relics of St. Catharine; and the principal parts they brought forth to shew us, were the skull and left hand of this saint, having the flesh and skin on it, but quite dried up, and covered with beautiful rings. After we had been favoured with this sight, we were permitted to depart. Taking leave, therefore, of the archbishop, and the rest of the monks, we came out of the convent about noon, amidst the noisy clamours of the Arabs, by the same way that we entered. When we arrived at the place of The Head, we stopped, and having pitched our tents, were forced to continue there the remainder of that day, whether we would or not; but after a great deal of bustle, we at length made our contract with the Arabs, to carry us back a better road by Tor than that which we came. Accordingly,

October 2.—We departed about two o'clock in the morning, and taking the same route by which we came, we rested, after three hours and a quarter's travelling, stopping

* As to the burial place of Aaron, it is expressly said that he died and was buried upon Mount Hor, at the farther end of this promontory from Mount Sinai. See Numb. xx. 28. xxxiii. 38. Deut. xxxii. 50. And Moses died on the top of Pisgah in the land of Moab, over against Jericho, Deut. xxxiv. 1, 5-

in a place where was good water, at no great distance from the stone * of Mahomet; and having laid in our provision of water, departed about eleven o'clock, and in about half an hour we again passed by the stone, where, as I said, Mahomet seated himself; and in another hour we entered the shady wood † before mentioned. About three o'clock we passed by a large rock ‡ on our left hand, in which, as in that other rock which Moses struck with his rod, appear from the bottom to the top openings where water hath gushed out. Which, when we had passed by, we stopped in an open plain, where we staid all night.

October 3.—About three quarters after three in the morning, we departed from this place, and at four o'clock, being about day-break, we turned out of the road by which we first came, and leaving the valley leading to Marah on the right hand, entered into a large vale between very rough mountains, commonly called Gebel Faran, our course then pointing towards the north-west. And passing through this vale by a tolerable easy descent, we found it adorned with trees and dates on both sides of us, here and there interspersed with the habitations of Arabs, and full of birds, which entertained us very agreeably with their charming notes. About three quarters after eight we passed by a place on a mountain upon our right hand, called Kabegin, which was entirely destroyed, nothing remaining of it but the ruins. And after a journey of another half hour we came to another ruined place, called Faran §, about a quarter after nine, situated likewise on our right hand. This was formerly a large city, containing many convents of the Greeks; for it was an episcopal city, under the jurisdiction of Mount Sinai, and formerly had the famous Theodorus for its bishop, who wrote against the Monothelites. But at present nothing remains except heaps of ruins of this famous city. Here we were obliged to stop, on account of the disputes between the Arabs.

In this place no one is suffered to put pen to paper, by reason of a tradition they have, that here was formerly a river ||, and that when an European was going to write down a description of it, out of indignation it sunk under ground, and has disappeared ever since. We departed from hence soon after three; and after three quarters of an hour we again

* See page 391. Sept. 12.

† This place is called Barak. See Sept. 12, p. 391.

‡ This is a very remarkable passage, it being the only place, in any book of travels, in which I have ever met with the mention of this second stone which Moses struck; though it is manifest from the Scriptures, that he struck two different stones, and at very different times. And as this is in a retired part of the wilderness, it is a wonderful confirmation of the veracity of the Mosaiical history; for which reason, independent of all curiosity, I should think it worth while to employ some person to go thither, who should be very particular in his description of it. The first stone which Moses struck is mentioned in the xviii. chapter of Exodus, to have been in the valley of Rephidim, and before the arrival of the Israelites at Mount Sinai. Whereas the second which Moses struck twice before the waters gushed out, is mentioned in the xxth chapter of Numbers as being in the wilderness of Kadesh; after the death of Miriam, and not long before the death of Aaron. So that there was about thirty-eight years distance between the one transaction and the other.

§ This should be written Paran. Which place was famous in history so long ago as in the days of Abraham; the four kings who took his nephew Lot prisoner, having first, in their passage round the Dead Sea, 'smote the Horites in their Mount Seir, or Mount Hor, unto El-Paran, which is by the wilderness.' And from hence this wilderness is frequently called the Wilderness of Paran. See note in page 390, Sept. 8.

|| This tradition is very remarkable; for as the author describes his journey from the second rock of Moses towards this place to have been through a vale by a tolerably easy descent, it is possible that this tradition may have arisen from the water which flowed out of this rock, and formed a river, which, as St. Paul describes it *, followed them during their abode in that part of the wilderness, but probably dried up soon after their departure.

* 1 Cor. x. 4.

stopped at a place called Magai, where we found good water, with which we plentifully supplied ourselves.

October 4.—We departed from hence about three quarters after four in the morning, and continuing our journey by a pretty sharp descent, got out at length from among the monstrous mountains of Gebel Faran, and came to a large plain, surrounded however with high hills, at the foot of one of which we reposed ourselves under our tents at about half an hour after ten. These hills are called Gebel el Mokatab, that is, the Written Mountains; for as soon as we had parted from the mountains of Faran, we passed by several others for an hour together, engraved with ancient unknown characters, which were cut into the hard marble rock so high as to be in some places at twelve or fourteen feet distance from the ground; and though we had in our company persons who were acquainted with the Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic, Latin, Armenian, Turkish, English, Illyrian, German, and Bohemian languages, yet none of them had any knowledge of these characters, which have nevertheless been cut into the hard rock with the greatest industry, in a place where there is neither water nor any thing to be gotten to eat. It is, probable, therefore, these unknown* characters contain some very secret mysteries, and that they were engraved either by the Chaldeans, or some other persons long before the coming of Christ. In this place, where we this day rested, there are two roads, one leading through a valley to Tor, and stretching directly westward; the other road towards the north-west, leading directly to Suefs. Here the Arabs refusing to carry us all, according to our agreement, to Tor, a violent bustle arose, till at length it was concluded we should go directly to Suefs, passing by the baths of Pharoa, of which by and by. Thus submitting, whether we would or not, to the determination of the Arabs, the day following, being

October 5.—We departed at half an hour after six, and by that road which leads north-west, proceeded towards the baths of Pharoa; and continuing our journey through these mountains, which, they say, are also written with unknown characters like the others, we stopped, at half an hour after nine, in a plain totally surrounded with mountains. After dinner we went to a neighbouring valley which lay westward, called Megena, where is a grotto cut with infinite labour in the marble rock, the entrance into which is, by the injury of time and weather, for the most part obstructed by great stones; and even the cave itself almost half filled with sand. Being obliged to use the help of candles and other lights, on our entrance we came immediately to a great hall, supported on every side by rude unfinished pillars. This grotto, we could perceive, reached a great deal further; but on account of the excessive heats, we declined exploring it on, and we found that the further we went, the more the passage was obstructed with sand. At length, we concluded that this cave was built for a burial-place† to the Egyptians. But the inhabitants of the place, as well as the Arabs, say that a certain *schiech*, called Abuzelime, dwells in it, who drinks coffee continually brought from Mecca by birds, and pounded in mortars by angels; with many other such like fables, which I do not think worth while to enumerate.

October 6.—We departed from hence at three quarters after four, and having reached

* The learned allow that the ancient Hebrew character, having been disused during the Babylonish captivity, is lost, and that it is the Chaldee character which we now use instead of it. The probability is, therefore, that these characters are the ancient Hebrew character, which the Israelites having learned to write at the time of the giving the law from Mount Sinai, diverted themselves with practising it on these mountains during their forty years abode in the wilderness.

† This supposition is, in my opinion, a little extravagant, considering the great distance this place is from Egypt. But I see no reason why it may not have been made by the Israelites during their abode in the wilderness, for some public use or other.

the top of a mountain by an easy ascent, about three quarters after seven we discovered the Red Sea lying to the west. We all, however, travelled down on foot, the descent being pretty sharp; and a little afterwards came to a plain, where we proceeded straight forward between the hills, and at ten o'clock, coming out from among the mountains towards the north-west, we approached to the sea-shore; and continuing our journey till half an hour after eleven, we then stopped, and rested ourselves in a plain at about an hour's distance from the sea. This we did on account of some fresh water we found here, of which we laid in a good quantity against our ensuing journey over the next mountains, at an hour's distance from us towards the east.

October 7.—Here we remained till after mid-day, and about two o'clock set forward, keeping upon the sea shore till about sun-set, we again left the sea, and arrived between the mountains by a tolerable easy ascent, after we had passed the mountain called Gebel el Scheitan, that is, the Mountain of the Devil; which, as it is entirely of a black colour, gives foundation for the Arabs to report, that the Devil sometimes dressed his victuals under it, by the smoke of which it acquired that blackness. They relate also another fabulous history about a head erected on high towards the entrance into the mountains, upon the left hand of the road; being a very large stone, supposed to have been the head of a sea captain, whose name was Baube, which was cut off by the Arabs, and put on the summit of that mountain, where it now remains, and that in one night's time it was turned into stone; and, they say, should any one throw it down from the place where it is fixed, it would by next day be restored to its situation. But these are the only fables of the Arabs. Proceeding on by the dusk of the evening in the forementioned valley, till three quarters after six, as it was full of trees, we rested there that night.

October 8.—We departed from hence about sun-rise, and after a journey of three hours stopped, on account of a dispute with the Arabs, whether we should go or not to the baths of Pharao. And after a quarter of an hour we again set forward, still descending a moderate hill, till we came to a place where two roads meet, one leading directly to Suefs, and the other, on the left hand, to the baths of Pharao. Here a terrible dissension arose, and the utmost confusion, some taking the route towards Suefs, and the others going towards the baths of Pharao; till at length, after a dreadful contest, those returned who had departed for Suefs, and all went on together by the valley which leads to the baths of Pharao.

Having travelled two hours we got clear of the mountains, and came near the sea, which lay to the west of us; and continuing our road towards the sea coast, after a journey of one hour we stopped. Then changing our route to the left, we travelled southwards upon the sea-shore, and came with our dromedaries to the baths of Pharao, which are about three quarters of an hour from the high road, where being arrived, we considered the place very accurately. It is at the foot of an exceeding high mountain, stretching from east to west till it terminates on the sea at about the distance of a stone's cast from it; and in this intermediate space the aforementioned mineral waters break forth and bubble up, making three distinct streams, which run into the sea, and are so hot that a man can hardly bear his hand or foot in them. These waters have a salt and sulphureous taste, and leave a yellow tinge behind on the place from whence they issue, but are otherwise in themselves very clear and pellucid. At length we came to the fountain head, where there are two caves or hollows in the mountain, which diminish regularly; that towards the left, being the largest, forms itself, as it were, into a chamber, into which, when any person enters, it raises as wonderful a sweat as if he was in a very hot bath. Hither many sick persons resort, and by sweating for forty days successively, and regular diet, and drinking the mineral water, recover their health.

The water is often sent for to Cairo, by those that cannot conveniently come to the fountain, and frequently drank at home with good success. The inhabitants of the place say, that if you put four eggs into any of the baths, three of them will be boiled, and the fourth will disappear. But this I give no credit to, unless I had seen the experiment. They are called *Hanām el Pharaone* *, that is, the baths of Pharaoh, because possibly they might formerly have been frequented by Pharaoh. Whence also the adjoining sea, which is three or four leagues broad, is called *Berke el Pharaone*, or the Lake of Pharaoh. And as it is a good station for casting anchor in, a ship happened at this very time to be riding here at anchor, waiting for a favourable wind to carry her to Gidda.

Having taken a careful view of this bath and the places about it, we departed to join the rest of our caravan, and overtook it late at night, on the sea-shore in the valley of Gorondū †, where the rivulet before-mentioned empties itself into the sea; and is here both bitter and salt, and very disagreeable to the taste. We spent in this place a very uneasy night, on account of the high wind, which drove the sand in great quantities upon us, and incommoded us very much.

Oct. 9. — About sun-rise we departed, and in our course along the sea-shore were still much disturbed by the high wind. After a journey of six hours, having left all the mountains, we travelled over several little hills and rising grounds, and rested in a place where were several tufts of green grass; and refreshing ourselves with a moderate dinner, we travelled on again for four hours and a half, till it was pretty late in the night; and, two hours before we stopped, passed a place near the sea where was a stream of excellent sweet water.

Oct. 10. — That we might get beyond Suez, we departed from hence soon after midnight; but in about two hours it became so dark, that we were forced to stop, whether we would or not, for fear of the camels falling. And at half an hour after four, it being dawn of day, we set forward again, and in seven hours came to the Wells of Moses, called *Ain el Musa* ‡. Immediately upon our arrival here, all of us who were on horseback pursued our journey, and rode on before, to provide a ship to carry us all to the other side of the gulph. After we had taken some rest, the caravan came up to us about five o'clock, by which time the ship being got ready, we went aboard with all our concerns; and when landed, lodged ourselves in our former camp § on the outside of the city of Suez. Here we found only two ships, which were to sail in two days time.

Oct. 11. — We remained in our tents at Suez, being visited by the Christians of the place, who also entertained us with an elegant supper.

Oct. 12. — This whole day we saw those Arabs passing by who are the most inveterate enemies to the Arabs of Mount Sinai. And lest we should encounter them on the road, we staid on purpose till the following day.

Oct. 13. — And now imagining that all the Arabs, who were at enmity with us were gone by, we departed from Suez; and after a journey of a good hour stopped at *Bir el Suez* ||, before described; after a moderate dinner here, we again set forward, and when we were not far distant from *Agirut* ¶ we perceived a caravan of our enemies just over against us, which we all thought had passed by long before; so that though they were going another road at the distance from us of a gun-shot, yet our Arabs nevertheless

* Hence possibly hot-baths in England are called *hummums*. See also the note, p. 390, Sept. 8. The *hummums* are so called from the sign of Houhynym of Swift. Ed.

† See Sept. 8, p. 390.

‡ See Sept. 6, p. 389.

§ See Sept. 5, p. 388.

¶ See Sept. 5, p. 388.

|| See Sept. 5, p. 389.

prepared themselves for battle, alighting from their camels, and marching on foot armed with lances, swords and guns; while four of the chief of them galloping their horses between the enemy's caravan and ours, attempted, by insulting them in this bravading manner *, to provoke them to an engagement. For though the camels of our enemy's caravan were much more numerous than ours, yet we were stronger in the number of armed men; so that they durst not attack us, but hastened their pace to pass by us: and it was not unpleasant to behold those that were in the rear galloping after the rest for fear we would take them prisoners. Soon after they were gone, we turned towards the road by which our enemies came, which was upon our right hand; and having passed Agirut upon our left hand, of which we have already spoken †, we continued our course between hills and rising grounds, interspersed here and there with tufts of green herbs, on which the camels fed, being about six Italian miles distant from the road which we passed in our former journey. At length we stopped when we were come three hours and a half from Agirut, seven hours and a half from Suez, and within sight of the mountains of Huhebi ‡, which were about a good league distant from us towards the north.

Oct. 14.—At half an hour after four in the morning we departed again from this place, and about sun-rise saw seven animals called gasell, and a good many hares feeding on the afore-mentioned green tufts. And having passed by the mountain Huhebi, at, as I said, about a league's distance, we stopped at half an hour after eleven; and at one o'clock, after dinner, we again set forward on our journey, and travelled till half an hour after five, when we stopped near a little hill.

Oct. 15.—We proceeded on our journey this morning at about half an hour after five, travelling, as before, between hills and rising grounds, and rested ourselves at half an hour after nine. And having quitted the road that leads by the village of Chanke §, we pursued our journey directly towards Cairo. For which place we set forward at half an hour after one, leaving those sandy hills || on our right hand through which we passed in our former journey. And a little before sun-set we ascended up a little hill called Daher el Homar, that is the Asses Back, from whence we got a view of the situation of Cairo, at four hours and a half distance from us; and prosecuting our journey between twilight and the light of the moon, we at length came, about nine o'clock, to the last stage, called Ukalt el Bahaar ¶, where our friends were gathered together expecting our arrival. They received us very affectionately, with singing and exultations, and embraces; and according to the custom of the Orientals, spending the night in noisy clamours, and clapping their hands.

Oct. 16.—This day we entered the city, in good health, by the port of Baab el Naafar; and I arrived at my own house: thanks be to God, who brought me thither safe from all mischief.

* Or at least to shew they were not afraid of them.

† See Sept. 5. p. 388.

§ See Sept. 2, p. 387.

¶ See Sept. 1, p. 387.

‡ See Sept. 4, p. 388.

|| See Sept. 3, p. 388.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE EAST, &c.

BY RICHARD POCOCKE, LL.D. F.R.S.*

Book the First. Of Palestine, or the Holy Land.

CHAP. I.—Of Palestine, or the Holy Land in general, and of Joppa, Rama, and Lydda.

PALESTINE consisted of the twelve tribes of Israel, and comprehended not only the land of Canaan, which lay between Jordan and the sea, and was bounded on the north by mount Libanon, and on the south by Arabia Petræa, but took in likewise the kingdoms of Bashan and of the Amorrites beyond Jordan, which fell to the lot of the Tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh.

Before this country was conquered by Joshua it consisted of several small kingdoms; and after it had been governed by judges for some time, when it was in possession of the Israelites, it was erected into a kingdom under Saul; but on the revolt of the ten tribes under Rehoboam, it was divided into two kingdoms, that of Judah, containing the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and that of Israel or Samaria of a much greater extent, which comprehended the other ten tribes.

After the captivity in Babylon the government was in the hands of the high priests until the time of Julius Cæsar, when the constitution was altered by the Romans, and Antipater shared in the government with Hyrcanus, the last high priest who enjoyed the sovereign power. Afterwards Herod, the son of Antipater, alone governed this and some other neighbouring territories under Augustus.

The Romans divided the country into several tetrarchies, under different governors, part of which were afterwards made a Roman province, and some of them were at certain times erected into a kingdom. Gabinus, also governor of Syria, divided the country into five jurisdictions, each having its court for the administration of justice. At length, the Jews being dispersed after the destruction of Jerusalem, this country was considered only as a part of a Roman province. In the division of the empire it fell to the lot of the Eastern emperors; but the Saracens over-running these parts, it remained in their hands four hundred and sixty years: it was then conquered by the Christians, when Jerusalem and the Holy Land were made a kingdom, and being in part possessed by its sovereign, and the knights of Jerusalem, it was held by them eighty eight years, and was the seat of the holy war, until it was entirely subdued by the Mahometans, in the year one thousand one hundred and eighty seven.

On the 16th of March, 1737-8, I embarked at Damiata, on board a French ship that carried the Egyptian pilgrims to Joppa, most of them being Coptis, in all about two hundred and fifty. The first land we had sight of was mount Carmel, but, the wind being contrary, we did not land at Joppa until the fourteenth, when I went to the Latin convent.

* London 1745, folio. His account of Egypt, 1743, folio, belongs to Africa.

The plates are very numerous, ill chosen, and ill executed; and have become useless since the far superior engravings published by latter travellers.

Joppa is in the tribe of Dan *, in the champain country of Saron, which extended from this place northward as far as Cæsarea. Ancient geographers seem to have mistaken in placing Joppa near the south-east corner of the Mediterranean, which, according to the sea charts, as every one may observe, is much further south, and is commonly placed to the southward of Gaza, about the ancient Raphia, at the gulph of Larissa.

Joppa is situated on the side of a low hill over the sea; there seems to have been an ancient port, which might have contained great vessels, but now large boats only can go into it. The ships ride in the open road, and are often obliged to go to sea in stormy weather.

The Latin convent, where European pilgrims are received, is said to have been the house of Simon the tanner. But the tradition is more probable, that it was on the site of an old convent, near the European burial ground, over the sea, at a place where there are tan-pits, which may have been made of late years. It was here St. Peter saw that remarkable vision, by which he was forbid to call any thing common or unclean †. All the other religions have their convents at the foot of the hill near the sea, with conveniences for receiving a great number of pilgrims, who often wait here to go with the caravan to Jerusalem before Easter, and to embark when they return.

About a mile to the east of the town, on a rising ground, are some old foundations, which they call the house of Tabitha, who was raised from the dead by St. Peter ‡, where probably there was a church dedicated to her, and the Greeks come to this place, and perform their offices on the day of her festival.

They have a great trade at Joppa in soap, which is not only made here, but likewise at Jerusalem, Rama, and Lydda, though commonly sold under the name of Joppa soap, and it is from this place that Egypt is chiefly supplied; it is made of the oil of olives and ashes. They also export great quantities of cotton in small boats to Acre, to be shipped off for other parts. They have a constant supply of good water, by digging wells close by the sea shore.

The town belongs to the Kisler-Aga, or head of the Grand Signior's black eunuchs, who sends a governor to this place, that resides in a small castle, at the south end of the town, and has a soldiery under him; but they are of little use in the country against the Arabs, because, as I was informed, if they happen to kill any one, they are obliged to pay for the blood a fine of eleven hundred pialters, which is near one hundred and fifty pounds, and sixteen changes of raiment, which the soldiers of the Grand Signior are not obliged to.

There was an opinion that Jerusalem could be seen from this place §, but it would be difficult to conceive it, as the hills between these places are considerably higher than those on which Jerusalem stands, unless they could see from the height of Joppa any of

* According to the Roman division of Palestine, it is in the tetrarchy of Judæa, which consisted of the tribes of Juda, Benjamin, Dan, and Simeon. The other parts of the division consisted of Samaria, Galilee, Peræa, Decapolis, Gaulonitis, Galaaditis, Batanea, and Auranitis. Samaria contained in it the tribes of Ephraim, Issachar, and the half tribe of Manasseh. Galilee had in it the tribes of Zabulon, Aser, and Naphthali. Peræa, on the other side of Jordan, consisted of the tribes of Gad and Reuben. Decapolis was part of the half tribe of Manasseh. Gaulonitis was to the north of it. Galaaditis was a hilly country, extending from mount Libanon, through the half tribe of Manasseh, and the tribes of Gad and Reuben. Further north in the half tribe of Manasseh was Batanea. And more northwards was Auranitis or Ituræa: Bey and this, bordering on the territory of Damascus, was Trachonitis. The country of the Philistines was to the south of Joppa, and chiefly consisted of five cities with their territories, that is, Ascalon or Ekron, Gath, Azotus or Ashdod, and Gaza, which country was given to the tribes of Dan and Simeon, but was never entirely possessed by them.

† Acts x. ‡ Acts ix. 36. § Strabo, xvi. p. 759.

the very high towers of Jerusalem; for Josephus affirms they could view the sea from the tower Psephinus, as well as the utmost extent of the Jewish dominions to the west. This place is also mentioned by the ancients, as the scene of the adventure between Andromeda and Perseus*. And the grave St. Jerom† says, that the ring to which the lady was fastened remained in the rock to his time.

I did not see Joppa till after my return, for when I went to the Latin convent the superior informed me, that a caravan was then setting out for Rama, and that the monks, who went with it, were to be at Jerusalem the next morning. So I put all my cash into the superior's hands, it being a rule never to carry any money, because, if the Arabs should chance to find it, it would often expose pilgrims to be searched, and ill used for the same end. I went with the servant of the convent out of the town, where an ass being provided for me, I was accompanied by two Arabs on horseback, and came up with the caravan that had already set out; which consisted of a few camels, about twenty asses laden, and some persons either on asses or on foot; and among the former, four of the Latin monks, to whom I made myself known. I soon found we were got into a country under the influence of the Arabs, for as our beasts (that were not easily governed) went too fast, they came often, and stopped them with the butt end of their muskets, which they not only laid on the beasts, but also on the riders, especially on the monks, who thought it policy to pretend not to understand the Arabic language, that they might not be troubled with their impertinence. After travelling three leagues, we arrived at the Latin convent in Rama, in which they are all Spaniards. The monks set out that night for Jerusalem, under the conduct of some Arabs, whom they usually employ, who furnished them with horses; but they said they heard I was a rich merchant, and demanded a very extravagant price to carry me; on which it was thought advisable that I should wait for another opportunity. During the time I stayed in the convent, the superior thought it proper I should not stir out, or be so much as seen from the terrace on the top of the house, that the Arabs might not know that a Frank was there.

Rama, in the tribe of Ephraim, called by the Arabs Rameli, is situated in a rich plain, and is supposed to be the Arimathæa of Joseph. The monks have a notion that the house of Nicodemus stood on the spot of the small old chapel in their convent; and that he made that famous crucifix here which is at Lucca, and is commonly called *Volto Santo*. This convent is said to have been founded by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy.

There were two churches at Rama, which are now converted into mosques, in one it is said some of the bodies of the martyrs of Sebaste in Armenia were deposited: near the tower of that church is a large building, supported by pillars, which is thought to be the remains of a monastery. Near the Latin burial place, there is a large cistern or vault under ground, which has always plenty of good water in it: the root of the tamarisk tree growing into it, the waters are esteemed good for the dropsy. There are great ruins of houses in this place, so that it seems formerly to have been a much more considerable town than it is at present; and it is probable that it flourished during the time of the holy war. The Greeks and Armenians have convents here, and there are commonly three or four French factors, who reside in this place, to buy up cotton, and send it to Joppa. The Arabs are so troublesome in these parts, that sometimes they rob the people even in their gardens.

* Strabo, *ibid.* Josephus, iii. p. 29. † Hic locus est quo usque hodie saxa monstrantur in littore, in quibus Andromeda religata, Persei quondam sit liberata præsidio. *Comment. Hieronymi in Jonæ prophetæ, cap. 1.*

About a league to the east-north-east in this plain is Lydda, where St. Peter cured Æneas of the palsy *. I went to it in my return ; it is said to have been destroyed by Cestius in the beginning of the Jewish war, and when rebuilt it was called Diospolis. It is now only a poor village, but the stones that are seen in the modern buildings shew, that it has been a place of some consequence. There are remains here of a very fine church, built by the emperor Justinian, and though some later writers say, it was the work of a king of England, yet from the architecture that remains, it may be concluded, that it could only be repaired by one of them, probably by Richard the first, when he was in Palestine, during the time of the holy war. This building is of hewn stone, both within and without, and of excellent masonry. The Greeks have the east part of the ruined church, which is uncovered, except that the arch remains over the high altar, which being a pointed arch, after the Gothic style, doubtless was built when the church was repaired ; the Turks have turned the west end into a mosque, having a great veneration for St. George. They have some legend that he was of this place, and suffered here as a confessor by scourging, and some say died in this place as a martyr, of which particulars there seems to be no account that can be depended on.

All this country is a very rich soil, and throws up a great quantity of herbage. I observed chardons growing very rank, also rue, fennel, and the striped thistle, which, probably, on this account, has been called the holy thistle ; they say also there are a great variety of anemonies. I saw likewise many tulips growing wild in the fields, and any one who considers how beautiful those flowers are to the eye, would be apt to conjecture that these are the lilies to which Solomon in all his glory, was not to be compared.

On the seventeenth the great caravan of pilgrims came from Joppa to Rama, in their way to Jerusalem, under the conduct of the governor of that city. The Latin monks neither go themselves, nor send others with it, because some Europeans have formerly been taken out of the caravans by the Arabs, and detained by them in their villages and tents, till the Latin fathers have sent money to ransom them ; so that now they always travel under the conduct of Arabs, having generally some of known fidelity, who serve them on these occasions. It was thought the roads would be more secure about the time when the great caravan was passing ; so in the evening every thing was prepared for my departure. And as soon as it was dark I set out for Jerusalem, under the conduct of an Arab on horseback, and his servant on foot. He led me two or three miles to his tent, not much out of the road, where there was an encampment of Arabs. I sat round a fire in the tent with his wife and others. For the Arabs are not so scrupulous as the Turks about their women, and though they have the harem, or womens part of the tent, yet such as they are acquainted with come into them ; they brought me bread and coffee, and after a while signified that I might go to sleep on the carpet. For I understood that we should depart in an hour or two, so as that we might be at Jerusalem before it was day. I fell asleep, but when I awaked, and saw the daylight, I began to be very uneasy. However, coffee was prepared, and the Arab went out, as I supposed, to get the horses ; but as it was two or three hours before he returned, I began to be very apprehensive what they might design to do with me ; but when he came in he endeavoured to make me understand that we should depart at night, which gave me some satisfaction, though I doubted whether he was entirely to be depended on. And I lay under greater difficulties, as, in this journey, for

certain reasons, I did not take my interpreter with me. However, they entertained me as well as they could, made cakes which were four, and brought fine oil of olives, in which they usually dip their bread, and perceiving I did not like it, they served up some four buttermilk, and every meal was closed with coffee. I was kept in the harem for greater security, the wife being always with me, no strangers ever daring to come into the womens apartment, unless they are introduced. Several women came to look at me, and some men. In the afternoon the Arab, putting his striped garment upon me, took me out to walk with him in the fields, and, as a mark of his civility, cut off the tender shoots of wild fennel, and gave them me to eat. However, as soon as it was dark, we set out as before, and, when we came to Jerusalem, he said, that coming out of Joppa he was informed that some of his enemies were there, and he was afraid they might have laid wait for us; so to be secure he conducted me to his tent, and when he had me out, did not care to carry me back to the convent again. It is certain this is thought to be one of the most dangerous roads in Turkey, and accordingly in the plain he conducted me, not by the high road, but through the fields, and I observed, that he avoided as much as he could going near any villages or encampments, and sometimes stood still, as I thought, to hearken, and would often stop, and, as I imagined, called his servant to be near him, and ready to give him his pike.

We had travelled, as I conjectured, about six miles in the plain, crossed the dry bed of a winter torrent, and ascended the hills to the north. This probably is the rivulet, called by the writers of the holy war the river of Rama, and may be the same as Gaash*, mentioned in the holy scripture, and probably is that river which Reland supposes to fall into the sea, about half a league north of Joppa; we ascended the hill, and coming to a narrow pass, I observed a square building of hewn stone to the left, and, opposite to it, on the other side of the hill, a large ruined building over a precipice. This seems to be what is commonly called the castle of the good thief, where they say he was born and lived, and, I suppose, is the same place that the Arab shewed me at a distance in my return from Jerusalem by another road, and told me it was called Ladrour. From the account that travellers give, the building to the left seems to be the mosque, which, they say, was a church dedicated to the seven Maccabees, where some also affirm, that they were buried, but without reason, Modin, the place of their birth and interment, being in the tribe of Dan. On the top of the hill we passed through a ruinous village; here the Arab seemed to be under some apprehensions, and I observed that he rid with his pike poised, so as to be ready in case of any attack. We descended the hill, having a narrow valley to the south, and observed a small stream running down the side of it into a large cistern. We ascended another hill on the south side of the valley, and went along a plain road with hills on each side; I did not see a place which is called Jeremiah, where they say there are ruins of a church, and some think that it probably may be Anathoth, where that prophet was born. Going on I saw a mosque on a high hill, which afterwards I had reason to think was Rama, where Samuel was buried. We descended the rocky hills, and passed by the end of a valley, which had high hills on each side of it. This I had afterwards reason to conclude to be the valley of Lesca. We ascended a little way, and passing by a ruin to the right, came to the top of a low hill, from which we descended into the plain country which is near Jerusalem. I saw many ruins on each side of the road; and we arrived at the gate of Jerusalem near two hours before day.

* 2 Sam. xxiii. 30. 1 Chron. xi. 32. It is probable that these brooks rise about Mount Gaash, which was to the south of Timnath-terah, where Joshua was buried. Jos. xxiv. 30. Jud. ii. 9.

The Arab would have left me, but I made signs to him not to go, and as it rained I stood and rested myself against a tree, and slept, being much fatigued; but if he had left me, I should have run a great risque of being stript, for people came to the gate before it was open. As soon as we could go in, the Arab left me with the keeper of the gate, and called the Dragoman or interpreter of the convent; whilst he was gone I had been insulted by the boy that belonged to the gate, who demanded money of me, and snatched my handkerchief from me as a pledge; but the man into whose hands he put it, returned it to me, when the interpreter came, who shewed me the way to the convent.

CHAP. II.—*Of Jerusalem, and of Mount Sion in particular.*

IT is doubted by some whether Salem, mentioned in the history of Abraham, was situated where Jerusalem now stands; however, it is certain this city was called Jebus, when the Israelites conquered it. The present name is thought to signify the inheritance of peace. After it was destroyed by the Romans it was called *Ælia*, but it soon recovered the old name, which was always retained among christians. The Arabs call it *Kudes-Sheriff*, that is, The holy and noble.

This city stands at the south-end of a large plain that extends northwards towards Samaria, and has vallies on the other three sides, which to the east and south are very deep. The former is called the valley of Jehosophat, the latter the valley of Siloe and Gehinnom; the whole also seems to have been sometimes called the valley of Jehosophat, and then Siloe and Gehinnom must be considered as only particular parts of it. The valley of Rephaim on the west is not so deep; the hills on the other side of these valleys are higher than Jerusalem.

The city in its greatest extent consisted of four hills, Sion to the south and west*, Moria to the east, Acra to the east and west, extending the whole breadth of the city, and Bezetha to the north: it was above four miles in circumference, but now it does not exceed two miles and a half.

Josephus says, it was defended by three walls, where there were no valleys; Mount Sion was entirely encompassed with one wall; Mount Acra had probably a wall every way but to the south, where it joined to Sion and Moriah, and so also had Bezetha; the court of the temple also was encompassed with walls.

The old city stood on Mount Sion, which is Jebus, and was the highest hill. The south part of it is now without the walls: it is bounded to the south and west by a deep valley; to the east it was separated from Mount Moriah by the valley of Milo, called by Josephus Tyropeion, or the place of the cheesemongers. The bazars or shops are at present in this valley, and the quarter of the Jews with their seven synagogues. To the north it was bounded by the valley of carcases, which lies between it and Mount Calvary; Mount Gihon also probably might join to it towards the north-west corner, but it seems to have been left without the city by reason that the natural situation of it is weak to the west, where the valley is very shallow.

Herod built three towers on the north side of Sion, and gave them the names of Hippicus, Phaelus, and Marianne. The tower Hippicus was at the north-west corner, which might be where Nehemiah † mentions the tower that lieth out over-against the king's high house, that was by the court of the prison in which Jeremiah was confined;

* Mount Calvary and Gihon, and the Valley of carcases, being mentioned as north of Mount Sion, and without the city, has made some people conclude that Mount Sion was to the north of the city.

† Nehemiah iii.

the castle, which is now called the tower of David, seems to stand on this spot, and is said to have been built by the Pisans in the time of the holy war. The tower Phasaelus was about the north-east corner, and might be where the tower of Furnaces stood, which is spoken of by Nehemiah; and Mariamne, which was between them, might be either the tower of Meah, or that of Hananiel, mentioned by him, all which we may suppose were rebuilt by Herod in a stronger manner.

There were several gates to Mount Sion; that of the Essenes, mentioned by Josephus, seems to have been to the west, probably in that part which at present is not enclosed. The gate of David, which may be the same as that of the merchants, and the fish gate, seems to be what is now called the gate of Bethlehem, at the north-west corner of the old city; it may be also the gate of Gennath of Josephus, or the gate of the gardens. The horse gate, from Nehemiah's description, was probably about this part, or on the north side, and might be so called from the horses being led out of it to be watered, it may be, to the pool of Gihon. The gate Miphkad also of Nehemiah, seems to have been to the north; afterwards he mentions the turning of the corner, which might not be one of the principal corners of the city, but the angle made in the wall to the south of Mount Calvary. Near this was the sheep gate, which may be what is now called the iron gate, beyond which was the old gate. The gate of the valley must have been at the south end of the valley of Millo. The dung gate I should imagine was on the east side of Sion leading to Millo, by which, without doubt, they carried the dung down to the valley. The gate of the fountain seems to have been that at the south end of the vale of Millo, leading down to Siloe and the valley of Jehosaphat. The gate of Sion, if distinct from any of these, might be about the south part of the hill, leading to the highest and strongest part of it, which was the citadel, and was the last place that was taken by Titus.

Within the present walls of Mount Sion, going from the tower of David to the east, are the following remarkable places; first on the left, the spot where they say Christ met the three Mary's, and then turning to the left is the house of St. Thomas, near that is the beautiful church of St. James, in which they shew the place where he was beheaded; it belongs to the Armenians, who have there a large convent for the reception of strangers; they also give an account of two stones in it, one brought from Mount Sinai, against which, they say, Moses broke the tables of the law, and the other from that part of the river of Jordan where our Saviour was baptized. A little further is the house of Annas the high priest, called the church of the olive, because they affirm that the olive-tree is in the court, to which our Saviour was tied when he was brought before Annas; here also they are pleased to shew a stone, which they say, spoke on that occasion. Returning to the street in which the house of St. Thomas stands, and turning down to the left hand towards the iron gate, one comes to the church of the Syrians, which was the house of Mary the mother of Mark to which St. Peter went when he was delivered out of prison. At the south-west end of Mount Sion without the present walls, are the burial places of the christians, and it is probable that the bodies of St. Stephen, Nicodemus, Gamaliel, and his sons, were removed to this place from the valley of Jehosaphat by the emperor Honorius. A little further is the house of Caiphas, to which our Saviour was carried to appear before the high priest; it is near the Armenian convent. Not far from this, they shew a place, where it is said, the Jews would have thrown down the corpse of the blessed virgin Mary, as they were carrying it to be buried, and further is the place where St. Peter wept, and towards the south brow of the hill is a mosque, where Christ eat the passover with his disciples. Near unto it is the sepulchre of David, over which there is now a mosque, which

which christians are not permitted to see; and they shew near this place, where the disciples separated to preach the gospel throughout the world.

There were also several remarkable things on Mount Sion, of which there are no remains; as the garden of the kings near the pool of Siloam, where Manasseh and Amon, kings of Judah, were buried, and it is probable this was the fixed burial place of the kings, it being the ancient eastern custom to bury in their own houses or gardens. There are no signs of the two most beautiful palaces built by Herod, which were called after the names of Cæsar and Agrippa, nor of the house of St. John, where the blessed virgin lived with him, and where she died, together with several other places mentioned by Nehemiah, and others; such as the king's armory, the house of the mighty, which was probably designed for training up young persons to the war, the upper market, and the stairs that went down from the city of David, as may be supposed to the valley of the pool of Siloe. The vale to the north of Mount Sion, I take to be chiefly about the place where the street of the pool now is, which is on the right hand of the street of the Latin convent, that leads to the holy sepulchre. This vale extends also eastward to the shops in the quarter about the hospital of St. Helena, having Mount Calvary to the north-west, and Mount Acra to the north-east. The first thing observable in that street of the pool *, is the pool behind the houses to the right; I descended to it by thirteen steps, and found it to be about a hundred paces long and sixty broad; they told me it was called the lower pool; the water that is in it seems to depend on the rains, and is not drinkable; possibly it may be what is called the old pool, from which there was a stream run through all the city into the brook Kedron. Further on is the church of St. John and St. James, belonging to the Greeks, where it is said those apostles were born; near this, on the left, are remains of a wall built of very large stones, and a little further is the iron grate. Returning back and going to the south of the holy sepulchre, I saw what remains of Mount Calvary, without the church, which seemed to be about the same height of that within it, and going eastward we passed by the place on the left in which St. Peter was imprisoned, where there was formerly a church. Making two or three turnings, but going mostly to the east, we passed by the end of three streets of shops, extending to the south, and came by an ascent to the hospital of St. Helena on the right, and to the left a cistern, called by her name, and said to be built by her, both which, though probably on the foot of Mount Acra, I shall describe in this place. This cistern is a very large vault to receive water, which was doubtless made under some antient buildings, as there are such cisterns under most of the houses in Jerusalem for this purpose. The hospital of St. Helena is a magnificent fabric, the gates are built with a tier of white marble, and a tier of red alternately, having sheets of lead placed between the stones; the kitchen, and a large room, said to have been used for the reception of the poor, are very magnificent; but it is probable this building belonged to the knights of Jerusalem, and that it was called the hospital, because the Turks use the kitchen for boiling meat which is distributed to the poor; and so the fathers have given it the name of the hospital of St. Helena. The other large room is made use of as a stable. The streets before mentioned, which are to the south of this rising ground, seem to be the valley north of Mount Sion, extending south of this hospital which is to the east, and joins to the eastern valley of Millo, which we may suppose was bounded to the east by Mount Moriah, about the street which goes from the house of the rich man, along by the west side of the court of the temple, to which I observed several entrances from the street. At the corner

* Called the street of the Piscina, which is the Latin and Italian word for a pool.

of the street which leads to the first entrance is a conduit, supplied by Solomon's aqueduct; near this, I suppose, was the south-west corner of Mount Acra; the second entrance from that place to the south is what they call the beautiful gate of the temple. All this street consists of shops, and is arched over, and that part of it which is to the east of Mount Acra, as well as the streets to the west and south, seem to be the valley of Millo, extending all down the hill to the south as far as the pool of Siloe. The quarter of the Jews, and their seven poor synagogues being, if I mistake not, under the north-east corner of Mount Sion.

The Latin convent is thought to have been on Mount Gihon, though some seem to speak of that hill as beyond the pool of Gihon. From this monastery there is a descent to the street of the pool that turns to the right, out of which the first street to the left leads to the church of the sepulchre, and about this part mount Calvary must begin; which might be a part of Mount Gihon. Keeping on the first-mentioned street from the Latin convent, there is still a descent, which, I imagine, must be the foot of Mount Acra, extending to the hospital; and that the gate of judgment led into that part of the city from Mount Calvary, and may have had its name from the council house which is mentioned about this quarter by Josephus.

As I have mentioned the Latin convent, I shall give an account how European pilgrims are received in it. When they first arrive at the gate of Jerusalem, they send to the Latin convent, and the interpreter of the monks comes and conducts them to the monastery, where there is a building appropriated to European pilgrims, and it is the office of one of the lay-brothers to take care of them, they may also hire a servant in order to have the better attendance; the lay-brother takes care that they are served with whatever they want, and goes always out with them. If there happen to be two or three, and there are seldom more, they commonly make their visits together: when I was there at Easter, there was only a lay-jesuit from Aleppo, a Hamburger arrived afterwards, and then a Ragusean captain of a ship. Those of condition always make a present on their departure to the value of about six pounds. But there is generally a great number of the eastern catholics to be maintained there gratis; such as the Maronites, and those Copts, Greeks and Armenians, who acknowledge the pope; for these they prepare a house, and send them provisions from time to time. The European pilgrims dine and sup in the refectory with the monks, where some of them read all the time in books of devotion; they are well served with three or four plates, and have excellent white wine of their own making. On festivals the priests and strangers go to the guardians apartments after dinner, and drink coffee; he has the title of most reverend, and all the honour of a bishop, when he celebrates, in the manner of mitred abbots, and is nominated by the general of the order once in three years, commonly returning to Europe when his office is expired. He has also full power from the pope, and, if I mistake not, must be always an Italian. He has a vicar, who governs in his absence, and must be a Frenchman. The procurator has the care of the temporals of the convent, and is always a Spaniard, and has a deputy of his own country, who bears the weight of his office; they have also a secretary, and these make up their chapter or meeting for the government of all their affairs; they send also procurators into all parts of Europe to collect the charity which supports them, particularly to Spain, where they say every body must leave them something in their wills, and this is commonly brought to them once a year in specie. They have about ten convents in Palestine and Syria, three in Egypt, under a vice prefect, one at Cyprus, and another at Constantinople. They have a very considerable revenue, but are obliged to be at great charges here in presents to the governor for their protection. On a tumult that
rose

rose against them, not long before I was there, the governor promised to protect them, if they would pay for thirty soldiers extraordinary, which is become an annual charge to them; not to mention the expences which they are at in all their convents, in presents to the great men, as well as in the support of their houses. At Jerusalein they happened to be under a good governor, but sometimes they have not been able to go out of the walls without danger.

The ceremony of washing the feet of the pilgrims is an honour which they do all Europeans, unless they happen to be very inferior persons, who are not of their church. The function is very particular. The pilgrim is informed that this office is to be performed, and a servant brings warm water to his room, and washes his feet. The pilgrim then goes into the chapel, having his white scull-cap on his head. The guardian comes to his seat in the church, and the pilgrim is placed in a great chair at the lower end of it, with his face to the north. The guardian has a silk cordon put about his neck, and girding himself with a towel or short apron, kneels down before the pilgrim, on a white satin cushion, a priest kneeling on each side of him, who put the pilgrim's feet into a cistern of warm water, with dried rose-leaves in it. The guardian first takes the left foot, and washing it with both his hands, wipes it clean, and kisses it, and the right foot in the same manner; then setting up his left knee, he puts the right foot on it, wipes it, and covers the lower part with anapkin, which he holds on it; the father, who is on the pilgrim's right hand, covers his garments with a towel, and in that manner holds them above the instep, and all the members of the convent come one after another, kneel down, and first kiss the guardian's hand, and then the instep of the pilgrim. The guardian puts a lighted wax candle into the pilgrim's hand; then all, except the guardian, with lighted tapers, go in procession to the high altar, the pilgrim following, where he kneels before the altar, whilst an anthem and other devotions are sung with the organ, and eight singing boys. Afterwards the procession goes to the two other altars, and then again to the high altar, where the pilgrim is incensed, and coming down to the lower end of the church, he puts out his candle, and the litany is said. At supper the pilgrim is first served with a dish extraordinary, and afterwards the guardian, which is carried to none of the rest. There is also a form of prayer to be said on the departure of a pilgrim, but, I suppose, it is never used for those of a different church.

CHAP. III.—Of Mount Acra and Mount Moriah.

THE city on the two hills Acra and Moriah, was called the lower city, and also the daughter of Sion, so often mentioned in scripture. Mount Acra seems to have had two small summits, one to the west towards Gihon, and the other to the east about the part which is north of mount Moriah, and seems to have been occupied by the tower or castle of Antony. But Simon the Macchabee, high priest, endeavoured to level Acra, that it might not command the temple. There was a gate to the north part of the city called the gate of Ephraim, which was probably about the same place where the Damascus gate now is. The gate of Herod is near his palace, and the prison and grot of Jeremiah are to the north of the valley. The gate of judgment, already mentioned, might have its name either from being near the council-house, or because the council-chamber was over it, which is spoken of by Josephus in this part.

Most of the places, mentioned in our Saviour's way from the house of Pilate to Calvary, were about mount Acra, or on the borders of mount Moriah. The house of Pilate, which is the residence of the present governor, overlooks the court of the temple,

temple, and commands a fine view of the area and mosque. The present ascent to this house is the spot from which they say the Scala Santa, or the holy flight of stairs at Rome was taken, being about twenty paces in length. Entering this place, on the right is the apartment in which Christ was arraigned. To the east of this is the room in which sentence was given against him, which looks into the court of the temple: further to the left is a stable where he was scourged; and going out of this house towards mount Calvary, the first place is the arch, called *Ecce homo*, where it is said Pilate shewed him to the people; this arch appears like an old gateway. The next place is, that where the blessed virgin met Christ after he had turned to the left, where he sunk under the cross at the sight of her, when they compelled Simon the Cyrenian to bear it. At this place there is a bagnio, on the spot where there formerly stood a church. About this turning Christ saw the women weeping, and exhorted them not to weep for him. At the turning to the right, up the street that leads to the convent, they shewed the house of Lazarus; and a little further, at the end of the street, which is to the west of the temple, the palace of the rich man. Turning to the left, up the street that leads to the Latin convent, they shew the place, on the right hand where St. Veronica gave her handkerchief to wipe his face, which, they say, left the impression on it; and that it is kept at this time in St. Peter's church at Rome. A little further is the gate of judgment, and beyond that a gate now stopped up, by which pilgrims used to go in the same way our Saviour went to Calvary; so that now the remaining part of this way to mount Calvary being built on, is not to be seen, except what is shewn within the church. Returning to the arch on which Christ was shewn to the people, between that and the house of Pilate, is a way to the left, leading to the house of Herod, where in a large room, which is now a stable, they say Jesus was clothed in purple, and sent to Pilate. Beyond the house of Pilate, going towards the gate of St. Stephen, are three entrances to the right into the court of the temple. Opposite to the first is a building called the tower of Antony. At the south east corner of it is a small turret, and the tower itself is built of large stones rusticated. This probably was the south west tower of that castle, which was first built by the Macchabees, and very much improved by Herod, in order to be a check on the citizens of Jerusalem, who gave it that name in compliment to Mark Antony the triumvir: for this place very well agrees with the situation described by the historians, that it was to the north of the temple, and commanded a view of it; it seems to have extended to the north as far as Bezetha; for it is said there was a deep fosse between it and that part of the city; and I saw to the east of the Damascus gate a fosse cut into the rock, which they now fill up with the rubbish of the city.

To the north east of Herod's palace there is a mosque, which was formerly a church; it is built on the spot where the house of Simon the Pharisee stood, in which Mary Magdalen wiped our Saviour's feet with her hair. And east of that is the house of St. Ann, the mother of the blessed virgin, where it is said the virgin was born; it was a nunnery; and the grot under the church is said to be the very place of the blessed virgin's nativity.

It is not easy to determine whether mount Moriah took its name from the land to which God directed Abraham to go in order to sacrifice his son, or whether this was actually the mountain on which he was ready to obey the divine command. This hill was to the east of mount Sion, the broad valley of Millo being between them, over which there was a bridge that joined the two mountains. The valley of Jehosophat was to the east of it, and mount Acra to the north. Mount Moriah, which was a rock, seems to have been chiefly taken up by the Temple, and Solomon's house to the

the south of it. The temple was built on the spot of the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite, where the plague was stayed; and upon that account it was purchased by David to build an altar on. The buildings that belonged to the temple extended half a quarter of a mile every way, and by pacing the ground, I found it to be about that breadth from east to west; but there were a great number of steps all round, by which they ascended to the plain area, on which the temple itself was built. The whole was supported by walls and buttresses towards the valleys, especially over the deep valley to the east. First, there were several steps up to the court of the Gentiles, which is supposed to have had a colonade or portico all round, and was about forty five feet broad. There was a second ascent of fourteen steps to such another court, called the court of the Jews, which was much finer than the other, and none but Jews could enter into it, and they were obliged to be first purified according to the law. It is probable that there were other steps up to the court of the priests; so that the ascent round must have been considerable, whereas now this hill is near on a level with the rest of the city, occasioned probably by filling up the valleys, and also by levelling the top of this hill, which seems to have been the work of Hadrian: for when the Jews attempted to rebuild the temple, that emperor threw all the ruins of this great building into the valley, and planted a grove, which he consecrated to Jupiter. When Christianity prevailed, a church was built on this spot. It is said, that the Jews were miraculously hindered from rebuilding the Temple, when Julian the apostate encouraged them to it, in order to prove that text of Scripture to be false, 'that one stone should not be left on another' of that Jewish temple; but the Christians built a church on this spot, which the Saracens, under Omar, converted into a mosque; and when Jerusalem was taken in the holy war, it was again made a place of Christian worship. At present there is a beautiful octagon mosque in the middle of the court, covered with a dome. This mosque has a beautiful appearance, the outside of it being cased with tiles of different colours, but chiefly green, and they say it is the same within. Towards the south east corner of the area is a mosque, which is an oblong square. Part of it is covered with a dome, which was the church of the purification, and stands north and south; it is said to have belonged to a nunnery. I went through a garden without the walls to the south end of this building, in which there are eight or nine tiers of very large stones, and so there are to the west, under a noble building of hewn stone which might be part of the nunnery; there are also some remains to the east. Formerly there was a way to some vaults under these buildings, which has been stopped up. The building to the south was probably the spot where the house of Solomon stood. There seems to have been a deep fosse to the north of mount Moriah, the east part of which is still to be seen, and is called by the monks the pool of Bethesda. At the east end of it, at the entrance to the court of the temple, are remains of some buildings, of very large hewn stone, particularly an entablature in a good taste, which may be part of an entrance that Hadrian might have made to his new grove. If this fosse was carried all along to the north of mount Moriah, it must have passed where the house of Pilate is now shewn, which part might be filled up with the ruins of the temple. If the Christians, when they had possession of Jerusalem, had dug here, and in other parts, especially to the east of the temple, and the south of mount Sion, they might, without doubt, have found great remains of the materials of the temple, and of the palaces on mount Sion; and probably have been able to have passed some judgment on the architecture of them. This fosse does not seem to be the pool of Bethesda, which by all accounts must have been to the south, or about the south west corner of mount Moriah. In St. Jerom's time there were two pools, one filled by the

rain, the other was a reddish water, as if it retained the colour of the sacrifices washed in it; and I suppose it was about the gardens to the south of the church of the purification, which is within the site of the court of the temple; and the quarter called Ophel was also probably in this part of the city. For it was at the south corner of the temple where the Nethinims lived, who had the care of the sacrifices, and might extend to the north part of the hill or valley.

CHAP. IV. — *Of Mount Calvary.*

IF we suppose the hill towards the north west corner of the present city to be Gihon, where Solomon was anointed, on which the Latin convent now stands; it is in this case probable that Calvary or Golgotha was a part of it, that is a summit of the hill, towards the south east: It was the place where malefactors were usually executed.

The empress Helena, having, as it is said, found the cross here, built this magnificent church over the holy sepulchre. The roof was of cypress, and the king of Spain giving a new one, what remained of the old roof was preserved as reliques, and they make beads of it to this day. There is a hole in the top of the dome to give light, as in the pantheon at Rome. The gallery above is about three fourths of a circle, the opening to the Greek choir, being the other part of the circle. The greater part of the gallery belongs to the Latins, and they have an entrance to it from their convent. The part of the church under the gallery is enclosed, and belongs to the people of several religions.

The Latin fathers have a treasury of plate, and other curious things, in the church, but they never open it, lest it should tempt the Turks at any time to seize on their riches; they have a very fine sett of new gilt plate for the altar, the present of the king of France. But the Greeks shew whatever they have, at the east end of their great church, particularly a large chalice of gold, the present of a prince of Georgia, many vestments adorned with pearls, and a great number of vessels of silver gilt, mostly of Gothic workmanship.

Having described the holy sepulchre, and the church that is built over it, I shall give an account of the ceremonies I saw in this church; and of the manner in which I visited this and several other places. I arrived at Jerusalem, as mentioned before, on the 19th of March, which happened to be Palm-sunday of the Latins, and I went that morning into the church of the holy sepulchre to see their ceremonies. The guardian was habited pontifically in rich vestments, presented by the late emperor. A canopy was erected over the door, and a chair was placed under it, in which the guardian sat, and performed some offices, and afterwards went into the holy sepulchre to bless the palm-branches laid on it: when he came out he sat down again in the chair, and they put the palm branches into his hand; first one for himself; and the rest being given him one by one, he distributed them to all the congregation, who took them kneeling, and kissed his hand; the priests then went round the holy sepulchre three times, with the palm branches in their hands, and singing an anthem, concluded by going in like manner to the stone of unction.

On the 22d, being Wednesday in passion week, I visited the places which our Saviour passed in the way to Calvary, and went through the valley to the east and south of Jerusalem, and part of the western valley; and in the afternoon we all went into the church of the holy sepulchre, and the doors were kept locked till Friday.

Within the church there is a small convent belonging to the Latins, to which there is no entrance but by the church; and here we took up our abode. On the 2d the

guardian on his knees performed the ceremony of washing the feet of twelve priests, who were seated before the door of the holy sepulchre, and he gave a cross into the hands of each of them. I saw this ceremony performed the week following by the Armenians and Greeks. At the Armenian convent the bishop was girded with a blue towel, and kneeled within a rail, the priest sitting in a great chair without it, and putting his feet into a basin within the rail, the bishop washed his feet with the towel, and rubbed them with sweet pomatum. The Greek ceremony was more extraordinary; it was performed on the stairs on the outside of the church of the holy sepulchre, that leads to the chapel of the blessed virgin, where she stood to see Christ crucified. The bishop went to the top of the stairs, and the twelve priests stood on each side of them. After the bishop had used some form of devotion, he was unrobed, and had a towel tied a-cross from each shoulder, and a silk towel round his middle. He then went to the bottom of the stairs, and a large basin of silver gilt, with water in it boiled on sweet herbs, being held under the feet of the priest, and one pouring water on them out of an ewer, the bishop with his hands washed the feet, wiped and kissed them, the priest at the same time kissing the ear of the bishop: the uppermost priest representing Peter, made a speech that he should not wash his feet; which being answered by the bishop, he submitted to have that honour done to him. The basin then being brought up to the bishop, he often dipped a large lettuce into it, and several times sprinkled all the people; then the water was thrown on them, and they crowded to wipe the vase with their handkerchiefs, and went so far as to take the herbs out of the caldron in which the water was boiled.

On the twenty-fourth, which was Good-friday, the Latins performed their discipline in an enclosed part of the gallery, early in the morning, before it was light; and they eat late in the same place on their knees, having nothing but bread, raw onions, and water. In the evening their procession began to the chapel of the sacrament, where one of the monks preached in Italian; then going on to the chapel where they divided Christ's garments, a French sermon was preached there. A Spaniard harangued in his native tongue at the pillar of reproach, and a French sermon was preached at the place where Christ was nailed to the cross. At the place of the crucifixion an Italian sermon was preached, and two monks performed the ceremony of taking the small statue of Christ from the cross; and as they took out the nails shewed them to the people, who at the sight of them beat their breasts. The statue being wrapped up in a white sheet, was carried by four of them to the stone of unction, where it was anointed and perfumed; and this being opposite to the great door, where the Mahometans on the outside might hear the sermon, one of them preached in Arabick. The statue was then carried and laid in the sepulchre, and the people were harangued in Spanish, and so the ceremony concluded about eleven o'clock.

On Easter eve, the twenty-fourth, the door of the church was opened, as it was the day before, for all persons to come in; but the Turks insisted on having some gratuity from every one that entered. The Latins celebrated the mass of the resurrection, and at Gloria in excelsis, a cover was let down, and the tapestry on the front of the holy sepulchre appeared, representing the resurrection. We were released from our confinement, but returned the next day, which was Easter-sunday, when the Latins celebrated their offices; and the whole body clothed in rich vestments, with candles in their hands, went in procession three times round the holy sepulchre, three silver crosses being carried before them, and certain offices were read at a desk on each side of the sepulchre. As it was the Palm-sunday of the oriental churches, they performed their

ceremonies of distributing the palm branches, and severally went in procession round the sepulchre; that of the Armenians being the most grand and solemn.

On the thirtieth, we went to see several things in the city, as the beautiful gate of the temple; the hospital of saint Helena; and the Greek convent adjoining to the church of the holy sepulchre; they shew there in a chapel the very place where, they say, Isaac was offered; we went by the iron gate to saint James's church of the Armenians, and to all that quarter. On the second of April we visited Jeremiah's prison and grot, and what are called the sepulchres of the kings to the north. On the thirteenth we saw the part of mount Sion without the walls, and the south end of the old temple, near the church of the purification that belonged to the old nunnery. On the fourteenth we visited all the places about the mount of Olives, Bethany, and Bethphage. On the sixteenth we went out with the sheik of Siloe up to the mount of Olives, the place of the ascension, and saw the village of Siloe, and mountain of offence, and returned by the western valley. On the seventeenth we took another view of the vale of Jehosaphat. And on the twentieth traced the old walls to the north, and reviewed the places that way; and it will appear in the following account, how the rest of the time was spent in seeing the places at some distance from Jerusalem.

CHAP. V. — *Of the quarter in Jerusalem called Bezetha, and of the Sepulchres called the Sepulchres of the Kings.*

THE fourth part of the city, called Bezetha, was a suburb to the north, inhabited by the lower sort of people, and it was encompassed with a slight wall before the time of Agrippa; but he begun to make it very strong, and it was finished by the Jews. This was called the first wall in the attack of the city, and the third with regard to the time when it was built. The wall about Acra was the second; and that which encompassed mount Sion was the first that was built, and is called the third in besieging the city. The wall about Bezetha was the first that was taken by Titus; he then took the second about Acra, and afterwards the wall about Sion; he then made himself master of the castle of Antony, and next of the temple; and last of all, he took the citadel of mount Sion. Endeavouring to trace the wall round Bezetha, I thought I saw some imperfect remains of it stretching about a quarter of a mile to the south from the north west corner of the present walls, to which a point of Acra might extend. I imagined I saw the corner of this wall to the north west, and signs of a fossée extending to the east, near a long cistern, which is south of the mount of soap ashes, and so along over the valley of Groum, that is, of gardens or vineyards; and likewise to the south of what they call the sepulchres of the kings; and then to the eastern valley, where, turning south it joined the second wall. This seems probable, because the situation of the mount of soap ashes just without the walls is very natural. These gardens also seem to be those where Titus was in such great danger when he came to reconnoitre the city*. I saw to the north of the vale of gardens a great heap of ruins on a rising ground, which might be some work of the Romans in attacking the city. For it cannot well be supposed that the walls extended so far, and that these are the ruins of the tower Psephinus, which was seventy cubits high, and was at the north west corner of the city. It is more probable that this might be Sapha, or the place of prospect, which was about a mile to the north of the old city, where Titus and Cestius encamped; but it is more

* Josephus De bello Jud. v. 2.

remarkable on account of another piece of history. For when Alexander had taken Tyre and Gaza, and was come to this place to attack Jerusalem, the priests came out in their vestments, and all the people cloathed in white to meet him, which was doubtless the habit of ceremony, who being struck with the sight, adored the name of God on the priests breast-plate, and entering into the temple, sacrificed there, and was greatly pleased when the high priest shewed him those parts of scripture that prophesied of his conquest of all the world.

There was a broad street from the gate of Ephraim, and one part of this quarter was called mount Bezetha, which seems to be the height over the grot of Jeremiah, and this probably was the site both of the camp of the Assyrians when they took Jerusalem, and also of Titus's camp when he had taken this outer part of the city*. The cave of Jeremiah, where they say he wrote his Lamentations, is a very large grot opening to the south, a little without the present walls, which seems to have been a quarry. To the south of it, near the walls, is a small pool full of dirty water. This they call Jeremiah's prison, into which they say that prophet was let down; but on what authority I know not.

The sepulchres on the outside of the walls supposed to be north of Bezetha, are called the Sepulchres of the kings, which name seems to be taken from Josephus, who says the wall went by the sepulchres of the kings. He says also, that it run along by the sepulchre of Helena, queen of Adiabene, and I should take this to be that sepulchre; and that it is some corruption of Josephus to mention any sepulchre of the kings in this part, which I do not find spoken of by other ancient writers. The sepulchre of Helena is mentioned as having three pyramids over it; and Villalpandus, describing them as sepulchres of the kings, takes notice of one pyramid, standing over them in his time, which is a great proof that it was the sepulchre of Helena; the other two probably having been destroyed, as the third has been taken away since his time. These are the most remarkable and beautiful sepulchres about Jerusalem.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the places near the walls of Jerusalem.*

AT the east end of the street, which is north of the temple, and of the house of Pilate, is the gate of St. Stephen. Without this gate, which is on the east side of the city, that saint was put to death; and going down a steep descent towards the vale of Jehosaphat, they shew a part of the rock on which they say St. Stephen's body fell when he was stoned, and made an impression on the rock.

We came down into the valley to the bed of the brook Kedron, which is but a few paces over, and in many parts the valley itself is no wider: mount Olivet is to the east of it. This brook rises a little way further to the north; the valley, as I apprehend, not extending far that way: there is no water in it, except after great rains or showers: the bed of the torrent is narrow and deep; there is a bridge over it below the gate of St. Stephen; and they say, when there is water, it all runs under ground to the north of the bridge, unless the torrent swells much, which had happened but once in several years, and was then occasioned by great showers of rain. This brook runs along the valley of Jehosaphat and Siloe at the south west corner of the city, and then turning south, it runs to the dead sea.

Passing over this bridge, and going to the left, we came by a descent of several steps down to the sepulchre of the blessed virgin. On one side there is a doorplace walled up, which is about half way down to it, of which they can give no account; but it is pro-

* Josephus De bello Jud. v. 7.

bably the sepulchre of Melisendis, queen of Jerusalem, who is said by some authors to have been buried here. Below they shew the sepulchres of Anna, Joachim, and Joseph, as well as that of the blessed virgin; about the latter all the different professions have their altars; the whole is cut out of the rock. We returned into the valley, and on the east, adjoining to this, we came to the grotto in which our Saviour was in an agony, on account of his approaching sufferings. To the south, at the foot of mount Olivet, is the garden of Gethsemane, in which there are seven old olive trees, said to have been there in our Saviour's time. A little above this, in the road up the mount of Olives, is the stone on which they say the blessed virgin's girdle fell at her ascension, and left an impression.

Going along the foot of mount Olivet to the south, there is a stone where the disciples slept, while Christ prayed. A little further they say he was betrayed by Judas. We came to another bridge over the brook Kedron, where it is said Christ was thrown down as they were leading him to the magistrate: and beyond it, near the bed of the brook, is a stone on which they shew the print of his feet, supposed to be made as they were thrusting him along.

The sepulchre of Jehosaphat is cut out of the rock at the foot of the hill to the east, with some apartments in it. Over this are the sepulchres of the Jews; it is said to be the place where Judas put an end to his life. And they tell pilgrims that the olive tree which grows on the spot, is the very tree on which he hanged himself.

To the south west of the sepulchre of Jehosaphat is what they call the pillar of Absalom, who having no son, and desiring to keep his name in remembrance, reared up for himself a pillar in the king's dale, calling it after his own name, and it obtained the name of Absalom's place*. Josephus calls it a marble pillar; but as he says it was two furlongs from Jerusalem, though this vale, in which Kedron runs, might be the king's dale; yet as the distance does not agree, it may be doubted whether this really was that monument; and it seems more probable that it was farther to the south west, beyond the vale of Gethinnom. But if this was the king's dale in which Melchisedeck king of Salem came to meet Abraham †, it would be a circumstance to prove, that Jerusalem was the ancient Salem. If we suppose that this was the pillar of Absalom, cut out of the rock, and raised higher by art, it must have been much altered since that time, for it is now of the Ionic order, which probably was not invented at that time. It is not unlikely that some persons have long since beautified these places, according to the rules of Greek architecture, particularly this, and the tomb of Zachariah. There is a room cut out of the rock in Absalom's pillar considerably above the level of the ground on the outside. There are niches in the sides of the room, probably designed to receive coffins or bodies; the entrance is by a hole, which seems to have been lately broke out; and if it served as a sepulchre there might be some under ground entrance now closed up, as I was informed there is to the tomb of Zachariah, which, they say, is known to the Jews, and that they privately carry their dead to it. The upper part of the sepulchre, which is round, is built of very large stones, and it is altogether very beautiful. The heap of stones on the outside has been thought to be a proof ‡, that it is the pillar of Absalom, and that the stones were thrown there in detestation of his rebellion against his father; but this custom may have taken its rise from a notion of its being Absalom's pillar. This is the last thing seen in this vale on the east side of the city from the north; and consequently about that place the vale begins to turn to the

* 2 Sam. xviii. 18. Joseph Antiq. vii. 10.

† Gen. xiv. 17.

‡ 2 Maccabees, i. 19.

west,

west, and make the southern bounds of the city, being opposite to the south-east corner of mount Moriah, and of the buildings of the temple.

A little further to the west is a sepulchre, said to be that of Zachariah, the son of Barachiah, whom the Jews slew between the temple and the altar; it is entirely cut out of the rock, which, at a little distance, is of a considerable height on three sides of it; it may be observed, that there are some things very particular in the execution of the Ionic order. Between these two monuments there is a grotto in the rock, with a portico before it, in which it is said saint James stayed until he saw Christ after his resurrection.

Crossing the brook, we came to a fountain to the right, which is thought by some to be the dragon-well, mentioned by Nehemiah*; it is commonly called the fountain of the blessed virgin, where, they say, she washed our Saviour's linen; there is a descent down to it of many steps, and a channel is cut from it in under the rock, which might convey the water to the city. The Mahometans have a praying place before it, and often come here to wash. It may be considered, whether this was not really the ancient fountain of Siloe, which was so far under the hill, that it could not be commanded in time of war by such as were not masters of that part of the city, as it might be defended to great advantage from the hill over it; and possibly it was carried in under the city by channels leading to certain reservoirs, from which they might draw up the water. This fountain seems to have flowed into a basin called the pool of Siloe, and probably is the same as the lower pool. From this place the valley towards the west is much wider than it is in the other parts.

A little beyond this fountain, the shallow vale between mount Sion and Moriah begins, which is much higher than that in which Kedron runs, being the end of the valley called Millo, that divides those hills. There is a gentle ascent by it up to the city walls, and going into this vale about an hundred paces, we came to the pool of Siloe. The entrance of it is towards the city, and there is a descent by several steps to a pool about twenty feet wide, fifty-five feet long, and ten feet deep from the stairs, having a bench on each side of it, and eight pillars. The water runs into it from a channel cut under the rock, and they say, comes from the temple, and other parts where they wash; and therefore is not fit to be drunk; possibly this might be the pool of Bethesda, which may be the same as that which Nehemiah says was the pool that was made, and Josephus calls the pool of Solomon. The pool of Bethesda, we know was remarkable for extraordinary cures on the first person that went into it after a certain time: In that pool the Nethinims washed their sacrifices; and Ophel, where they lived, seems to have been in this quarter; though from Nehemiah's account, one would conjecture that it extended also to the north. Near this pool at a white mulberry-tree, they say, Isaiah was sawn atunder, by the order of Manasseh; and here, it is to be supposed, he was buried under the oak Rogel; it is probable the king's gardens were over this vale in which the tree of Rogel is mentioned. A little above the pool Siloe on the side of mount Moriah, is a part of the rock, on which possibly the tower of Siloam was built, and above it there is an ancient grotto.

Opposite to this valley, on the other side of the brook, is what they call the village of Siloe; it is over the valley towards the east of the hill, and consists of a great number of grottos cut out of the rock, some of which have porticoes, and are adorned with the plain Egyptian cornish; they call it a village, because these grotts are now inhabited by Arabs, but they seem to be ancient sepulchres. The sheik of Siloe, who showed me every thing there, led me a little way to the north of Siloe, to a house cut out of the rock, which he said, was called Gethumane; where there is a flat spot of ground, on

the side of the hill, extending like a terrace to the north; and it is not improbable that this was the site of the village of Gethsemane, and that it might stretch near as far as the place now called the garden of Gethsemane. This place was formerly covered with olive-trees, but it is now without any improvement; and any one who sees the desolate country about Jerusalem, may conclude what a sad alteration all these parts have undergone since the time of Josephus, who says, that the whole territory abounded in trees.

At the end of this valley, which is south of the city, and runs to the west, is Nehemiah's well, where the brook Kedron turns to the south, and the valley of Rephaim joins it from the north. It is said Jeremiah hid in this place the holy fire when the first temple was destroyed, and searching for it, they found water which Nehemiah ordered to be thrown on the sacrifice on which it began to burn. It is an oblong square well, which I found by a plummet to be a hundred and twenty-two feet deep, and that the water was eighty feet high, and they told me that sometimes it overflowed.

This valley to the south of Jerusalem, and it may be part of that to the east, was Gehinnom, or the valley of Hinnom, having anciently belonged to the sons of Hinnom*, and was part of the bounds between the tribes of Benjamin and Judah. This place became infamous on account of their passing their children here through the fire to Molech, the god of the Ammonites†; it was called also Tophet, which signifies a trumpet, from their founding that instrument, that the cries of the children might not be heard; and it is thought that the name of Gehenna is given to Hell from this place, on account of the diabolical sacrifices that were offered here. It is probable that the grove of Molech was in this quarter, where his worshippers sacrificed to him, and committed many other abominations. The mountain of offence was likewise over this valley, where Solomon is supposed to have built a temple to the deity of the Ammonites‡.

I turned to the north into the valley of Rephaim, or Giants, in which David twice vanquished the Philistines§, and called the place, where he burnt their images, Baal-perazim||. This valley is broader, and not so deep as those to the south and east. I went up the hill to the west, opposite to the end of the vale of Hinnom, and saw a great number of sepulchral grotts cut out of the rock, many of which have beautiful door-places; among them is the grotto where, it is said, the apostles hid themselves after our Saviour's crucifixion. A little further to the north is Aceldama, that is, the field of blood, which is said to be the spot that was purchased by the chief priests to bury strangers in, with the money which Judas returned, as conscious that it was the price of innocent blood¶: it is an oblong square cavern, about twenty-six paces long, twenty broad, and seemed to be about twenty feet deep; it is enclosed on every side, either with the rock or a wall, and covered over; there are six holes in the top by which one may look down into it, and by these they throw in the bodies: it belongs now to the Armenians. They talk much of a virtue in this earth to consume dead bodies; and, it is said, that several ship-loads of it were carried to what they call the Campo Santo in Pisa. Over Aceldama, to the south-east of the road to Bethlehem, is the hill of evil counsel, where it is said the Jews took counsel, and determined to put Jesus to death. I saw several other sepulchral grottos, as I descended from this place into the vale that is to the west of the city: there is a basin in it which is about two hundred and fifty paces long, and a hundred broad; the bottom is very narrow, and the rock on each side appears like steps: this basin is made by building a wall across the valley; it is commonly called the pool of Beersheba, but seems to be the lower

* Jer. xv. 8.

|| 2 Sam. v. 20.

† 2 Chron. xxviii. 3.

¶ Matt. xxvii. 7, 8.

‡ 1 Kings, xi. 7.

Acts, i. 19.

§ 2 Sam. v. 18. 1 Chron. xiv. 9.

pool of Gihon; it is generally dry, but probably it was designed to receive not only the rain waters, but also the superfluous waters from the upper pool of Gihon *. At the north end of it there is a caufway, which leads to the road to Bethlehem. There is a channel on it from Solomon's aqueduct, which supplies a cistern on each side of the caufway, and one at the end of it, where there is plenty of water; above this the valley is not so deep, but capable of receiving a great quantity of water. About a hundred paces to the north the aqueduct from Solomon's pool crosses the vale, the water running part of the way on nine arches, from four to six feet high; it is then conveyed round the hill on the west side of Mount Sion, and so round to the city and temple by a covered channel on the ground.

Near a mile to the north-north-west is the pool of Gihon, which I suppose to be the upper pool; it is a very large basin, and if I mistake not, is cut down about ten feet into the rock, there being a way down to it by steps; it was almost dry at that time, and seems designed to receive the rain waters which come from the hills about it: there is a canal from the pool to the city, which is uncovered part of the way, and it is said goes to the pool in the streets near the holy sepulchre, and when there is a great plenty of water, it runs to the pool already mentioned to the west of the city; for the design of these pools seems to have been to receive the rain water for the common uses of the city, and probably even to drink in case of necessity.

It is well known that Solomon was crowned on Mount Gihon, and if the tradition be true, that the ceremony was performed near this pool, it might be concluded that the high ground to the north of it was that Mount; but it seems more probable, as already observed, that Mount Gihon was the height on which the Latin convent stands. I do not find where the fountain of Gihon was, though it is most probable, that it rose either in the upper pool, or out of the high ground about it.

I shall conclude this chapter, with an account of some ceremonies of the Greeks at Easter, especially of the most remarkable one relating to the holy fire.

On the first of April, the Good Friday of the Greeks, they performed in the evening, the ceremony of taking Christ down from the cross; and a little after midnight they began some other ceremonies in a very tumultuous and indecent manner: First, they wrapt up a man in a cloth, and carried him on their shoulders three times round the sepulchre, the mob running round and hallooing; they then laid him down before the outer door of the sepulchre, and after playing several tricks with him, he got up; and this is their representation of the resurrection. Others were carried about in the same manner, but not covered; there was a person also who walked round the sepulchre, with another standing on his shoulders, who talked and made signs to the people; and all these things were imitated by the boys, who, in a very indecent manner, leaped on one anothers backs, some throwing others down, and pulling off their caps; and the country people ran hallooing round the sepulchre; insomuch that any one would have taken it rather for a society of Bacchanals than a Christian assembly.

The Turks, and even the governor of Jerusalem, as is customary, came to see the ceremony of the holy fire: as soon as he arrived all was quiet. The Latins say, that in the first ages, on Easter-eve, the fire descended from heaven into the sepulchre, and lighted their lamps. But this miracle failing about the fifth or sixth century, the Catholics wrote to Rome in relation of it, and received an answer, that since providence did not continue to act supernaturally in this respect, they ought not to endeavour to

* 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

impose on the people ; that since that time the Greeks have pretended to be in possession of the miracle, and made the people believe it.

The lights were put out all over the church, and first of all the Greek young men came running like mad men towards the holy sepulchre, carrying standards: the guardian of their convent, and some other Greek priests, brought into the holy sepulchre a large glass lamp that was not lighted. The Greek procession began with shouts of the people: the priests came first, followed by their bishop, and went three times round the holy sepulchre: then the bishop went alone into the sepulchre. The Armenian bishop, who was grey headed, and very infirm, followed immediately afterwards, and was thrust in with much difficulty; but, I think, only permitted to wait within, by the door; the Armenians not being allowed a part in the secret of this ceremony. The Coptic and Syrian bishops, if I mistake not, endeavoured to go in, but were not permitted: the Turks all the while guarded the door of the sepulchre, and money was given them to permit people to be near, that they might light their tapers first at the holy fire. They were not in the sepulchre half a quarter of an hour before the door was opened, and a great number of small lighted candles held out; and happy was the person that could light his candles first. Young men stood reaching out with their bare arms, having twenty or thirty candles tied together, to light them among the first. But to avoid any great inconveniences by the crowd, two persons held their lighted candles at a distance, in two different parts of the area, that others might more conveniently light their tapers. Some who had the holy fire, being surrounded, and almost smothered by the crowd that pressed about them, were forced to brand the candles in the faces of the people in their own defence; and some go so far as to say, that this fire will not burn their beards. With much difficulty the Greek and Armenian bishops went out with candles in their hands: in a little time all the tapers were lighted, and the church was soon filled with the smoke of them, as they kept their lights burning for some time. It is said the Greeks think themselves obliged to carry on this affair, in order to bring pilgrims to Jerusalem; for the people set so great a value on this fire, that it is thought they would not otherwise come, which might ruin the Greeks, who live by this concourse of pilgrims. After this ceremony was over they made the first tonsure of two Armenian boys near the sepulchre; a barber washing their heads with rose water, and shaving them; the women that were related to them making a shrill noise, according to their custom, as a testimony of joy; then began the procession of the Armenians, Copts, and Syrians, the two boys in surplices following the deacons with candles in their hands.

CHAP. VII.—*Of the Mount of Olives, Bethany, and Bethphage.*

THE high hill to the east of the city is commonly known by the name of the Mount of Olives: it is not a single hill, but is part of a ridge of hills, which extends to the north, and also to the south-west. The Mount of Olives has four summits, which I shall describe in their order.

Going about half a quarter of a mile to the northward from the north-east corner of the city, I went down to the eastern valley, and went up the mount of Olives, by a very easy ascent, through pleasant corn fields, planted with olive trees: about half way up I came to a plain spot, called by the Arabs Galilee, conjectured by some to have its name from an inn of the Galileans, thought to have been there; others, chiefly the Roman Catholics, suppose it is derived from the angel's saying to the disciples, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye here looking up into heaven;" and by them it is called

The

The men of Galilee. There are some ruins in this place. We went from it to the summit of the hill further to the east, called by the Arabs Selman Tally (The stone of Selman), probably from some sepulchre there; for there is a large one covered with a dome, and about it are several other Mahometan tombs. The Dead Sea is seen from this place, and from several other parts of the hill.

We went on to the summit, from which our Saviour ascended up into heaven; over it is a small Gothic chapel; it is round within, and octagon without, and stands in the middle of a large enclosure, with some buildings about it, and is now converted into a mosque, belonging to a Mahometan convent, in which there is only one derviche: pilgrims pay a great devotion to what they are told is the print of our Saviour's foot, that was made when he ascended up into heaven, and points towards the south. On Ascension Eve, the Christians come, and encamp in the court, and that night they perform the offices of the Ascension. The Latins erect two altars in the chapel, and the Armenians, Greeks, and Coptis have each of them an altar against the wall of the enclosure, and Christians at all times have free admittance: at the south-west corner of the buildings round the court, is the cell of Pelagia, the harlot of Antioch, who performed a long penance here in the habit of a man; it not being known who she was till the time of her death. A little below the height of the hill there is a pillar where they say Christ foretold the day of judgment.

I went a second time to the top of this hill from the garden of Gethsemane. The first place we came to was a building on the left, where Christ wept over Jerusalem, and made that pathetic speech, on account of the miseries that were coming on it. Hither up, near the top of the hill, we turned to the right into a lane, and came to a church on the left hand, where they say, the apostles composed the creed; it appears to have been used as a cistern. A little higher is the place, where they say, our Saviour taught the disciples a second time to pray, according to the form which he gave to them; there are only some foundations of an ancient building, and the remains of a black and white Mosaic pavement. Below the place where the apostles composed the creed, to the north-west of it, are what they call the Sepulchres of the prophets, which are very large, having many cells to deposit bodies in; the further end of them they call the Labyrinth, which extends a great way; I could not find the end of it; this part seems to have been a quarry.

From this place we went south west up to the third summit of the hill, on which there are two heaps of ruins; one is about the middle of it, the other towards the south west corner, which the Arab told me was a convent of Armenians. We then descended to the Jews burial-place, crossing the road to Jericho, which goes over the hill to Bethany; the Arab told us, this part of the hill was called by them Solomone, which probably was the name of the Mountain of offence, where Solomon sacrificed to strange gods. We ascended this hill to the south, which the Christians call the Mountain of offence; the summit of it to the east is called, The Windmill, probably because there was one there. To the south of this is a little height, and to the north west is the highest summit, where there are some ruins and broken columns. The Arab told us, that there was an Armenian convent also here; and that the name of this part was Gorek-Nertebet; all this hill is to the south of the city. I observed that to the east the soil was good, and well improved, and that the hills and valleys round had a very pleasant aspect at this season.

We went from the summit of the ascension, about half a mile to Bethphage, which was a village on mount Olivet, belonging to the priests: it was two miles from Jerusalem, on a little rising ground, where I saw but a very few ruins. It is said

Christ mounted the foal of an ass at the foot of this height, for which, it is conjectured, he had sent to this village, as it is over-against the place where he is supposed to have been. The Latins had a ceremony of attending their superior from this place to the city, mounted on an ass, and clothed in the pontifical habit in which they celebrate, the people performing all the honours of strewing palm-branches, and laying their garments in the way. They speak of it as a very affecting function, and though performed by the Latins, yet that Christians of all professions joined in the Hosannas, and seemed transported with a sort of religious extasy.

From this place we went on to Bethany, which, if I remember, had only two or three families in it. The first place that is shewn is the house of Simon the leper, where there are some ruins, with a very large grotto under them, and two or three small ones. A little beyond it are remains of a fort of castle, which is a very strong building, and is said to be the house of Lazarus. To the south of it is the sepulchre of Lazarus. It is a grotto cut out of the rock, to which there is a descent of twenty-five steps; on the side of the stairs there is a small cell, where, it is said, Mary did penance. There is a passage from the room into the sepulchre itself, which is just large enough to contain a body, and is three feet high; the entrance to it was probably shut up with a stone; and from this place they suppose Lazarus came forth. We went on to the house of Mary Magdalene. To the left of it is the stone, a part of the rock on which, they say, our Saviour sat, when Martha came to him. Beyond that is the house of Martha, where there are some foundations cut in the rock, and a small cistern; a little further is the fountain of the apostles. Returning by the house of Simon the leper, we came to the road that leads from Jericho to Jerusalem, and in our return saw the place to the left, where, they say, the fig-tree was cursed.

It is mentioned as an extraordinary thing, that there were several houses in Jerusalem for the people when they came up to worship at the temple, and that they chose their habitation in any of them as they thought proper, which could be no other than the kanes, according to the modern custom. There remains an observation with regard to what is to be seen in and about Jerusalem; that as there are few signs of any ancient buildings, it is natural there should be but little account of any thing except grottos, pools, and cisterns, which could not easily be destroyed; and we are not to expect great remains of that city, of which it was foretold, whether literally or not, that the destruction or desolation was to be such as never yet happened; and that of the most famous building in it, there should not be one stone left on another.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of the Wilderness, the fountain of Elisha, Jericho, and Jordan.*

ACCORDING to the usual custom, the great caravan under the conduct of the governor of Jerusalem, set out for the river Jordan on Easter Monday, the twenty-seventh of March, at three of the clock in the morning: about thirty of the Latin convent went on horseback; the Armenians joined our part of the caravan, which was escorted by ten soldiers; the camels set out before, with the women and children, the Greeks coming after us, and the governor brought up the rear. We passed by Bethany, and descended a great way down the hill, having a valley to the right: At the bottom of this hill we came to a vale, at the end of which is the fountain of the apostles, so called, because, they say, Christ and his disciples usually drank of it when they went to Jericho. After travelling three or four miles in this valley, we came to a road that leads eastward to Moses's mosque, where the Arabs have a notion that Moses was buried, and some of the Mahometans went to it; here, if I mistake not, they

they find the stone called Hajar Mousé, (The stone of Moses) which burns like a coal, does not consume, and has the same disagreeable smell as the bitumen of the Dead Sea. We ascended a hill to the north, and having travelled about two miles, came to a small round valley, called the field of Adonim or Adomin, that is to say, the field of blood, because, as they affirm, frequent murders and robberies were committed there, and those who look on the parable in St. Luke as a real fact, suppose, that the person who was going from Jerusalem to Jericho, was robbed here, though it may allude to any place in that road remarkable for robberies. We found this vale, and the hills about it covered with grass: going up a hill we came to a ruined kane, and a little higher to another, where, they say, pilgrims formerly lodged the first night from Jerusalem; it being computed about half way to the river Jordan; we then passed by another vale, and going over rocky mountains, had a view of the plain of Jericho, which is part of the great plain on both sides of Jordan, that extended from the lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea*. We passed near a very deep vale, in which there was a small stream of water; the descent to the plain was long, and the road bad: Towards the bottom, on the north, are ruins of a small building, and a larger about a mile to the south. We crossed over a large stream, running east at the bottom of the hill, our course being now to the north, and after having gone about a mile, we came to a low hill at the foot of the high mountains to the west, which are commonly called the Quarantana, because there is an account from tradition, that Christ was tempted there forty days by the devil, and it seems to be the chain of hills, mentioned by Josephus†, as extending from Scythopolis towards Tiberias, to the further end of the Dead Sea, and possibly as far as Idumæa. Going in between this hill and the mountains, I saw a large ruined building, opposite to the place where we were to ascend the mountains to the west, which, they say, are the highest in all Judæa. As we ascended we passed by several grottos, and an Arab took a caphar or tax: in the way they shew two or three grotts relating to Christ's temptation, and at the top is a chapel, to which no pilgrims are allowed to go; it is on the spot, from which, they say, the devil shewed our Saviour all the kingdoms of the earth, and the glory of them. On the east of the low hill before-mentioned, is a large ruinous building, with a channel to it from the hill, as if it was designed to convey the rain water to a cistern that probably was there. There is a canal from it to an aqueduct, which is built on high arches, over a small valley; there are remains of several of these arches, which probably distributed the water over the fields that are higher than the fountain of Elitha. We passed by another little hill, to the north of which is the bed of a torrent, that goes near the fountain of Elitha, which is at the end of a wood: the water of this spring is very shallow, and rises up in several parts; it is a soft water, and rather warm: I found some small shell fish in it of the turbinated kind; there is a round enclosure about it of hewn stone, in which were six niches, semicircular at top, two of them remain entire. These are said to be the waters which were healed, and made fruitful by Elitha's throwing salt into them, at the request of the people of Jericho‡. I observed, that the country round about it was very fruitful, producing good herbage, and a great number of trees.

We went about a mile through the wood and corn fields to Jericho, where there are only the remains of two or three houses, and a square tower, which they call the house of Zachæus, and they pretend to shew a tree, on which, they say, he mounted to see Christ. It is well known, that Jericho was the first city that the Israelites took

* Josephus De bello Jud. iv. 8.

† Josephus De bello Jud. iv. 8.

‡ 2 Kings, ii. 19.

after they had passed Jordan. Mount Nebo, on the other side of the river, was opposite to this city, from which Moses took a view of the Holy Land, and where he died.

We encamped about a mile to the south of Jericho, and stayed there all that day; there was a small wood to the east of us, where I saw the Zoccum tree; the bark of it is like that of the holly, it has very strong thorns, and the leaf is something like that of the Barbary tree; it bears a green nut; the skin or flesh over it is thin, and the nut is ribbed, and has a thick shell, and a very small kernel; they grind the whole, and press an oil out of it, as they do out of olives, and call it a balsam: but I take it to be the Myrobalanum mentioned by Josephus*, as growing about Jericho; especially as it answers very well to this fruit described by Pliny as the produce of that part of Arabia, which was between Judæa and Egypt†. Some think that Christ was crowned with this thorn. A further account of it may be seen in the chapter of plants. I did not see here what they call the rose of Jericho, nor do I know any thing of the properties of it, but I took a small one out of the ground in the desert near Cairo, which appeared to be dead; it seems to be only a dwarf shrub, something of the nature of heath, with a sort of buds or flowers without leaves; they grow round, and are commonly pulled up small, but are from an inch to seven or eight inches in diameter‡. The Opobalsamum also grew in these parts, which is commonly called the balm of Gilead, or balsam of Mecca: I mentioned before, that there is a tradition that Cleopatra removed them to Egypt, and that they might have been neglected there, or by some accident destroyed, or transplanted into Arabia Felix, the country of Mahomet.

All pilgrims are treated in the same manner in this journey; they do not eat with the monks, but are together in a small tent, in which they are also annoyed by other company, so that it is advisable for a pilgrim to carry his little tent with him. On the twenty-eighth, we set out about two o'clock in the morning to go to the river Jordan; we went north east, and the Greeks soon left us to go south east; for those of both religions propose to go to the place where Christ was baptized, but happen to differ in their opinions, and are three or four miles wide of each other. We passed over the bed of a torrent, about which there was verdure and trees; we afterwards found the plain very even, without stones or grass, nothing growing on it, except a few dwarf shrubs. We arrived at the ruins of St. John's convent about half a mile from the river Jordan, where the ground is a little uneven; it is built chiefly of hewn stone, and is on the brow of a descent over the plain. It is thought by some, that this was the place to which the voice came from heaven, 'This is my beloved Son:' and that formerly the river Jordan overflowed to the foot of this height. But as the banks are about fifteen feet high, I should hardly imagine that it ever overflowed them, nor could I be informed that it does at present. From the high bank indeed of the river, there is a descent in many places to a lower ground, which is four or five feet above the water, and is frequently covered with wood: here probably the lions lay that were roused by the sudden overflowing of Jordan§. The soil seemed to be salt, and had a kind of salt

* Josephus De bello Jud. iv. 8.

† Myrobalanum Troglodytis, & Thebaidi, & Arabiæ, quæ Judæam ab Ægypto determinat, commune est, nascens unguento, ut ipso nomine apparet. Quo item indicatur & glandem eff. arboris, Heliotropio, quam dicimus inter herbas, simili folio. Fructus magnitudine Avellanæ nucis. Ex his in Arabia nascens Syriaca appellatur — Sunt qui Æthiopicam his præferant glandem nigram. — E diverso Arabicam virilem ac tenuiorem, & quoniam sit montuosa spissioem. — Unguentarii autem tantum cortices premunt: Medici nucleos, tundentes ass. ea eis paulatim calida aqua. *Plin. Hist. xii. 46.*

‡ It is called by Botanists, Thlaspi-Rosa de Hiericho dictum. *Mor. Hist. Om.*

§ Jer. xlix. 19. and l. 44.

cake on it. The river Jordan is deep and very rapid, it is wider than the Tiber at Rome, and may be about as wide as the Thames at Windfor. The water of it is turbid; the river here makes a little turn to the west, and soon after to the east. There is a low bank to the north, as described before, to which the people descend who dip in Jordan, which most Europeans have the curiosity to do, but not without holding by the boughs of the trees, and even this is difficult, because the bank is both soft and steep; and the stream so rapid, that there is some danger of being carried away by it, if any one ventured in, without holding by the boughs; for in that case a person must be skilful in swimming, in order to recover the bank, some pilgrims having been drowned, who unadvisedly ventured into the river. They have a notion, that the waters of Jordan are like those of baptism, and wash away all sin; so that the very women go on the bank, and, being stripped to their under garment, get the people to pour the water on them. The Latins erected altars near the river, and mass was celebrated by some of the Italians, French, and Spanish fathers.

When the children of Israel passed over Jordan, they went six miles and a quarter to Gilgal, where they set up an altar of twelve stones, in memory of that passage, at the distance of a mile and a half from Jericho*. So that it is probable they passed over the river Jordan about this place, which seems to be the nearest part of the river to Jericho, and is said to be about seven miles from it. The convent of St. Jerom is either in the road which the Greeks took, or to the south of it.

We returned the same way, and a white standard being set up on a barrow near the camp, as a mark for all the pilgrims to go to it, we directed our course that way. The governor was on this height, and all the pilgrims passed by him, one by one, that he might know what fees were due to him. That evening, soon after it was dark, the caravan set out for Jerusalem, being lighted with chips of deal full of turpentine, burning in a round iron frame, fixed to the end of a pole; and we arrived at Jerusalem a little before day break.

CHAP. IX. — *Of St. Saba and the Dead Sea.*

ON the third of April, in the afternoon, I set out for the Dead Sea, under the protection of the Arabs of St. Saba. We went to the south east, along the deep and narrow valley, in which the brook Kedron runs; it has high rocky hills on each side, which are shaped out into terraces, and doubtless produced formerly both corn and wine; some of them are cultivated even at this time. After travelling about two miles, we passed by a village on a hill to the right, called Bethsaon, which is seen also from Bethlehem. This possibly might be the strong castle of Bethsura, mentioned in the history of the Maccabees†; though it is extraordinary, that a place of such importance, which was only five furlongs from Jerusalem, should be mentioned in no other writings. About six miles from Jerusalem we passed by the tents of the Arabs, who were our conductors; here we ascended a hill to the south, from which we had a prospect of Sion, the mount of Olives, and Bethlehem. We soon came to a ruin called Der-Benalbede, which from the name seems to have been an old convent. We went about an hour on the hills, and descending a little to the south, came to a lower ground, where we had the first view of St. Saba; then turning east, in less than a mile we arrived at that convent, which is situated in a very extraordinary manner on the high rocks over the brook Kedron; there are a great number of grottoes about it, supposed to have been the retreats of hermits. The monastic and hermit's life was inti-

* Joseph. Antiq. v. 1. Josh. iv. 20.

† 2 Macc. xi. 5.

tated here in the fourth century by St. Saba; they say, there have been ten thousand monks here at one time; and some writers affirm, that in St. Saba's time there were fourteen thousand. The monks of this convent never eat flesh; and they have such privileges that no Mahometan can enter the convent, under the penalty of paying five hundred dollars to the mosque of the temple of Solomon. There are some ruins of a building, in the way down to the brook Kedron, which probably are remains of the novitiate, for breeding up young men to the monastic life, which is mentioned as belonging to the convent. John Damaſcenus, Euphemius, and Cyril the monk of Jerusalem, lived in this retirement, which is computed to be equally distant from Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and the Dead Sea, that is, about three hours from each of them.

On the fourth we set out for the Dead Sea; we went about a mile to the east of the brook Kedron, and then ascended to the north, and soon came to a plain full of little hillocks, which had some herbage in it, and is much frequented by antelopes; this is the high road from Jericho to Hebron. We went some way to the north, and then turned to the east; we found the hills, which are of white stone, higher the nearer we approached the Dead Sea. At length we came to the steep rocky cliffs that hang over it, and make a most dreadful appearance; the descent was very difficult, and we were obliged to leave our horses, in order to get to the banks of the Dead Sea, at that part of it which is about two miles south of the north end of it.

This lake was called Asphaltites, that is, the lake of Bitumen, on account of the pitch which is found on it. It is bounded to the west by the tribe of Judah, to the east by the ancient kingdom of Moab, and extends from the north, where the river Jordan falls into it, to the south as far as Idumæa. Pliny makes it a hundred miles long, twenty-five broad in the widest part, and six where it is narrowest. Josephus affirms, that it was seventy two miles and a half long, and eighteen and three quarters broad; but Diodorus, who says it was sixty two miles and a half long, and seven and a half broad, seems to be nearer the truth, especially as to the breadth, which is commonly said to be ten miles; and the length is generally computed to be sixty; but it did not appear to me to be above a league broad, though I might be deceived by the height of the mountains on the other side, and it may be broader in the middle: for this and the other extremity of the lake are to be looked on as the bays that are mentioned by ancient authors at the ends of it. It is very extraordinary that no outlet of this lake has been discovered; but it is supposed that there must be some subterraneous passage into the Mediterranean. And it may be questioned whether so much of the water could evaporate as falls into it, not only from the river Jordan but from the Arnon to the east, which divided the kingdom of Moab from that of the Ammorrites, and from that part of the Holy Land, which was the tribe of Reuben. I did not observe any opening where the Arnon might fall into the lake, but suppose it was farther to the south, the brook Kedron falls also into this sea; and it is thought that the river Zared in Moab ran into it, and so doubtless must several other streams from the mountainous countries on each side, especially from the east, where the hills are high, though they have very little account of that country. It is certain, that of late there have been very extraordinary inundations of this sea over its lower banks, and such as had not happened in many years before, because I saw many trees that had been killed by the overflowing of it. I also observed several dead shrubs in the lake, so that the water seems of late years to have gained on the land.

There seem originally to have been slime pits, or pits of bitumen in this place, which was antiently the vale of Siddim*. And Josephus† says, that, on the overthrow of

* Gen. xiv. 3.

† Joseph. Antiq. i. 9.

Sodom, this vale became the lake Asphaltites. Strabo * also says, that there was a tradition among the inhabitants, that there were thirteen cities here, of which Sodom was the chief; and that the lake was made by earthquakes and eruptions of fire, and hot sulphureous and bituminous waters; and that the cities were swallowed up by them. And he seems to speak of it as a certain truth, that there were subterraneous fires in these parts, as might be concluded from the burnt stones, the caverns, ashes, and pitch distilling from the stones, and also from streams of hot water, which sent forth a stench that was perceived at a great distance; and likewise from the ruins of ancient habitations.

All authors agree that the water of this lake is salt; some mention that it is bitter, and has alum in it†. I found it very salt at this place, though so near to the river Jordan: it is a common opinion, that the waters of that river pass through it without mixing with the water of the lake, and I thought I saw the stream of a different colour; and possibly, as it is rapid, it may run unmixed for some way. The water of the lake is clear, and of the colour of the sea water; I took a bottle of it, and had the water analysed; it was judged that there was nothing in it but salt, and it may be a very little alum, though, when I looked on the water in the sea, it appeared as if it had an oily substance in it, which I have been informed is the bituminous or sulphureous matter. On tasting it, my mouth was constricted as if it had been a strong alum water; I found a sort of a thin cake or crust of salt on my face after I came out of the lake, in which I not only swam, but dipped several times, that the weight of the water might have no ill effect; for the person who analysed the water informed me, that it weighs as five to four in proportion to fresh water. The stones on the side of the lake are covered with several thin coats of a white substance, as if each of them was made by a different overflowing of the lake; this I was informed consisted of salt and bitumen. Pliny says, that no living bodies would sink in it‡; and Vespasian tried the experiment, by ordering some persons who could not swim, to have their hands tied behind them, and to be thrown into the water, and they did not sink. Strabo|| immediately after Jericho describes this lake, though a corruption has crept into his text, both as to the name and dimensions of it, for he calls the lake Sirbonis, and speaks of it as only twenty-five miles long, though he had just before said, that this lake was a hundred and twenty-five in circumference; he says, the water of it is deep and heavy; that persons who went into it were born up to their navels; he says likewise, that it is full of pitch; and after having given a more full account, he mentions the overthrow of Sodom, and other cities, and the condition of the country that followed on it.

I was much pleased with what I observed of this extraordinary water, and stayed in it near a quarter of an hour; I found I could lay on it in any posture without motion, and without sinking; it bore me up in such a manner, that when I struck in swimming, my legs were above the water, and I found it difficult to recover my feet; I did not care to venture where it was deep, though these effects would probably have been more remarkable further in. They have a notion, that if any one attempted to swim over, it would burn up the body, and they say the same of boats, for there are none on the lake. The Arabs make pits on the side of the lake, which are filled by its overflow on the melting of the snow, and when the lake is lower, the water evaporates, and leaves a cake of salt, which is about an inch thick, as I concluded from the salt I saw at Jerusalem; the country for a considerable distance is supplied with it for common

* Strabo. xvi. 764.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 16.

‡ Asphaltites nihil præter bitumen gignit, unde & nomen. Nullum corpus animalium respicit; tauri camelique ducunt. Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 16.

|| Strabo xvi. 763.

use. It is observed that the bitumen floats on the water, and comes ashore after windy weather; the Arabs gather it up, and it serves as pitch for all uses, goes into the composition of medicines, and is thought to have been a very great ingredient in the bitumen, used in embalming the bodies in Egypt, especially in filling up the head, and in other species of what is called mummy; it has been much used for cerecloths, and has an ill smell when burnt. It is probable that there are subterraneous fires, that throw up this bitumen at the bottom of the sea, where it may form itself into a mass, which may be broke by the motion of the water, occasioned by high winds; and it is very remarkable, that the stone of Moses before mentioned, found about two or three leagues from the sea, which burns like a coal, and turns only to a white stone, and not to ashes, has the same smell when burnt, as this pitch; so that it is probable a stratum of this stone under the Dead Sea is one part of the matter that feeds the subterraneous fires, and that this bitumen boils up out of it. As to the fruits of Sodom, fair without, and full of ashes within, I saw nothing of them; though from the testimonies we have, something of this kind has been produced; but I imagine they may be pomegranates, which having a tough hard rind, and being left on the trees two or three years, the inside may be dried to dust, and the outside may remain fair. It has been said by all authors, and is the common opinion, that there is no fish in this lake; the fresh-water fish of the river Jordan probably would not live in it. By putting sea-fish into a vase filled with this water, it might be tried what effect it would have on them. After I left the Holy Land, it was positively affirmed to me, that a monk had seen fish caught in this water, and possibly there may be fish peculiar to the lake, for which this water may not be too salt; and as some sea fish will live in fresh water, so there may be others that will live in water much saller than the sea; but this is a fact that deserves to be well inquired into.

The Jews now say, that the pillar or heap of salt into which Lot's wife was turned, is much further south, and consequently, that those who have affirmed that it has been seen in these parts, must have been deceived; they say the word *Nasib*, which we translate a pillar, properly means a heap, and that they esteem the salt of this heap as unwholesome; so that every one may judge in relation to this affair as he thinks fit. As I descended the hill, I observed the stones had a black coat about half an inch thick, which though of the same hardness as the stone, yet it might be separated from it. There is a small mountain, which runs into the lake at this place, and has such shell-fish in it, as are at the fountain of Elisba.

The air about this lake has been also a matter of speculation; it has been always thought to be very bad; and Pliny says, that the *Essenes* inhabited no nearer to it on the west, than the air would permit them*. The Arabs have such an opinion of it, that at this time, when the air was least pernicious, they bound their handkerchiefs before their mouths, and drew their breath only by the nose, which they looked on to be safer; and all acknowledge, that the air is much worse in summer than in winter, — may be naturally concluded; there was an opinion that birds attempting to fly over it, would be suffocated with the vapours; this certainly is not true at all times, if at any season; and possibly this notion may have its rise, from its having been observed, that at some time birds flying near it might have dropped into the lake. The monks are so strongly possessed with the notion of the bad air, that they told me several persons had been much disordered, and some had even died by going to the Dead Sea, especially in the summer time, and particularly mentioned a Carmelite that died about a year before, soon after he had been at this sea, and would have dissuaded me from going to it. It is probable the air is unwholesome, though possibly it may not have such violent

* Ab occidente litora *Esseni* fugiunt, usque qua nocent. *Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 15.*

effects; but when I was seized two days after with an extraordinary disorder in my stomach, attended with a very great giddiness of the head, of which I had frequent returns, and did not perfectly recover in less than three weeks, the monks would persuade me, that my indisposition was occasioned by my going into the Dead Sea.

CHAP. X.—*Of Bethlehem, Tekoa, the Mount of Bethulia, the sealed Fountain, and of the Pools and Aqueduct of Solomon.*

WE returned to St. Saba from the Dead Sea, and set out for Bethlehem, going about a mile in the same way we came, and then turning to the left, we went through a cultivated valley, which has the mountains of Engaddi on each side of it; we afterward passed by what they call the grot of Saul, in which it is said David cut off his skin; but as it is an open grotto, and not very large, it is not probable, or even possible, that David and his men could lie concealed in it; for which reason I rather imagine that this happened at another grotto, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter. In the evening we arrived at Bethlehem.

There are two roads from Jerusalem to Bethlehem; that which is used at present is the shortest, the old road is more to the west; the only remarkable thing shown in the latter, is the place where the blessed Virgin rested under a Terebinth tree with the babe Jesus; they say that the tree was burnt, and now there is an Olive-tree on the spot, round which there is a wall built. At the place where the old and new roads meet, there is a cistern, where it is said the three wise men saw the star a second time, that is, where they observed that it stood still over where the young child was. To the left is a pleasant field, which has two pools in it, and a court cut out in the rock, with a grotto which seems to have been a burial-place; and it is probable that there was some large building on this spot. A little further on the right is the place or house of Habakkuk, from which, it is said, he was carried by the angel to Babylon; and to the left beyond this, about half way to Bethlehem, at the eastern foot of a little height, is the convent of Elias, where there is little remaining except the church, in which there are some paintings relating to the history of Elias and Elisha: the building is rustic; the situation is very fine, commanding a view both of Bethlehem and Jerusalem; near the entrance of the convent is a print on the rock, something like a human shape, which, it is said, is the impression of Elias's body. We came to a place where there are some signs of the foundation of a house, and near it there are caves and cisterns, which, they say, was the house of Jacob, where Rachel died. Some, though probably without foundation, think that this was Rama; and others, with as little reason, that it was the house of Heli, the father of Joseph, who was the husband of the blessed virgin. A little further on the right we came to the sepulchre of Rachel*; it is a dome, supported by arches, which have been lately filled up to hinder the Jews from going into it; the Turks are fond of being buried near it, which has raised the ground; and if the twelve stones which were erected over her grave, have been seen here, and this is really the place of her interment, the ground is risen above them. On the left, a little out of the road, is what they call the field of pease, in which there are a great number of small round pebbles, which have a coat of a stony substance without, and are a fine white alabaster within; concerning which they have a legend, that the Virgin asking for pease, and being answered, that what she took for pease were only stones, it is said the pease were immediately turned into stone.

* Gen. xxxv. 19.

Bethlehem, the ancient Ephrath or Ephrata, is situated on a rising ground, and is computed to be six miles from Jerusalem, though I think it is not so much. It was the town of David, but is more famous for the birth of our Saviour. The stable in which he was born is a grotto cut out of the rock, according to the eastern custom. It is said the emperor Hadrian instituted some rites here to Adonis *. But the empress Helena built a fine church over it, which remains to this time, and it was much adorned by Constantine the great. It is a fine church, and the inside of it is adorned with Mosaic work; it formerly belonged to the Greeks, but the Latins obtained it from the Grand Signor, by means of the French ambassador, on the birth of the present Dauphin, and they keep possession of the grottos below and of the high altar; the Greeks may celebrate at the altars on each side, which is a privilege they will not now make use of; the east end of the church is separated from the rest by a partition.

The Latins, Armenians, and Greeks, have convents about the church; the first are governed by a guardian, who continues there only for three months; and the French, Spaniards, and Italians, equally share in this office: they have under them about ten monks; one of them has the care of the parish, and another, of a school in the convent; for there are many Christians here: they live by making not only crosses and beads of wood, inlaid with mother of pearl, but also models of the church of the holy sepulchre, and of the several sanctuaries in and about Jerusalem. It is remarkable, that the Christians at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, St. John's, and Nazareth, are worse than any other Christians. I was informed, that the women of Bethlehem are very good; whereas those at Jerusalem are worse than the men, who are generally better there than at the other places. This may be occasioned by the great converse which the women have there with those of their own sex, who go thither as pilgrims; and, I will not venture to say, whether too great a familiarity with those places, in which the sacred mysteries of our redemption were acted, may not be a cause to take off from the reverence and awe which they should have for them, and lessen the influence they ought to have on their conduct.

On the fifth, I went to see the places about Bethlehem; and first I visited the grot where, they say, the virgin Mary and Jesus were concealed by Joseph, when they were going into Egypt; it is said, the red earth of it put in water becomes white, and is good for the milk both of women and cattle; there was a chapel over it dedicated to St. Nicolas. We saw also the foundation of a house, where it is said, Joseph was warned in a dream to fly into Egypt. They shew likewise the village of the shepherds, where there are many grottos which at this time serve for the retreat of cattle during the winter nights, and where the shepherds and their families live at that season, to take care of them. There is a fountain, the basin of which, with a trough near it, are cut out of the rock; they say, that the virgin Mary being denied water here, was miraculously supplied with it. This possibly might be the fountain, or well, from which the three men drew water, and brought to David when he was thirsty and longed for it, at the time that he was in war with the Philistines, though he would not drink of it, as it was procured him with the risk of their lives †: but they relate this piece of history of a water about a mile to the south-west of Bethlehem. Near this is the field where, it is said, the shepherds were keeping their flocks by night when they received the tidings of the birth of Christ; there are great ruins of a church there. The tower of Eder, as some say, was near this place, where Jacob fed his flock after his return from Mesopotamia, and where Reuben defiled his father's concubine ‡; and a small

* Hieron. Epist. 19. ad Paulinum.

‡ Gen. xxxv. 21.

† 1 Chron. xi. 17, 18. 2 Sam. xxiii. 15, 16, 17.

hill about half a mile to the south-east, seemed to answer the description some persons have given of the situation of it. They shew also the place where St. Paula built a nunnery, and, if I mistake not, they say she died there.

In Bethlehem I took particular notice of their ovens, which are sunk down in the ground, and have an arch turned over them; there is a descent of some steps to the door by which they enter into them; in the middle is a pyramid of hot ashes, which they bring frequently from their houses, and lay them on a large earthen jar that is covered, and is half full of small stones, which I suppose are heated red hot; once a week they take away all the ashes, and bring others, which in some measure keep in the heat, being often changed; when they would bake their cakes, they move the ashes from the top, take off the lid, and lay the bread on the stones, and putting it on again, cover the top with ashes: a very warm situation for a pilgrim, who, being taken by the Arabs, (as I was informed) was kept prisoner in one of these ovens.

On the ninth, we set out early in the morning with the shieks of Bethlehem and Bethulia, and two of their men on horseback, with two on foot, in order to go to Tekoa, and some other places; we went down the hill to the south, turning soon to the west, and then to the south again, in which road we went three miles; after that a mile to the east, and ascended the hills to Tekoa for near two miles: this city was built by Rehoboam *, and the prophet Amos was a herdsman of this place †. There are considerable ruins on the top of the hill, which is about half a mile long, and a furlong broad; at the north-east corner there are remains of a large castle, which some call a church; but that seems to have been about the middle of the hill; in it there is a deep octagon font of red and white marble; I saw also in several parts, pieces of broken pillars, and bases of the same kind of marble. From this place I had a view of the Dead Sea to the south east, of Bethlehem to the north west, and what the monks call the Mount of Bethulia, to the west north west; there is a fine plain on the top of the low hills to the north and east, and a deep valley to the south; a little below the top of this hill, towards the north-west corner of it, is a grotto, in which there is a fountain that never fails. Going about a mile to another summit at the south end of this hill, we saw the ruins of a large church, dedicated to St. Pantaleone. We left this to the right, and went along the top of another hill to the east of Tekoa; and descending into a valley to the north west, travelled eastward to a ruined castle called Creightoun, situated on the side of a steep hill, over a valley of that name, which runs north and south; the castle is above half way up the hill, and near it is a fine cistern cut into the rock, after the manner of the vaults of Aceldama. We staid at this castle, and the Arabs killed a lamb, and boiled it in four milk and water, which seemed to be some remains of the ancient ‡ custom of seething in milk; they made also a soup of rice, and roasted part of the meat in small pieces on wooden spits.

A little beyond this place the valley runs east and west; and on the right hand there is a very large grotto, which the Franks call a Labyrinth, and the Arabs Elmaama, (a hiding place); the high rocks on the side of the valley are almost perpendicular, and the way to the grotto is by a terrace formed in the rock, which, either by art or nature, is very narrow; there are two entrances into it; we went in by the furthest, which leads by a narrow passage into a very large grotto, the rock being supported by great natural pillars; the top of it rises in several parts like domes; the grotto is perfectly dry, and there are no petrifications or stalactites in it: we then went along a very narrow passage for a considerable way, but did not find the end. There is a tradition, that the people of the country, to the number of thirty thousand, retired into this grotto to avoid a bad air, which probably might have been the hot winds, that are some-

* 2 Chron. xi. 6.

† Amos i. 1.

‡ Exod. xxiii. 19. xxxiv. 26. Deut. xiv. 21.

is a very fatal in these countries. This place is so strong, that one would imagine it to be one of the strong holds at Engaddi, to which David with his men fled from Saul, and possibly it may be that very cave in which he cut off Saul's skirt: for David and his men might, with great ease, lie hid there, and not be seen by him *. Beyond this cave there is a spring of water that drops from the rocks.

We returned about two miles in the same way, and crossing the valley, we went along a plain ground, to the foot of what they call the Mountain of the Franks, or of Bethulia. from a village of that name near it, though no such place is mentioned by ancient authors in this part of Palestine; it seems best to agree with the situation of Bethlaccorem, mentioned by Jeremiah as a proper place for a beacon, when the children of Benjamin were to sound the trumpet in Tekoa †. There is a tradition, that the knights of Jerusalem, during the holy war, held this place forty years after Jerusalem was taken, which was the reason of its being called the Mountain of the Franks; and it is probable, that they might have kept this place some time after they lost Jerusalem, as it was a fortress very strong by nature; but the garrison consisting only of forty men, as they died off the rest must have been obliged to surrender, supposing this tradition is true. It is a single hill, and very high, and the top of it appears like a large mount formed by art. The hill is laid out in terraces, the first rising about ten yards above the foot of the hill, above this the hill is very steep; and on one side there is a gentle ascent made by art, as represented in the view of it; and as the hill was not so steep to the south, they cut a deep fosse on that side, to add a greater strength to it; the foot of the hill was encompassed with a wall. There was a double circular fortification at top, the inner wall was defended by one round tower, and three semicircular ones at equal distances, the first being to the east. At the foot of the hill to the north there are great ruins of a church, and other buildings. On a hanging ground to the west of them there is a cistern, and the basin of a square pond, which appears to have had an island in the middle of it, and probably there was some building on it. These improvements were also encompassed with a double wall, and they say, that there are remains of two aqueducts to it, one from the sealed fountain of Solomon, and another from the hills south of that fountain. From the top of this hill I was shewn a plain to the south south east towards the Dead Sea, where they have a tradition, that the garden of balsam trees was situated. From this place we returned to Bethlehem.

We spent another day in seeing the pools of Solomon. Descending the hill of Bethlehem to the south, we passed over a narrow valley, which extends but a little way; we ascended the hills; on the sides of which there is an aqueduct, which conveys the water from the sealed fountain to Jerusalem: it here winds round the sides of these hills, and afterwards it is carried through the plain to Jerusalem, on a level with the surface of the ground. We crossed the aqueduct, and leaving it to the left, went along the road which is made like a terrace, and came to the ruins of a village on the side of the hill, below the aqueduct, which they call the Village of Solomon, and of the sealed fountain, because they have some tradition, that Solomon's house and gardens were there; but it is a very bad situation, and there is no prospect from it, but of the dismal hills on the other side; though in the valley beneath there is a fine spot of ground watered by two springs that rise in it. A little beyond this place we came to the pools of Solomon, as they are commonly called; for there is a tradition, that they were made by him, as well as the aqueduct, which seems to be confirmed by a passage of Josephus, who says, that there were very pleasant gardens abounding with water at Eatham, about fifty furlongs, or six miles and a quarter from Jerusalem, to which

* : Sam xxiv. 1. † It agrees best with the situation of this city, on considering what St. Jerom says on this passage of Jeremiah vi. 1.

Solomon used frequently to go *. So that the height over it has been thought to be Etam of the scripture, to which Sampson retired after he had burnt the corn of the Philistines †; and it is the more probable, as it is said, that Rehoboam built Bethlehem, Etam, and Tekoa, this being in the neighbourhood of both these places; and it is thought that these fountains, waters, and gardens are meant, where it is said, “Solomon made him gardens and orchards, and pools of water ‡;” and that he seems to refer to them when he compares his spouse “to a garden enclosed, to a spring shut up, and a fountain sealed §.” The Talmudists || also mention, that the waters were brought by Solomon to Jerusalem, from the fountain of Ephraim; so that it is very probable that these are the works of Solomon, as well as the aqueduct, though no express mention is made of it by any author, so as positively to fix it to this place. This aqueduct could be of no service to Jerusalem in time of war, as the enemy would always cut off the communication; which made the cisterns under their houses, and the fountain of Siloe, so necessary to them.

Beyond these pools there is so gentle an ascent to the north west for about a quarter of a mile, that it appears like a plain; and, on a level with it to the north, is a vale, which has high hills on each side, and in it is the Greek convent of St. George, about a mile distant to the north. The hill to the west of it is steep in some parts, but is laid out in terraces, which are very broad towards the top. The summit of it commands a very fine view of the pools, Bethlehem, and all the country round; and this seems to be a situation for a house of pleasure, worthy of the taste of Solomon; and it is probable, that there were hanging gardens on the side of the hill; as the enclosed garden might be in the vale to the north west, which is not only bounded by mountains on each side, but is also terminated by a hill to the north west, so as to answer this description exceedingly well.

The aqueduct is built on a foundation of stone; the water runs in round earthen pipes about ten inches diameter, which are cased with two stones hewn out so as to fit them, and they are covered over with rough stones well cemented together; and the whole is so sunk into the ground on the side of the hills, that in many places nothing is to be seen of it. I returned on the south side of the vale, and observed, that there were pine trees on the mountains, which on that side abound very much in wood. I crossed the ruined village of Solomon, and returned to Bethlehem. The pilgrims formerly used to go to Hebron, but some Christians having, as they say, killed a Mahometan there, they have not ventured to go since that time, though I have been informed that the Jews visit those parts.

CHAP. XI. — *Of the fountain of Philip, the convent and desert of St. John, and the convent of the Holy Cross.*

ON the tenth, we set out for the desert of St. John, which is computed to be about six miles north north west from Bethlehem. We went out of the town to the west, and turning northwards came into a vale, which the monks call the valley of Rephaim, and say, that it was here the angel of the Lord smote the army of Sennacherib ¶; but as Josephus ** gives an account, that he lost part of his army on the first night of the siege of Jerusalem, by a pestilence that was sent among them, it is more probable, that this happened in the valley of Rephaim, which is on the west side of Jerusalem.

* Joseph. Antiq. viii. 7.

† Judges, xv. 8.

‡ Eccles. ii. 5, 6.

§ Cantic. iv. 14.

|| See Reland's Palestina illustrata, l. i. c. 46.

¶ 2 Kings, xix. 35.

** Joseph. Antiq. x. 1.

On the hills to the west, we saw Bottesball, a village of Greeks, where they have a church dedicated to St. Nicholas; the Christians would have propagated a notion, that no Mahometan could live there, but, some years ago, three or four of the inhabitants became converts to the Mahometan religion, and yet continued in that village. They talk of the red soil of this vale, as if it had some extraordinary virtue in it. After having travelled about two miles, we passed by the fountain of the blessed virgin, to the right, which is so called by the Greeks, because they say, she drank of it, but the Latins pay no devotion to this place. On the opposite hills, there are such cavities in the side of the rocks, as have given occasion to the people to say, that the marble pillars of the church of Bethlehem were taken from this place; but it seems rather to be a soft stone, that has been worn by the weather; nor are pillars usually hewn out in that manner.

We went a mile further, and turned to the left, into the vale of Elshcol, as they call it, because they say, it is the place, to which the spies came, that were sent by Moses to search out the land*; who went to Hebron, and came to the brook of Elshcol; at the end of this vale to the right, there is a gentle ascent, which they say, is the very spot of the vineyard, where they gathered the bunch of grapes. On the left side of the valley, about half a mile further to the west, is, what they call, the fountain of St. Philip, where, they say, he baptised the eunuch; and though this way does not seem to be passable for wheel carriages, yet there is a very good road on the other side of the valley; the water falls down the side of the hill about seven feet; the fountain is arched over, and adorned with two Corinthian pilasters, supposed to be the work of St. Helena, as well as a ruinous church over it, of which there are now very little remains to be seen. The village of St. Philip, as it is called by the Christians, is near this, and is called Elwalige by the Arabs. On the left is Betur, probably the antient Bethsur; and to the north west is a village called Chabou. We ascended a hill to the north, where I observed three small barrows, which might be thrown up in memory of some extraordinary event; we went a little way on the hill, descended to the west, and turning north, we travelled near a mile to the convent of St. John, belonging to the Latins.

The convent of St. John is situated on a low hill, among the mountains, and is governed by a guardian; there are about fourteen monks in it; they say the church is built on the spot where Zachariah's house stood, in which St. John the Baptist was born; the altar of it is finely adorned with reliefs. We went to visit the remarkable places in the desert, which chiefly consists of high hills, that enclose deep and narrow valleys; our course was southward along the valley, for half a quarter of a mile, to the fountain of the blessed virgin, of which it is said, she drank during the three months she stayed here. We then went up the side of a hill at the end of the valley, and having ascended a little way, came to the church, which is said to be on the spot where the country house of Zachariah stood; for the other before mentioned was his house in the town. Here, they say, the blessed virgin lived three months, and the stairs are shewn, on which, they have a tradition, that Elizabeth met her; they led to a grot, which they say, was their habitation at that time. We then turned to the west, and went along the side of a hill, having a valley to the right, and saw a stone, on which it is said St. John preached. We went about a mile further to the grot of St. John, to which, they say, Elizabeth fled with him, on the cruel decree of Herod to destroy the young children; it is said, she died when he was three years old, and that he continued in this grot, until he was thirty years of age, when he went into the desert near Jordan, to preach and baptize. We went higher up the hill, a little further to the west, and came

to a large grotto, which they call the sepulchre of Elizabeth. On the hill, opposite to the grotto of St. John, there is a village, which, if I mistake not, they call the village of St. John, or of the desert; and to the north west, is a village on a high hill, called Zuba, which, some say was Modin, where the Maccabees were born and interred; but they seem to be mistaken, as that place was in the tribe of Dan.

In this desert there are many caroub trees, which bear a fruit like a bean, but it is flatter, and has small seeds in it; they eat the shell of it, when it is dry, which is very agreeable: it is supposed, that this is the locust on which St. John fed, and not the cassia fistula, which has been shewn for it, and does not grow in this country. There are, however, some, who are of opinion, that the locusts he fed on, were those insects preserved with salt, as, they say, the Arabs eat them in some parts at this time; and confirm their opinion by the Arabic's translation of this passage: though there might be a tree of that name.

On the eleventh, we set out to return to Jerusalem, under the conduct of three Arabs, and visited some places which are out of the road. We went a mile to the foot of the hill of the Maccabees, as they call it, which is to the north west; they have some tradition, but I know not on what foundation, that the Maccabees fled to this hill, in time of war, and defended themselves on it. We went up the hill, saw many openings to grottos, and in one part, a cistern and ten arched rooms; we descended to what they call the fountain of Mecca, over which there is a sepulchral cave; we went round the hill of Mecca into the valley which they call the valley of Terebinths, and, they say, it is the vale of Elah, in which David slew Goliath; but as that was between Shochoh and Azekah*, much further west, they must be mistaken in placing it here. There is a village called Coloni, on the side of the hill to the west; we then went up the hills to the east, on the side of which, without any manner of foundation, they pretend to shew the place where Balaam's ass spoke; we descended the hill the same way we came up, and going round another hill, between it and the hill of the Maccabees, we turned eastward into the little valley of Deriasy, so called from a ruined convent over it; at the end of this vale we ascended the hills, and came into a very rough country, and going south east near two miles, we came to the convent of the holy cross, belonging to the Greeks; they have a fine old church, in which they shew the hole, where they say the willow-tree grew, of which the cross was made. Here our Arabs demanded more money of us, but we did not think fit to grant their request, and left both them and their asses; however, they followed us, but we took care not to join them any more, and came home near the tower of Simeon, which is to the north of the old road to Bethlehem; it is said to be the house of that pious man, who took our Saviour up in his arms, and desired to depart in peace out of this world, since his eyes had been blessed with a sight of the salvation of God; but we did not go to it, because we saw some people there with arms; however, I viewed it another day, and found it to have been a strong built tower, though now in ruins; I saw an inscription on it, which seemed to be in the Armenian language, and it might have been a convent belonging to the people of that profession, who probably built this tower for their defence against the Arabs.

CHAP. XII. — *Of the sepulchres of the judges, of Ramathaim-Zophim, Emmaus, and the places between Jerusalem and Joppa.*

ON the fifteenth, I set out for Emmaus, with two servants, and the monk who usually attends pilgrims. We went out of the gate of Bethlehem, and going to the north almost as far as the hill of Soap-ashes, we then turned to the west, and came into

* 1 Sam. xvii. 1.

the vale of Croum. We travelled near two miles in this valley, through pleasant fields and gardens, planted with olive, fig, apricot, and almond trees; it is the pleasantest spot about Jerusalem, and the Jews frequently come out here on the sabbath to divert themselves.

We came to a great number of sepulchral grotts, called the Sepulchres of the Judges, probably because they were the burial places of the chief persons of the city; the entrance to them is commonly from a court cut down into the rock, and I imagine, that the principal men of the city had their country houses here; there were probably terraces before the houses, over these courts; for it was the custom to have their bodies deposited under the houses, as Samuel was buried in his own house at Rama. These sepulchres are much like those of the kings already described, and not much inferior to them in beauty, though none of them consist of more than two or three rooms; some of the entrances are adorned with pediments and entablatures cut out of the rock. I observed in one, the manner how they worked out the stone in large pieces, like rough pillars, so as to serve for building; I also saw some cisterns cut in the rock. There were three uses for grottos; for they served either for sepulchres, cisterns, or as a retreat for herdsmen, and their cattle in bad weather, and especially in the winter nights; this may account for the great number of grottos all over the Holy Land, in which, at this time many families live in winter, and drive their cattle into them by night, as a fence both against the weather and wild beasts. At the end of this vale we descended to a lower ground, having on the left the ruins of a castle; we passed by the end of the valley of Lefca to the south; towards the further end of it, on the hills to the east, I saw Lefca. We then ascended between two hills, and when we were on the height, we turned to the north, and passed by a beautiful round hill on the left, on which there is a ruined church, said to be built in memory of Christ's meeting the two disciples there who were going to Emmaus. On the side of the hill, to the south, is a village called Bettifa; we went down this hill, and ascended to the north-west towards Ramathaim-Zophim; the road here is like a terrace on the side of a hill, and leads westward to Emmaus; we came to a large open cistern on the right hand, which is cut out of the rock, and has two basins, made in the same manner in the front of it. We ascended the hill to the north, on the brow of which there is a small mount; on the summit of this high hill, was Rama or Ramathaim Zophim, the town of Samuel, and the place of his interment; it is now called by the Arabs, Samuele; geographers confound this place with Rama or Arimathæa, near Lydda, already described. The mosque, which is over the sepulchre of Samuel, was a church, and they will not permit christians to go into it. They informed me, that there is no sepulchral grot in the mosque, but only a raised tomb, with a covering of silk on it, in the manner the Mahometans adorn the sepulchres of their saints. The body of Samuel was carried by the emperor Arcadius into Thrace. On the top of the hill, there is an open basin sunk into the rock seven or eight feet deep, which was doubtless made to receive the rain water. On the side of the hill, near the top of it, is the fountain of Samuel, in a small grotto cut out of the rock, which affords plenty of clear water.

To the north we looked down into a very fine valley, which I conjectured to be about ten miles long from east to west, and five miles broad, and, according to the tradition, it seems to be the valley of Ajalon, in which the city of Gibeon was situated; and if so, this plain was the territory of the Gibeonites. There are two hills in it, beautifully improved; that to the west has two summits; on the northern one there is a village called Geb, probably the antient Gibeon, on which the sun stood still, when
Joshua

Joshua came to the relief of the Gibeonites *. On the hill to the east, is Beerna-billiah, which may be Beeroth of the Gibeonites; we saw Beteser on the hills to the east of the valley, and a place called Bethany to the north.

We returned back again to the road, and went westward towards Emmaus, leaving the village of Bedou to the right, and Bethsurick to the left. Having gone about three miles from Rama, we arrived at Emmaus, which, as I apprehend, they called Coubeby, though, when I passed through it, in the way to Joppa, they called it Gebeby; beyond it are high hills, from which one descends to the plain towards the sea; entering this ruined place, on the left, I saw a large basin, walled round, but there was no water in it; to the right, on a rising ground, are great ruins of the town; they say, many of the stones were carried away to build Jerusalem, about two hundred years ago. The church was on the spot where the house of Cleophas stood, and where, it is supposed, Christ was known to some of his disciples in breaking of bread; it is a long building, and there is a fine large vase in it of white stone, or marble, which doubtless was a font: the church stands in a large area, encompassed with a wall, and has on the north side of it, a pile of buildings, arched over, and there is one large arch, which seems to have been a gateway in the middle of them. When we had seen every thing, I was desirous of returning, though our conductors were for staying, and taking some refreshment; but when they saw the people coming about us, they changed their sentiments, and we mounted our horses; but they laid hold of the monk's bridle, and demanded a caphar. I went on a little before, and turned round to observe what had passed. The monk, in some warmth, got off from his horse, and having treated them a little roughly, they began to use him ill; but a little money being given them, they let us go on, only one of the chief of them (who was always near my horse, and seemed to take care of me) as soon as we were got out of sight of his companions, laid hold on my bridle, felt my pockets in a civil manner, and gave me the title of Consul, supposing that I was a Frank, and probably conjectured, I might have that character; but I ordered them to give him a little money, upon which he left us; and we returned by the same way we came, till we arrived at the place where Christ met the disciples; when we turned to the left, and went on the top of the hills instead of going down into the valley, and passed by the sepulchres of the judges; coming near Jerusalem, we turned to the right, and leaving the pool of Gihon to the left, came to the tower of Simeon, before mentioned; and from that place into the old road from Bethlehem, and returned to Jerusalem.

There were some very remarkable places to the north-west and north-east of Jerusalem, the situation of which is not very well known; as Shilo, where the ark and tabernacle were placed, until they were taken by the Philistines; some have thought this to have been at Rama of Samuel, because it is described as being on a very high hill; Shilo and Salem have been thought to be the same place: it is probable that Shilo was between Jerusalem and Sichem, about ten miles from the latter. Bethel was on the right of the road leading to Sichem, and is remarkable for Jacob's vision, and on account of Jeroboam's setting up a golden calf there as the object of worship.

On the twenty-second of April I went the last time into the church of the Holy Sepulchre, being the third of May, new style; it was the festival of the Invention of the Holy Cross, on which account there were several devotions and processions in the church. In the afternoon the guardian gave me a letter for Nazareth; and a certificate

* Joshua x. 12.

was delivered to me, signed and sealed with the great seal of the convent, that I had visited all the holy places. I left the convent, and went with a servant out of the Damascus gate, where the Shieck Arab, with whom they had agreed, and his servant, took me under their protection; we mounted on horseback, and passing by the sepulchres of the judges, we turned on the left hand out of the road that leads to Emmaus, and having travelled about two miles we crossed the end of the valley of Lefca, and saw a ruin on the left hand. We ascended the hill, and went through Bethlurik before mentioned, having Bedou on the right; and coming again into the road to Emmaus, we passed through that town; going on, we had on the left Der-kaleb, and soon after Papuray on a high pointed hill beautifully improved with terraces; about a mile further I saw Romani to the right, on a hill, and west of it Bethicnan, and at a distance Der-obfir. From the top of the hills we had an easy descent for about three miles, when we came into a rich country full of little hills; I saw on the left, at a great distance, Betamasy, and passed by a ruined church on the right, at a village called Kerefy. Further on to the left I saw Feal, then Keriaky-emal and Ladroun; I before supposed the latter to be the village of the good thief. The Arab showed me his tents at a distance on the left, and we passed through a village, where the people were his friends; and as we approached Rama, I took notice of a large pool, and several cisterns, and ruins about the fields, where the old city stood, especially on a high ground to the north. We arrived at the Latin convent in Rama about an hour after it was dark.

On the twenty-third we set out for Lydda, a league distant from Rama; I observed the plain was more sandy than it is to the east; about half way I saw a well, and near it a small building, designed for the convenience of travellers; it being usual in these countries to have such places (which they call Mocotts) near their fountains and wells, for passengers to repose in, and shelter themselves from the heat of the sun. Entering the town of Lydda, I saw a company of Mahometan women, who had been at a grave, making their lamentations; they held the end of their handkerchiefs in their hands, and turning them round, canted in a sort of dialogue; which they do likewise at their graves, much in the same way as the Irish women do on the like occasion. I saw the church of Saint George, and then went on westward towards Joppa, and joined a caravan that was going that way; we went through a fine plain, bounded by hills to the north, which probably are those of Saron; at some distance we had a place called Serphen to the left, and on the right Sapphira. We went near Bedisa on the right, situated on a rising ground, planted with olive trees. After having travelled about two miles further, we came to Boubeeri, a village built almost under ground, which probably has its name from a large well, which I saw there. We passed by Gazou on a hill to the right, where, they told me, there was a ruined church: further on, I saw Selman on the hills at some distance to the right, and arrived at the Latin convent at Joppa, where I was obliged to wait some time before I embarked for Acre.

CHAP. XIII. — *Of Acre, and some Places near it.*

ON the second of May, we went aboard one of the large open boats, that are commonly used on this coast; they generally belong to Greek masters, who have a protection from the convent for twelve mariners, and cannot be taken by the Maltese within eighty leagues of the Holy Land; but, notwithstanding this, if the Maltese find any Mahometan passengers, they make them slaves, though they cross themselves, and profess to be Christians; but they are easily discovered, as they are circumcised; and the Maltese rovers take away every thing that is valuable both from Turks and

Christians; we sailed along by the shore, and the next morning were not above five leagues distant from Joppa. We saw a mosque on the high cliffs near the sea, and soon after a ruined fortification on the shore, which seemed to have a deep fosse cut on three sides of it; it is said to have been held by the Venetians. Apollonia, mentioned between Joppa and Cæsarea, might be about this place. It is probable the half tribe of Manasseh began here, which extended beyond Cæsarea, and the river, which passed by Antipatris, might be the bounds of it to the south; for Antipatris was an inland city in this part, nineteen miles from Joppa*. St. Paul was brought to that place in his way from Jerusalem to Cæsarea†. At some distance the country is hilly, and covered with trees, as mentioned by Strabo‡. I saw a great quantity of wood lying on the sea shore, to be embarked for Egypt. We made little way all day, cast anchor at night, and the next day, in the afternoon, came up with Cæsarea, and anchored near it. We happened to spy a sail, on which a Janizary on board, who was apprehensive that it might be a Maltese rover, resolved to go ashore, and put on the worst clothes he could get, lest he should be stripped by the Arabs; on this a panic seized all the other Turks, who followed his example, except twelve, who are allowed to work the vessel; they gave their money to an European, were put ashore in a small boat, and returned to the bark the next morning. We passed by Castle Pellegrino, and arrived in the afternoon at Acre, where I carried my letters to the consul, who received me with the usual civility, which the English, who are settled in the Levant, shew to travellers. Acre is in the tribe of Asser, situated at the north west entrance of a bay, which is generally computed to be about three leagues over, and two leagues deep, though it does not seem to be so much. It stands in a very large and fertile plain, bounded on the north, at about twelve miles distance, by the mountains antiently called Anulibanon; and to the east by the fine and fruitful hills of Galilee, about ten miles from this city, which seem to have separated the tribes of Zabulon and Nepthali from the tribe of Asser, which was never entirely possessed by the Israelites. The antient name of this city was Ake, or, as it is called in scripture, Accho§; it was one of the places, out of which Asser did not drive the ancient inhabitants, and seems always to have retained this name among the natives of the country, for the Arabs call it Akka at this time. The Greeks gave it the name of Ptolemæis¶, from one of the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt. And when it was in the possession of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, it was called St. John Dacrè.

As this port must always have been of great importance in time of war, the town has, consequently undergone great changes. In six hundred and thirty-six, it was taken by the Saracens; in eleven hundred and four, the Christians became masters of it under Baldwin, the first king of Jerusalem, by the assistance of the Genoese galleys. In eleven hundred and eighty-seven, Seladin, sultan of Egypt, got possession of it; and in eleven hundred ninety-one, Philip, king of France, and Richard, king of England, retook it; but in twelve hundred ninety-one, the Saracens assaulted and destroyed the city, that is to say, the fortifications, which they afterwards repaired: it was taken from them by the Turks in one thousand five hundred and seventeen.

On examining well the remains of this place, I considered it in three parts, that is, the old city; the new city; and the quarter where the knights and other religious orders had their convent. The present town seems to be on the spot of the old city, being at the south west corner, and is washed by the sea on the south and west sides;

* Joseph, Antiq. Jud.
§ Judges i. 31.

† Acts xviii. 31.
|| 1 Macc. ii. 5.

‡ Strabo xvi. 758.

it has a small bay to the east, which seems to have been the ancient port, but is now almost filled up; there are great remains of this old port, within which, small ships come to anchor in the summer, and take in their lading. There was, without doubt, a strong wall on the north side of the old town, to defend it on the side of the land, of which there are now no remains. The present town is near a mile in circumference, and has no walls; for the Arabs will not permit them to build any, as they would, by that means, lose the power they now have over the city, and might be shut out of it. To the north and north east of this city, and of the port, was the quarter of the knights, and the religious orders, extending about three quarters of a mile from east to west, and might be half a quarter of a mile broad. At the west end of it, there are ruins of a great building, which, they say, was the palace of the grand master of the knights of Saint John, who retired to this place, after they lost Jerusalem; it was repaired and inhabited by the great Feckerdine, prince of the Druses. At the end of this building, are the remains of what seem to have been a very grand saloon, and a smaller room of the same architecture at the end of that. To the south there was a noble well-built chapel, the walls of which are almost entire. Towards the east end of the town was the house of the knights, and a strong built church adjoining to it, said to be dedicated to St. John; what remains of it is a low massive building; and it is probable, that there was a grand church over it; in the vault of this building there is a relief of the head of St. John in a charger. Between this and the palace of the grand master, there was a very large and magnificent nunnery; some of the lofty walls of the convent are standing, and the church is almost entire. When the city was taken by the Mahometans, it is said, the abbess and nuns, like those of Scotland, cut off their noses to secure their chastity, and were inhumanly murdered by the soldiers. North of this quarter there is a fosse; and north of that was what I call the new quarter of the city; but it did not extend so far to the east. To the north and east of this, and to the east of the quarter of the knights, are remains of a beautiful modern fortification, which was carried on to the south, though it was not so strong in that part; as it was a modern fortification, it must consequently have been built by the Saracens, or Arabs, to defend themselves against the invasion of the Turks; there is a double rampart and fosse, lined with stone; the inner rampart was defended with semicircular bastions. At the east end, within these fortifications, there is a well, called the fountain of Mary. I have great reason to think, that the river Belus was brought along through the fosse, because it is mentioned in the account of the siege, that a certain body of men attacked the city, from the bridge over the Belus to the bishop's palace; and, if it was so, the city, by this means, was made an island. I examined the ground, and discovered what I supposed to be the remains of the old channel, and actually saw the ruins of a small bridge over it, near the town, and of a larger further on. When I was on this enquiry, I went to the place where the Belus empties itself into the sea, and going along by the river, on a causeway, came to a mill where there is a bridge over the river, about a mile from the town. As the Belus must have been a great conveniency in supplying the town with water, in case it ran through the fosse; so there is no doubt but that the enemy would turn the river, as they probably did, to the very place where it now falls into the sea.

There is nothing of antiquity in the old city, except some remains of the very magnificent and lofty cathedral church of St. Andrew, which had a portico round it, and appears to have been a fine Gothic building. The bishop's palace was, probably, near it. At a little distance to the north west, are remains of a very strong building, called the Iron Castle, from which there seems to have been three walls by the sea-side, and

several other buildings, as appears from many parts of the rock, which seem to have been cut out in order to lay foundations.

The Greeks have a bishop here, and a very good old church and convent. The Latin fathers of the Holy Sepulchre have apartments, and a chapel in a Kane, which serves as a convent; and all the Europeans live in the Kane, except the English consul. The Maronites and Armenians have each of them a church. The trade here, for the most part, consists in an export of corn for Europe, and of cotton for Egypt, and other places; many especially on this coast. The merchants frequently carry on this trade by advancing money to the Arabs before-hand, and taking the produce of their land at very reasonable rates, which gives the European merchants a great interest in the country.

As Acre is so remarkable in history, I took some pains in examining the ground and country about it. Half a mile east of the city is a small hill, improved by art; it is about half a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile broad, and is very steep every way, except to the south west; this was probably the camp of the besiegers, as it was a fine situation for that purpose; and the Pasha pitches his tent on this hill when he goes the yearly circuits to receive his tribute. To the north of this, there is an irregular rising ground, where there are great ruins of vaults, some of which seem to have been reservoirs of water; and probably this might be a place where they deposited some of the less valuable baggage of the army. To the north west of this place, and a mile to the north of the city, there is another fine situation for a camp, being a rising ground; on the highest part of it are the ruins of a very strong square tower, and near it is a mosque, a tower, and other great buildings; the place is called Abouotidy, from a Sheik who was buried there. Half way between this place and Acre, there is a fine well, which always abounds in water, and it is probable there might be some private canal from it to the city. One day I went about eight miles to the north east; at the distance of five miles from the town, we came to a rivulet, and travelled by the side of it in a narrow valley, between high hills; at the end of which we came to a castle on a hill; at the bottom of it there is a large building of hewn stone; this place is called by Europeans, The Enchanted Castle. The castle of Indi, and the Strong Mountain, or Mount Feret, are mentioned as fortresses belonging to the knights near Acre*; and it is probable this may be one of them; I should rather take it be Mount Feret and Indi might be at a village called Calour-Hansan, through which we passed in our return; it is on a rising ground, where I saw an ancient pillar of hewn stone; but it is certain, that the distances mentioned do not agree, which, I find, are not to be depended on, in the authors who write of the holy war.

CHAP. XIV. — *Of the Rivers Belus and Kishon; of Mount Carmel, and Caipha.*

I SET out from Acre, in order to go to mount Carmel and Casarea, to the south. I had with me two Christians, dressed like Turks, and well armed; we went round the bay, passing the mouth of the river Belus, where it is shallow. This river rises out of a lake, computed to be about six miles distant towards the south east, and is called by the antients, Palus Cendovia. Some authors speak of the sepulchre of Memnon near it, which I have had occasion to mention before†. There are antient writers who derive the name of Ake, given to the city, from a story relating to Hercules, that he

* Adrichomii Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ.

† See Vol I. pag. 104. note f.

was sent to seek for some herb on a river to heal his wounds, and found the Colocasia on the river Belus, which effected the cure*. It is said that the first glass was made of the sand of this river, probably by some accidental melting of it in the fire. Pliny accounts for the virtue of this sand in a very extravagant manner†; but Strabo mentions the sand between Ptolemais and Tyre, as proper for making glass‡; and speaks of an opinion, that it could be melted only at Sidon, which was probably owing to some particular art they had there. The river Belus, according to some geographers§, seems to be the torrent of Iphthahel, spoken of by St. Jerom, in explaining a passage of Jotham¶, where a valley of that name is mentioned, which may be this of Acre; it is said (but it must be understood only in some parts), to be the bounds of Zabulon, which extended to the sea of Tiberias, and was divided from the tribe of Issachar on the south by the river Kishon.

We went on round the bay, and, towards the south east corner, forded the river Kishon, which is a larger river than the Belus; and they told me, that it rises to the south of mount Tabor; but I suppose, that the sources of it are in the hills to the east of the plain of Esdraelon. Being enlarged by several small streams, it passes between Mount Carmel and the hills to the north, and then falls into the sea at this place. Here some make the tribe of Issachar to begin, and to extend near as far as Cæsarea, to the half tribe of Manasseh; if so, it took in all Mount Carmel, and part of the plain of Esdraelon, extending eastward to the river Jordan; but as the tribe of Aser is said to have bordered on the half tribe of Manasseh, others think, that Issachar was on the east of Mount Carmel, and did not extend to the sea. We came near the foot of Mount Carmel, and then turned to the west; this mountain extends from the sea, as far as the plain of Esdraelon eastward, and from this bay to Cæsarea southward. They have a tradition, that the part of the mountain, over this corner of the bay, was the spot famous for the sacrifice of Elijah, by fire from heaven, after the priests of Baal had, to no purpose, invoked their God, and cut themselves from morning to evening, on which Elijah caused them to be slain at the river Kishon¶. They say, this is the pleasantest part of the mountain, being beautified with many sorts of fruit trees; but I could not go to it, as it was at that time much infested by the Arabs.

We went on to Caipha, which is on the south side of the bay, opposite to Acre. I take it to be Calamon, which, in the Jerusalem Itinerary, is placed twelve miles from Ptolemais; Sicaminos is there mentioned, as three miles further in the way to Jerusalem; and Ptolemy puts it in the same degree of latitude as Mount Carmel; it might have been on the rising ground at that point of land which makes the southern entrance of the bay. Caipha is said also to have had the name of Porphureon, as it is conjectured, from the purple fish found on this coast, with which they made the Tyrian dye; and to have been called Hephah, or rather Kepha, from the rocky ground it is situated on; out of which many sepulchres are cut, mostly like single coffins, but not separated from the rock, and very much in the Jewish taste; it is not improbable that this place was inhabited by Jews. It was a bishopric, and there is a well-built old church entire, which might have been the cathedral. There are also ruins of a large building, that seems to have been the castle; and they have built two forts as a defence against the corsairs; for this, in reality, is the port of Acre, where ships lie at anchor; it being a bad shore on the other side, where they cannot remain with safety, by reason of the shallowness of the water.

* Akea ("Ακία) in Greek signifies cures.

† Strabo, xvi. 758.

‡ Adrichomius.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 65.

¶ Jos. xix. 14, 27.

¶ 1 Kings, xviii. 19.

I delivered a letter here to the Aga, who ordered two of his men to accompany me : Opposite to this place, we went up Mount Carmel, to the Latin convent of the Carmelites, inhabited only by two or three monks ; great part of the convent, and particularly the church and refectory, are grotts cut out of the rock, this place having been made a monastery not long ago ; for when the large convent was destroyed, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, they lived as hermits in the grottos, and used to meet and confer in a grot towards the foot of the hill, which is one of the finest I ever saw ; it is like a grand saloon, and is about forty feet long, twenty wide, and fifteen high ; it is cut out of the rock, and is now converted into a mosque. Over this convent are the ruins of the old monastery, where probably the order of Carmelites was instituted ; it might, at first, be inhabited by the Greek caloyers of the order of saint Elias, who had possession of these parts before the Latins were established here. Near it is a chapel in a grot, where, they say, Elias sometimes lived, which is resorted to with great devotion, even by the Turks, as well as by the Christians and Jews, on the festival of that saint. We staid all night in the Latin convent, from which there is a very fine prospect.

The next morning we descended the hill ; and turning to the west side of it, went a little way to the south, and then to the east, into a narrow valley, about a mile long, between the mountains, and came to the grotto, where, they say, Elias usually lived ; near it is his fountain, cut out of the rock. Here are the ruins of a convent, which, they say, was built by Brocardus, the second general of the Latin Carmelites, who has wrote an account of the Holy Land. Over this, on the top of the hill, is a spot of ground which they call Elias's garden, because they find many stones there, resembling pears, olives, and, as they imagine, water melons ; the last, when broke, appear to be hollow, and the inside beautifully crytallized. One part of this spot they call the Garden-wall, which looks like an old foundation ; it is about eight feet wide, and near a quarter of a mile long, and seems to have been a trench filled with loose stones. I could not learn what this really was, but conjecture, that it was a long basin dug to receive the rain water, either to feed the fountain below, or to be conveyed some way or other to the convent, which is at a distance from the fountain ; for I saw several basins about the convent, cut out of the rock, and full of water. They might fill up this place with stones, that it might remain undiscovered, and not be destroyed by the Arabs ; among these stones especially, there are a great number that have a crytallization in them.

CHAP. XV. — *Of castle Pellegrino, Tortura, and Casarea by the sea side.*

WE went on to castle Pellegrino, which is the name given it by the Franks ; but the natives call it Athlete, which probably was the name the Greeks gave it, on account of its strength. It is situated on a small rocky promontory, that extends about a quarter of a mile into the sea, and is near half a quarter of a mile broad, having a small bay to the south. This place was formerly called Petra incisa ; I suppose in the middle ages, and probably from its situation on a rock, and having a fosse cut on the east side of it, so as to make it an island, as it probably was, before the fosse was filled up with sand. There seems to have been a town to the east and south east of the promontory, as appears from the walls, which are almost entire, and are built of large hewn stone rusticated. The town was about a quarter of a mile broad from east to west, and half a mile long from north to south ; the sea being to the north, and the castle and sea to the west ; there are no walls on those sides, except the buildings of

the castle. The bay is now choked up with sand, which is risen almost as high as the city walls, inasmuch that there are very few signs of any ruins to be seen. The castle itself is very magnificent, and is encompassed with two walls fifteen feet thick; the inner wall, on the east side, cannot be less than forty feet high, and within it there appear to have been some very grand apartments; the offices of the fortress seem to have been at the west end, where I saw an oven eighteen feet in diameter. In the castle there are remains of a fine lofty church of ten sides, built in a light Gothic taste; three chapels are built to the three eastern sides, each of which consists of five sides, excepting the opening to the church; in these, it is probable, the three chief altars stood. The castle seems to have been built by the Greek emperors, as a place for arms, at the time when they were apprehensive of the invasions of the Saracens; and probably was in the possession of the Christians, when they regained Palestine. The whole is so magnificent, and so finely built, that it may be reckoned as one of the things that are best worth seeing in these parts. I staid here all night, and was entertained by the shiek, to whom I had a letter from the consul, but was obliged to pay a caphar, of about half a guinea.

The next morning we set out very early, with some persons whom the shiek ordered to go with us, and travelled, as they computed, about ten miles south to Tortura, a small village, with a port to the south, for large boats, which are sometimes forced to put in there by stress of weather, when passengers are obliged to pay a caphar of a sequin, or nine shillings a head. This seems to be the antient Dora, mentioned by saint Jerom, as nine miles from Cæsarea*. The present village is to the east side of the bay; to the north of the port, there is a small promontory, on which there is a ruined castle; here probably was the old town, as it is mentioned to have been a peninsula. Being recommended to the shiek of this place, I received very great civilities from him, and he pressed us much to dine with him in our return.

We went on towards Cæsarea, and came to a river called Coradgè; probably the Kerseos of Ptolemy, which he places four miles south of Dora. We afterwards passed the river Zirka, about three miles north of Cæsarea; this, I suppose, is the river Crocodilon of Pliny†, which he mentions with a city of the same name, spoken of also by Strabo‡, as a place that was then destroyed§. When I returned to Acre, I happened to ask, if there was any tradition of such a city towards Cæsarea; and they told me, that there were crocodiles in the river Zirka, which I should not have believed if it had not been confirmed by very good authorities, and that some of them had been brought to Acre; which I found attested by all the Europeans there; and I find since, that it is mentioned by an historian of those parts, that there were crocodiles in the river Cæsarea of Palestine||: They say, the crocodiles are small, not exceeding five or six feet in length, but however, that they have taken some young cattle that were standing in the river; so that it is probable, a colony from some city in Egypt, that worshipped the crocodiles, came and settled here, and brought their deities along with

* See Reland's *Palæstine*, under DORA.

† Hinc redeundum est ad oram, atque Phœnicen. Fuit oppidum Crocodilon, est (1) flumen: memoria urbium, Doron, Sycaminon. *Plin. Nat. v. 17.*

‡ Strabo, xvi. 758.

§ Johannis de Vitriaco *Historia Hierosolymitana*, c. 86. Crocodili habitant in flumine Cæsareæ Palæstinae; as quoted in Reland's *Palæstine*, lib. iii. under CÆSARÆA. Breidenbac also mentions crocodiles in a lake to the east of Cæsarea.

|| See Reland's *Palæstine*, *ibid.*

(1) Lege, & flumen,

them. I observed to the south of this river, a high ground, which might be the site of the ancient city.

We came to Cæsarea, mentioned by the ancients as sixty-two miles distant from Jerusalem, thirty from Joppa, and thirty-six from Acre; it was anciently called the tower of Strato, as it is said, from a Greek, who was founder of it. A city was afterwards built here by Herod, and called Cæsarea, in honour of Augustus, and it was named Cæsarea of Palestine, to distinguish it from Cæsarea Philippi, or Cæsarea Paneadis, which was at the rise of the river Jordan; it was made a Roman colony by Vespasian, and called the Flavian colony, from his family *. The ancient city extended further to the north than the present walls; for I saw a wall on the shore, which I observed to run about half a mile to the north, near to some aqueducts.

Josephus † particularly describes the extraordinary port made by Herod; the entrance of it was to the north, probably near the head of land, which seems to be a work of later date: a mole is mentioned, as carried out two hundred feet into the sea. It is probable that the round tower, called Drusus, in honour of Augustus's grandson, was at the end of it, where there are now some small ruins. I observed flat rocks about this port, on which, it is probable, some works were raised, to shelter the ships from the westerly winds. Cæsar's temple, and the colossal statues of Augustus and Rome, are mentioned as on a hill, towards the middle of the port. There are three rising grounds at the bottom of the port; that in the middle might be the site of the temple; that to the north might be the forum; and the hill to the south the theatre; behind which, to the south of the port, he says, was the amphitheatre; and I suppose, the rising ground was made by the ruins of it, which, in the situation, answers very nearly to his description, that it commanded a fine view of the sea. The aqueducts mentioned to the north, which might bring water from the river, run north and south; the lower aqueduct, which is to the east of the other, is carried along on a wall without arches, and of no great height; it is thirteen feet thick, and seems to have conveyed a great body of water in an arched channel, which is five feet six inches wide. This aqueduct, as well as the other, is almost buried in the sand. The other aqueduct, forty yards nearer the sea, is built on arches; the side of it next the sea, is a rusticated work; but the east side is plastered with a very strong cement, probably to prevent any damage from the sands that might be drove against it. The walls of the town, which are now remaining, are said to have been built by Lewis the ninth of France, in the time of the holy war; they are of small hewn stone, and about a mile in circumference, defended by a broad fosse; from the south west corner of them is the point of land before mentioned, where there are ruins of a very strong castle, which seems to have been built at the same time as the walls, and is full of fragments of very fine marble pillars, some of which are of granite, cippolino, and a beautiful grey alabaster; they shew a large stone of granite near it, which they call Hajar Murnoque, and tell some stories of it. To the north of this there seems to have been a small port, perhaps of the middle ages. Within the walls of the city there are great ruins of arched houses, which probably were built during the time of the holy war; but the ground is so much overgrown with briars and thistles, that it was impossible to go to any part, where there was not a beaten path; it is a remarkable resort for wild boars, which abound also in the neighbouring plain; and when the Mahometans kill them, they leave their carcases on the spot, as it would defile them only to touch them. There

* On a medal of Marcus Aurelius, it is called COL. PRIMA + L. AVG. CAESAREA.

† Josephi Antiq. Jud. l. xv. c. 13. & De bello Jud. i. 21.

are only two or three poor families that live here, and are in perpetual fear of the Arabs, against whom their poverty is their best security. There is no other remarkable ruin within the walls, except a large church, which probably was the cathedral of the archbishop, who had twenty bishops under him; it is a strong building, and appears to have been destroyed by war, as well as the castle. By what I could conjecture, it seems to have been built in the style of the Syrian churches, with three naves, which ended to the east in semicircles, where they had their principal altars. The rising ground to the south, where I suppose the amphitheatre was built, seems to have been the site of a castle in later ages, and to have had a square tower at each corner, and a fosse on three sides of it. This city is remarkable in sacred writ upon several accounts; Cornelius* the centurion lived here, who was admonished by an angel to send for saint Peter to Joppa, when the apostle had that remarkable vision, by which he was directed to preach the gospel to the Gentiles: They have a tradition, that Cornelius was the first bishop of this city. Philip the evangelist lived here with his four sisters, who were prophetesses†: Saint Paul was kept in this city in Herod's palace, and pleaded before king Agrippa and Felix, from whose judgment he appealed to Rome‡; and on his departure from this place to Jerusalem, Agabus prophesied of his future sufferings, by binding himself with Paul's girdle, and declaring, that the person who owned it, should be bound in like manner||: And as this harbour was then become the great port of Palestine, we find the apostles embarking and landing at it¶.

We set out on our return from this place, taking some refreshment when we came to the river, and went about half a mile to the east of Tortura, not designing to stop there; but when we were opposite to that place, the shiek sent out his people to call after us, and we found that we must go and dine with him, for if we had not, he would have taken it as a very great affront, especially as he had prepared a dinner for us, which chiefly consisted of pilaw, with some small pieces of boiled and roast mutton in it; and being entertained with coffee, we went on to castle Pellegrino; the next day we dined at the Latin convent on Mount Carmel, and the wind being fair, I took a boat, and crossed over the bay to Acre.

CHAP. XVI. — *Of Sephor, Nazareth, Mount Tabor, and the plain of Esdraelon.*

I SET out from Acre, in order to go to Nazareth, on the eighth of May, in the afternoon; having two Christians, natives of Nazareth, to guard me, as I had in the journey to Caesarea. We went eastward through the plain of Acre, and to the south of a small round hill, which lies north of the further end of the bay; the ascent is steep, and there is a well at the foot of it. Bethedem might be situated here, which is mentioned by St. Jerom among the places of Palestine, as eight miles to the east of Acre, though it is not so far from that city. To the east of the bay is a low round hill, called Dhouk; I saw some walls on it, within which, they told me, they kept their oxen in the ploughing season. Misheal**, or Mashal††, of the Levites, is mentioned in scripture to be in the tribe of Asher, and in the neighbourhood of Carmel; it is likewise spoken of by saint Jerom, as near that mountain and the sea, and possibly it might be on this hill. The plain towards the east is called the country of Saphet, being a jurisdiction under a city of the same name; it is an exceeding rich plain, but

* Acts, x. 24.

† Acts, xxi. 8.

‡ Acts, xxvi.

|| Acts, xxi. 10.

¶ Acts, ix. 30. xviii. 22.

** Joshua, xix. 26.

†† 1 Chron. vi. 74.

almost impassable after rain, nor is it easy to ride through it in dry weather, except in the high road, on account of the clefts which are made in the earth by the heats. There are a great number of wild boars here. I observed, that the plain was well cultivated with corn and cotton; they sow the latter in the beginning of May, and turn up the ground so lightly, that I saw the stalks of the last year's cotton remaining; for here the cotton is annual; whereas in upper Egypt and in America, they cultivate the perennial cotton, which I saw in blossom about Elne in upper Egypt, at the beginning of February, but here it is not ripe till September; so that it must be a plant that thrives in a dry season. We came to a well at the foot of a hill, on which there is a village called *Perè*; the oxen raise the water by a bucket and rope, without a wheel, and so by driving them from the well, the bucket is drawn up; the women carry the water in earthen jars up the hill to water the plantations of tobacco. They told me, there was a village called *Damora*, to the north; and beyond it is *Swamor* and *Berroe*; and west of it a mountain called *Talkizon*; we went up the hill by *Perè*; beyond it is *Ethphahani*; we then descended into a valley, which joins the great plain to the south west, and soon ascended another hill; and having travelled about two miles, we came to the village of *Abylene*. Though there were several places of the same name, yet I do not find any in this country that was so antiently called. Here one of the great sheiks resides, who would have prepared a collation for us, and asked us to stay all night, but we only took coffee, and he sent a man with us. I observed many cisterns on the hill; and we descended into the pleasant narrow vale of *Abylene*, having low hills on each side covered with trees, chiefly the *Caroubi*; and a sort of oak with large whitish leaves, but I am doubtful whether it was ever-green or not; and some other trees not known in Europe.

Having travelled about three miles, we came into the fine plain or valley of *Zabulon*, called *Zaal-Hatour*; I suppose about *Perè* we entered into the tribe of *Zabulon*, which was bounded by the river *Kishon* to the south, by the sea of *Tiberias* to the east, and on the north by a line from the north end of that lake to the tribe of *Asher*; and probably it extended to the east end of the bay of *Acre*, as it is mentioned to be at the haven of the sea, and as an harbour of ships*; and the tribe of *Asher* might, notwithstanding, be both to the north and south of this bay; the hills east of the plains of *Acre* and *Tyre*, seem to have been the bounds between *Zabulon* and *Asher*. Both this tribe, and *Asher*, and all that country west of the sea of *Tiberias*, and of the river *Jordan*, which is to the north of *Carmel*, is thought to have been *Galilee*. This plain, I conjecture, is about three miles broad and ten long, extending to the plain of *Eldraelon*, being a fine fruitful spot, and all covered with corn: We passed to the left of a beautiful hill, which had a village on it called *Bedoui*; possibly the town of *Zabulon* might be situated on this hill, being spoken of as a strong place†; or it might be on the hill, which I shall mention, to the south. At the foot of the hill is what the monks call the well of *Zabulon*; the water is drawn by boys in leathern buckets, and carried in jars up the hill on women's heads. On the east side of the plain is the village *Romani*, probably so called from the pomegranates that may grow there‡; and on the other side of the vale is *Gana* or *Kana*, which I shall have occasion to mention; and *Der Hanan* is to the north west, at some distance among the hills. They say it is now only a castle; but from the name it seems to have been formerly dedicated to *Saint John*. When we were towards the east side of the plain, the man sent by the sheik of *Abylene* said he saw two horsemen to the south, under a hill which stretches southwards in the plain;

* Gen. xlii. 13. † Josephus De bello Judaico, ii. 57. ‡ *Romani* signifies pomegranates in Arabic.

he rode towards the place, but could see nobody, on which he returned; soon after, they said they saw about ten men riding swiftly towards us, and as many coming full speed down the hill; my servant said the same, though I did not see them, which possibly might be owing to the height of the standing corn, for the corn was not then cut: a panic seized us all, not without reason, if they were so numerous, and we rode as fast as possibly we could until we got to the foot of the hill that leads up to Sephoury.

We ascended the high hill on which the antient city of Sephor or Sephoris stood, the strongest of all this country; it was made the capital of Galilee; an honour which before was enjoyed by Tiberias. This place was also called Diocæsarea. One of the five judicatures of Palestine was held at it; the others being at Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, and Amathus. This town was fortified by Herod, but upon some insurrection of the Jews it was destroyed in the time of Constantius. There is a castle on the top of the hill, with a fine tower of hewn stone; and near half a mile below it is the village of Sephoury, called by the Christians Saint Anna, because they have a tradition, that Joachim and Anna, the parents of the blessed virgin, lived here, and that their house was on the spot where there are ruins of a church, with some fragments of pillars of grey granite about it. Here the Greeks have a small chapel, and there are several broken stone coffins about the village.

As it was not thought safe to go further, the Greek priest invited us to his house; but it was proper we should be with the sheik, who made us a fire in a ruined Mocot, and sent us boiled milk, eggs, and coffee, and we were obliged to lodge in a very bad place.

The next morning, the ninth, we set out for Nazareth: About a mile to the south east is the fine fountain of Sephoury, which probably is the fountain of this name, where the kings of Jerusalem, during the holy war, encamped their armies, on account of the great plenty of water and herbage that there is about this place; and it is particularly mentioned in the account of the siege of Acre. We went through a small plain or valley which stretches to the north east, and saw a place called Reineh: we ascended a hill, and soon after came into the high road to Nazareth, from the north; and turning to the south, we went down a rocky hill to Nazareth, which is situated on the east side of a low ridge of hills that run to the south; there being another to the east of it in the same direction, and a very narrow valley between them; all the hills are of a soft white stone.

The Latin fathers of the Holy Sepulchre have a large well built convent and church here, where I abode during my stay in this place. Near the present church are some remains of a much larger, which seems by the architecture to be of the time of the empress Helena; for there remain several capitals, and bases of pillars, and other pieces of antient work, in a tolerable good taste; and over a door there is an old alt-relief of Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes. The church is said to be built over the place where the house of Joseph and Mary stood, and they shew the spot, from which, they say, the holy house of Loretto was removed; there is a descent to it by steps, and within it there is a grot cut out of the soft rock, to which, it is said, the house adjoined, so that the grotto was part of their habitation. The great church built over the house of Joseph is mentioned by the writers of the seventh and twelfth century. To the north of the convent are ruins of a small church, which, it is said, was on the spot where Joseph had his house, probably apart from the women, according to the eastern custom, where they suppose he exercised his trade: to the west of this there is a small arched building, which, they say, is the synagogue where Christ explained the text of Isaiah

concerning himself, by which he gave such great offence to his countrymen *. And on the other side of the hill to the west, they shew a large rock in a quarry, on which they affirm that Christ eat with his disciples.

About a furlong to the north of the village is a fountain, over which there is an arch turned ; it runs into a beautiful marble vase, that seems to have been a tomb. Beyond it is a Greek church under ground, where the Greeks say, the angel Gabriel first saluted the blessed virgin ; there is a fountain in it, and formerly there was a church built over it †.

We went two miles south to the mountain of the precipice, winding round to a part of the valley, which is very narrow, having high hills on each side of it. To the west is the mountain of the precipice, which is towards the south end of a steep and rocky ridge of hills. We ascended about a quarter of the way up the hill, where there is an altar cut in the rock, with an arch over it, and some remains of a Mosaic pavement ; there are two cisterns near it ; the monks come here sometimes to celebrate mass. About forty feet higher is the place from which, they say, the Jews would have thrown our Saviour down ‡. There are two high stones at the edge of the rock, like a parapet wall, where they shew, what they say are the prints of Christ's hands and feet, when he resisted the violence they used against him. We ascended to the top of the hill, which is so covered with great loose pieces of rock, that it was difficult to descend into the valley to the north east, in which we returned ; and winding round in the vale to the west, came to Beer-Emir [The Well of the Prince], where I saw an ancient marble coffin, adorned with a relief of three festoons.

We went up the hill on the south, to a village called Jaffa, which is to the west of the precipice. Beyond the village there is an altar to St. John the Evangelist, where, they say, the house of Zebedee stood, who was the father of James and John, and here the monks celebrate on St. John's day. From this place I had a fine view of the west part of the vale of Esdraelon, which extends to Mount Carmel. The sheik of the village entertained us with fried eggs, four milk, and coffee. We returned by the Prince's Well, and going near a mile further towards Nazareth, we ascended a hill to the east, on which there are the ruins of a church, called Our Lady of Fear, because, they say, the blessed Virgin followed Christ so far, when they were leading him away, to throw him down the precipice.

On the tenth, we left Nazareth, very early in the morning, to go eastward to Mount Tabor, called by the people Jebel Tour ; and travelling two hours between low hills, we came into the plain of Esdraelon ; the mount is on the west side of it, and about two leagues distant from Nazareth ; it is one of the finest hills I ever beheld, being a rich soil, that produces excellent herbage, and is most beautifully adorned with groves and clumps of trees. The ascent is so easy, that we rode up the north side by a winding road. Some authors mention it as near four miles high, others as about two ; the latter may be true, as to the winding ascent up the hill ; this mountain is situated in the great plain of Esdraelon ; the top of it, which is about half a mile long, and near a quarter of a mile broad, is encompassed with a wall, which Josephus built in forty days ; there was also a wall along the middle of it, which divided the south part, on which the city stood, from the north part, which is lower, and is called the Meidan, or place, being probably used for exercises when there was a city here, which Josephus mentions by the name of Ataburion ; within the outer wall, on the north side, are several deep fosses, out of which, it is probable, the stones were dug to build the walls ; and these fosses seem to have an-

* St. Luke, iv.

† See Reland, under Nazareth.

‡ Luke, iv. 29.

flowered the end of cisterns, to preserve the rain water, and were also some defence to the city. There are likewise a great number of cisterns under ground, for preserving the rain water; to the south, where the ascent to the hill, or approach to the walls was most easy, there are fosses cut on the outside to render the access more difficult. Some of the gates also of the city remain, as Babel Houah [The Gate of the Winds] to the west, and Babel-Kubbe [The Arched Gate], which is a small one to the south. Antiochus, king of Syria, took the fortress on the top of this hill; Vespasian also got possession of it, and, after that, Josephus fortified it with strong walls; but what has made it more famous than any thing else, is the common opinion from the time of St. Jerom, that the transfiguration of our Saviour was on this mountain, when Moses and Elias appeared as talking to him in the presence of Peter, James, and John *.

On the east part of the hill are the remains of a strong castle, and within the precinct of it is the grot, in which there are three altars, in memory of the three tabernacles, which St. Peter proposed to build; and where the Latin fathers always celebrate on the day of the transfiguration. It is said, there was a magnificent church built here by St. Helena, which was a cathedral when this town was made a bishop's see. Some late authors have thought, that this was not the place of the transfiguration; but as the tradition has been so universal, their opinion is generally exploded. There was formerly a convent of Benedictine monks here; and on another part of the hill a monastery of Basilians, where the Greeks have an altar, and perform their divine service on the festival of the transfiguration; on the side of the hill, they shew a church in a grot, where, they say, Christ charged his disciples not to tell what things they had seen till he was glorified.

Mount Tabor is not only a most beautiful hill in itself, but also commands a very glorious prospect, especially of many places famous in sacred writ; as, to the south, of the mountains of Samaria, and the hills of Engaddi; to the east, what they call the hill of Hermon, and, at the foot of it, Nain and Endor, and, north east of that, the mountains of Gilboa, so fatal to the family of Saul. As to Hermon, a mountain of that name is mentioned by St. Jerom † in this part; but it may be very much doubted, whether this is really the hill that is meant in scripture, for the reasons I shall hereafter give. At the south-west corner of the plain one sees Mount Carmel; to the north, the mount on which our Saviour delivered his sermon to the people, and, near it, the place where he blessed, and miraculously distributed the loaves to the multitudes. The sea of Tiberias is likewise seen from this height; and to the north west of it, Sapet, on a very high mountain; to the north of which, a much higher is seen, called Gebel-Sheik, which seems to be Hermon, and is always covered with snow; at the foot of it the river Jordan rises, a little more than a day's journey distant from Damascus.

At the foot of Mount Tabor, to the west, on a rising ground, there is a village called Debourah, probably the same that is mentioned in scripture ‡ on the borders of the tribes of Zabulon and Issachar. There is likewise a ruined church at that place, where, it is said, Christ left the rest of the disciples before his transfiguration. Any one who examines the fourth chapter of Judges, may see that this is probably the spot where Barak and Deborah met at Mount Tabor with their forces, and went to pursue Sisera; and, on this account, it might have its name from that great prophetess, who then judged and governed Israel; for Josephus § relates, that Deborah and Barak gathered the army together at this mountain ||.

* Matt. xvii. Luke ix. Mark ix.
& xxl. 28.

§ Josephus Antiq. vi. 5.

† Epistola 44. Paulæ ad Marcellam.

|| Joseph. xix. 12.

‡ Jos. xix. 12.

I returned from Mount Tabor, going to the south through the plain of Esdraelon, and came to the village of Zal, which is about three miles from Tabor, situated on a rocky ground, rising a little above the plain; near it there are many sepulchres cut in the rock; some of them are like stone coffins above ground; others are cut into the rock, like graves; some of them having stone covers over them; so that formerly this might be no inconsiderable place; and perhaps it was Xalod [Ξαλωδ] mentioned by Josephus, in the great plain, as the bounds of lower Galilee to the south. Turning west, I passed near the mountain of the precipice already described, and ascending the hills near Jaffa, returned to Nazareth.

CHAP. XVII.—*Of Cana in Galilee, the Mount of Beatitudes, Bethsaida, the town and sea of Tiberias, and some places near them.*

I SET out from Nazareth on the twenty-second of May, and went northward to Meshed, which, the Turks say, is the country of Jonah; they also shewed me a niche in a mosque, where it is said his sepulchre was. St. Jerom, in his preface to the book of Jonah, mentions Geth, two miles from Saphorim, in the way to Tiberias, which is supposed to be Gittah-Hepher, mentioned in scripture as the bounds of the tribe of Zabulon; and says, it was the country of Jonah, and the place where they shewed his sepulchre; now this village is about three miles from Sepphoreh; so that probably the name of it is changed since his time. But there are some who mention Kirjath Jeirim, or Kirjath Maura, near Azotus, as the country of this prophet*. The sheik hearing that I belonged to the English consul, brought us a collation of fried eggs, four milk, and coffee.

About two miles further is Kepher Kenna, where the Latins say our Saviour wrought his first miracle of turning water into wine, at the marriage of Cana†. On the south side of the village is a fountain, out of which, they say, the water was taken that was turned into wine; and near it are the ruins of a church dedicated to St. Bartholomew, and said to have been his house. In the village there is a large ruined building, the walls of which are almost entire; whether it was a house or church I could not well judge; but they say, that the house of the marriage was on this spot; near it is a large new Greek church; it is certain this situation so near Nazareth, makes it very probable, that it was the place where this miracle was wrought; but the Greeks have a tradition that it was at Gana, on the west side of the plain of Zabulon, about three or four miles north-west of Sepphoreh; and it is very extraordinary they should allow, that the water was carried from this fountain, which is at the distance of four or five miles from it. Whichever was the place, it seemed to be a matter unsettled about the beginning of the last century, when a writer‡ on the holy land endeavoured to fix it here, as the most probable place, though Adrichomius seems to give such a description of it from several authors, as would incline to think that it was the other Kana. About three miles further is the spot where they say the disciples plucked the ears of corn, as they went through the fields on a sabbath day§.

Twelve miles north north east from Nazareth, we came to the mount of Beatitudes, where our Saviour delivered his remarkable sermon||; it is about ten miles north of Mount Tabor. From the plain to the south it appears like a long low hill, with a mount at the east and west end, from which it seems to have the name of Kern-el-

* Epiphanius De vitis prophetarum. p. 246.

Mark, ii. 23. Luke, vi. 1.

|| Matt. v.

† John ii. 1.

‡ Quaresmius.

§ Matt. xii. 1.

Hutin [The horns of Hutin] the village of Hutin being under it. At the first sight the whole hill appears to be rocky and uneven, but the eastern mount is a level surface covered with fine herbage; and here, they say, it was that those blessings proceeded out of the mouth of the Redeemer of mankind; the mount is ninety paces long, and sixty wide. About the middle of this eastern mount are the foundations of a small church twenty-two feet square, on a ground a little elevated, which probably is the place where they supposed our Saviour was when he spake to his disciples. To the west of it there is a cistern under ground, which might serve for the use of those who had the care of the church. About two miles to the east, near the brow of this high ground which runs to the sea of Tiberias, there are several large black stones; two of them stand together, and are larger than the rest; and, it is said, Christ blessed the loaves on them, when he fed the five thousand, whom he made to sit down on the grass*.

The hills called Kern-el-Hutin, though they appear low to the south, yet are very high with regard to the plain of Hutin, which is to the north of them; to which I descended, and went to the village of Hutin, which lies at the foot of the mountain of Beatitudes, to the west. This place is famous for some pleasant gardens of lemon and orange trees; and here the Turks have a mosque, to which they pay great veneration, having, as they say, a great sheik buried there, whom they call Sede Ishab, who, according to tradition, (as a very learned Jew assured me), is Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses.

Two miles north east of Hutin, and north of the plain of Hutin, is a narrow pass called Waad Hymam [The valley of doves], which is a descent between two rocky mountains into the plain of Gennesareth, which is westward of the middle part of the sea of Tiberias. These mountains are full of sepulchral grotts, which probably belonged to the towns and villages near; on the north side of the hill, over the plain of Gennesareth, there is a fortress cut into the perpendicular rock a considerable height, with a great number of apartments; the ascent to which is very steep; it is said by some to be the work, or at least the improvement of Feckerdine. The reason of my mentioning this pass so particularly is, because south of it in the plain of Hutin, and about two miles west of the sea of Tiberias, are the ruins of a town, or large village, which is now called Baitfida, and must have been the ancient Bethsaida of Galilee, so often mentioned in the gospel. I cannot find that this has been yet thoroughly settled by any authors; and the writers on ancient geography finding there was a Bethsaida east of the sea of Tiberias, or of Jordan, in Gaulonitis, have very much doubted whether there was another to the west of that sea, and consequently have concluded, that our Saviour spoke of that on the east; but as the town on the east had its name changed to Julias by Philip the Tetrarch, before our Saviour frequented those parts, it may easily be concluded, that the eastern place was never intended, but always this town, which is in

* From the hill Kern-el-Hutin, I had a view of the country round about; to the south west I saw Jebel-Fejar, extending to Sephor; Elmiham was mentioned to the south of it: I saw the tops of Carmel, then Jebel Turan, near the plain of Zabulon, which extends to Jebel Hutin. Beginning at the north west, and going to the north east, I saw Jebel Igermick, about which they named to me these places, Sekeneen, Elbany, Sejaour, Nah, Rameh, Mogor, Orady, Trenon, Kobresiad; and further east, on other hills, Meironi, Tokin on a hill, and Nouesy; and directly north of Hutin is Saphet; and to the east of the hill on which that city stands, Kan Tehar and Kan Eminie were mentioned; and to the north of the sea of Tiberias I saw Jebel esheik. From Mount Tabor, Ouademedy was pointed out to the north west; Kan-Jeuna-Jear, in the middle of the plain to the north, from which that part of the plain is called Zaal-El-Rane; Kuphro and Sept were mentioned towards the north-east. On the east side, north of Gilboa, they shewed Kouphrokameh, Elkaharah, Merfhab, Ouad-Elberry, Meador, Elhadely, Rounem, Syren, and on a hill Koukebel-Houah, and the river Jaulouc was mentioned; to the south are Tiby, Tamerah, Kouprofde-Mesr, and Naourah, near Mount Hermon.

Galilee; and though it be two miles distant from the sea or lake, yet it may be said, without any impropriety, to be by the sea of Tiberias; there are ruins of a large cistern, and other buildings here, and particularly great remains of a church, and of a very fine worked door case to it of white marble, and some columns.

Three miles to the east south east is the town of Tiberias, situated on the sea of that name, at the north end of a narrow plain, that runs along by the sea of Tiberias, and extends farther south by the river Jordan, being about half a mile broad. The town has indifferent walls on three sides, on the fourth it is open to the lake, and is three quarters of a mile in circumference, being a quarter of a mile in length, and half a quarter of a mile broad; there are remains of a very large castle in it, and the sheik has lately built one on the hill north of it; excepting that it is encompassed with a wall, this town is like a village; the few houses in it being not built contiguous. At the north-east corner of the town there is an oblong square church, arched over, and dedicated to St. Peter; it is mentioned by ancient authors, and said by some to be on the spot where the house of St. Peter was. The Latin fathers come to it from Nazareth every year, to celebrate on the day of his festival. As to the old city, said to be built by Herod, and named in honour of Tiberias, it is not known, whether there was any town here before that time, or if there was, what name it bore; though some falsely think the town of Kenereth was here, which was in Napthali; whereas Tiberias was in the tribe of Zabulon; it is said by some to have been built by Tiberius himself. The town extended about half a mile further to the south than the present enclosure; where there are a great number of confused ruins, and I observed, that the suburbs extended still further south. Near the present town there are ruins of a church, and further some signs of a large square building, about which there lie several pillars, which might be the house of the government; this having been the head city of Galilee, till that dignity was afterwards conferred on Sepporeh, as above mentioned. Justinian repaired the walls of the old city.

When Jerusalem was destroyed, the Jewish rabbins came and lived here till the eleventh century; and at this time, when they were digging for stone on the north side of the town, in order to build the castle, they found a great number of sepulchres made under ground, in which they said, the Jews were buried; but whether they are of so great antiquity, or no, I will not venture to affirm; for the Jews have left the place above eight hundred years. Over the gate way that leads from the sheik's house to this lake, there is one side of a stone coffin, adorned with reliefs; it has a crown of flowers in the middle, with a bull, or some other animal, within it; on each side of it there is a festoon, one end of which is supported by a spread eagle.

There are hot baths a quarter of a mile south of the walls of old Tiberias; I observed a red settlement on the stones; the waters are very hot, and are used for bathing, being esteemed good for all sorts of pains and tumors, and, they say, even for the gout*. Authors commonly give this place the name of Emmaus, the Hebrew word for baths; but it is now called by the Arabian name of Hamam. There is a building over the spring, and some conveniency for bathing. I took a bottle of these waters, and had them assayed; and it was found, that they had in them a considerable quantity of gross fixed vitriol, some alum, and a mineral salt.

When I came near Tiberias, I sent a man before with a letter from the consul to the sheik, who, having much company with him, ordered his steward to entertain me

* *Jordanis amnis—ubi prima convallium fuit occasio, in lacum se fundit, quem plures Genesaram vocant—amnis circumsej tum oppidis—ab occidente Tiberiade aquis calidis salubris. Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 15.*

at his house, and provisions were sent from the sheik's kitchen. We supped on the top of the house for coolness, according to their custom, and lodged there likewise in a sort of closet, about eight feet square, of wicker work, plaistered round towards the bottom, but without any doors; each person having his cell: they drive their cattle within the walls every night, lest they should be stolen, so that the place abounds with vermin; and as they have a great number of asses, as well as other cattle, we were frequently disturbed with their noise. We dined there the next day, and went on the lake in a boat, which they keep in order to bring wood from the other side. We diverted ourselves by fishing with casting-nets, which they use here; and they stand on a rock, or on the shore, and throw whenever they see the fish. I waited on the sheik to desire two men to accompany me to Saphet.

When I was at Tiberias they were very busy in making a fort on the height to the north of the town, and in strengthening the old walls with buttresses on the inside, the sheik having a dispute with the pasha of Damascus; who after this took his brother in a skirmish, and caused him to be publickly hanged in that city; but the pasha being soon after removed, they were freed from their apprehensions on that account. They have often had disputes with the pashas of Damascus, who have come and planted their cannon against their city, and sometimes have beat down part of their walls, but were never able to take it.

The sea of Tiberias is a very fine lake; the mountains on the east come close to it; the country on that side has not a very agreeable aspect: to the west of it is the plain of Tiberias, the high ground of the plain of Hutin, the plain of Gennesareth, and the foot of those hills by which one ascends to the high mountain of Saphet; to the north and south it is a plain country. Josephus computes it to be eighteen miles long, and five broad, though I think it is not above fourteen or fifteen miles long; it is reckoned to be about seventy five miles north of the Dead Sea. The water is esteemed very good, and abounds much in fish, and has crabs in it, as there are in most of the lakes and rivers of Asia. A learned Jew, with whom I discoursed at Saphet, lamented that he could not have an opportunity, when he was at Tiberias, to go in a boat to see the well of Miriam in this lake, which, he said, according to their Talmudical writers, was fixed in this sea, after it had accompanied the children of Israel through the wilderness, and that the water of it might be seen continually rising up.

As Christ lived at Capernaum on this sea, there were many very remarkable things done by him in and about this lake. There is nothing known of the places mentioned in scripture on the east side of it.

I went along the west side of the lake to the south end of it, which is four miles from Tiberias, and came to the place where the lake empties itself into Jordan; it is very narrow there, being not above two miles broad, and the channel of the river is rather nearer to the west side. Jordan first runs south for about a furlong, and then turns west for about half a mile: in this space, between the river and the lake, there is a rising ground, called Il-Carak, which seems to have been improved into a fortification; and on the west side of it are some signs of buildings, where there is a very long bridge, or causeway, built with arches over a marshy ground, under which the water flows into Jordan, when the lake is high, making the side of the above mentioned town or fortress an island; by cutting a channel here, they might always have a stream, which would make it a very strong place, even at this time, as it is out of the reach of ordinary cannon from the western hills, except from a small height in the plain, which formerly might add to its strength, by defending the pass, there being on it some marks of an ancient building. I find the old geographers place

Sennabris here, because it is mentioned by Josephus to be thirty stadia from Tiberias, in the way to Scythopolis; it is a place very little frequented. On the other side of Jordan, I saw very large herds of wild boars, and several of them on the same side lying among the reeds by the sea. On the east side of the sea, towards this end, is a narrow plain, where some geographers place Hippos, mentioned as thirty stadia from Tiberias; I was assured, that a river runs through that plain, from a narrow vale between the hills, and continuing its course on the east side of Jordan, falls into it four hours, that is, eight or ten miles, to the south of the lake, below which there is a bridge over the river, probably where the antient Scythopolis stood; this river is called Sheriet Moufeh [the Jordan of Moses], and I was informed, that it is as large as the river Jordan, when the waters are high, and that it rises at the distance of three days journey in the country of Tauran. This seems to be the river Hieromiace, that ran by Gadara*, which was a town seven miles and a half distant from Tiberias; it is thought to be Jarmuth of the Talmudists; and may be Jabbok, the northern bounds of the kingdom of the Amorrhites, as Arnon bounded it to the south: it consisted of the tribes of Gad and Reuben; as the countries north of it, which were Galaad and the kingdom of Bashan, contained the half tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan; and in case this is Jabbok, it is that river over which Jacob went when he had wrestled with the angel, near which he met his brother Esau.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Of Magdala, Capernaum, Tarichæa, the waters of Merom, the rise of the river Jordan, Cæsarea Philippi, and Mount Hermon.*

WE set out to the north from Tiberias, and the first place we came to was Magdala, which is at the south east corner of the plain of Gennesareth on the sea; where there are considerable remains of a very indifferent castle: this does not seem to be Magdala, mentioned in scripture, because that is spoken of with Dalmanutha, which was to the east of the sea. This plain, which is a fine spot, must be what Josephus calls the country of Gennesareth, which he describes as thirty stadia broad from north to south, and twenty deep, that is from the Vale of doves to the sea, which appears to be very just. This plain is a very fertile spot of ground, but I could not find that they have ripe fruits in it all the year, as some have affirmed, excepting a little sort of apple, which is not disagreeable, and, if I do not mistake, is the Nabbok; it grows on a thorny tree, and they say, that they ripen at all seasons. About the middle of the plain, or rather towards the north side, there is a very fine fountain about one hundred feet in diameter, enclosed with a circular wall six feet high, on which account it is called the round fountain; it runs off in a stream through the plain into the lake, and is probably the fountain mentioned by Josephus, by the name of Cefina, as watering this plain. The water seems to be that which was called the spring of Capernaum, from which one may suppose, that Capernaum was at the lake where this rivulet falls into it.

Capernaum is mentioned as on the borders of Zabulon and Naphtali; these tribes were probably divided by the brook Lemon, which having passed the vale of Lemon, that is west of the vale of Hutin, runs through the Vale of doves, and then goes through the plain of Gennesareth to the south of the spring, and falls into this lake. As our Saviour lived at Capernaum, after he was ill treated by the people of Nazareth, and had heard that John was imprisoned †, which was about the time that he

* Gadara Hieromiace præterfluente. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* v. 18.

† *Matt.* iv. 13. *Luke*, iv. 31.

entered on his ministry, so this place is very often mentioned in scripture. Here he frequently taught in the synagogue, and by the sea side *: Many likewise of his most remarkable miracles were done in this place; as the paralytic was healed here, who was let down from the top of the house †; here he also restored two men to their sight, and cured one who was possessed of a devil; he healed likewise the centurion's servant, only by speaking a word ‡; and raised from the dead the daughter of Jairus, the chief man of the synagogue §. They now commonly shew another place for Capernaum, called Telhoue, at the eastern foot of the hills which are north of the plain of Gennesareth; where I saw ruins of a small church of white marble, with some remains of pilasters about it; the ruins extend considerably to the north along the lake, and I could plainly observe a round port for small boats, so that this, without doubt, was the antient Tarichea, which Josephus || describes as situated under the hills like Tiberias, in which particular it very much resembles it, but seems to be farther distant from Tiberias than thirty stadia; it had its name from being the place where they chiefly salted the fish of the lake ¶. The ruins extend along the shore for two or three miles; it was fortified with a wall by Josephus, on the parts that do not lie on the sea; and I saw signs of a wall to the west of the ruins. Josephus ** gives a particular account of the manner of taking this city by Titus, and of a fight on the water with the inhabitants, who escaped in boats.

I enquired for Chōrazin, but could find nothing like the name, except at a village called Gerasi, which is among the hills, west of the supposed ruins of Tarichea; though some think, that it was on the east side of the lake, over against Capernaum. Opposite to Tarichea was Gamala, a strong place, famous in the history of Josephus.

I went to the north end of the sea of Tiberias, where the river Jordan falls into it, after it has taken its course for near two miles through a fine plain: On the east side of it, at its entrance into that plain, is a hill, on which there seemed to be some ruins; it is called Telouy, and seems to be a corruption from Julias, which was the ancient Bethsaida in the Gaulonitis, and must have been about this place; there being another Julias in Peræa, on the east side of the lake, which before was called Betharampta; both having their names changed to that of Julias, in compliment to Augustus's daughter.

From the lake Samachonitis or the waters of Merom, to this place, the river Jordan runs about ten miles; it passes between the hills over the rocks with a great noise, except for the two first and two last miles; and the stream is almost hid by the shady trees, which are chiefly of the plantanus kind, that grow on each side of it, and make it a most delightful view. I took this road in my return from Saphet, but shall give an account of it here. About four miles to the north, on the side of the western hill, is a mount, on which I saw some ruins, but could not judge whether they were of any great antiquity. Some writers of the Holy Land speak of Lakum about this place, I suppose, because it is, in Joshua, as the bounds of the tribe of Napthali, and is also spoken of as on the river Jordan: they place likewise about this part of the river, Jabneel and Thelia. A mile and a half to the south of the lake Samachonitis, there is a bridge of three arches over the river Jordan, which is called Gefer-benet-Jacob [Jacob's bridge], because, as it is said, Jacob passed over here, when he returned from Padan-Aram. On the other side of the bridge, there is a large Kane, where they lay the second night from Damascus, it being the high road from that city to Jerusalem:

* Matt. xiii. 1. Mark, i. 21. ix. 33.

† Matt. ix. 2. Luke, v. 18. Mark, ii. 1.

‡ Matt. viii. 5. Luke, vii. 1.

§ Mark, v. 21. Luke, viii. 41.

|| Josephus De bello Jud. iii. 9.

¶ From the Greek word *ταρικήα*, pickling, or salting.

** Josephus De bello Jud. iii. 9.

On the eastern side of the bridge, Baldouin, the fourth king of Jerufalem, built a fortress against the Saracens on a rising ground, probably on this very spot. I went over this bridge into that country that was called Gaulonitis, which was part of the kingdom of Bashan, and afterwards made the half tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan. In this country, to the east of the bridge, they mentioned two places; one is called Edouera, and the other Zoar.

A small mile below the bridge, there is an oblong square hill, which seems to have been made by art; round the summit of it are the foundations of a strong wall; and at the south end, and on the east side, I saw the remains of two very handsome gates of hewn stone, with round turrets at the corners: at the north end there is a great heap of ruins, probably of a castle; the whole is about half a mile in circumference; there are some signs of a suburbs, to the south, on a lower ground, which seems to have been fortified. This place is now called Kaifar-aterah, or Gefer-aterah, and it seems to have been an improvement of the Romans; but what place it could be, I cannot conjecture, unless it was Thelia. A mile above the bridge is a mineral water, which seemed to be of sulphur and iron; it is walled in, as if it had been formerly frequented. About half way between this place and the lake Samachonitis, is a little hill with ruins on it, which they now call the town of Jacob; some, by conjecture, place Harosheth here, which was the city of Sisera, general of Jabin king of Hazor, being in the tribe of Napthali, and on this lake.

We came to the lake Samachonitis, called in scripture the waters of Merom, and at this time Bahr-el-Houly; it is mentioned by the ancients as a hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles from Julias, though I think, it cannot be above ten or twelve miles at the most; it is situated on the east side of an uneven country, which extends above five miles west to the mountains of Napthali: Josephus says the lake was seven miles long, but it is not above two miles broad, except at the north end, where it may be about four; the waters are muddy, and esteemed unwholesome, having something of the nature of the water of a morass, which is partly caused by their stopping the brooks on the west side, in order to water the country; so that the water passes through the earth into this lake; it is also in some measure owing to the muddiness of its bed. After the snows are melted, and the waters fallen, it is only a marsh, through which the river Jordan runs. The waters, by passing through the rocky bed towards the sea of Tiberias, settle, purify, and become very wholesome. I observed two rising grounds on the west side of it, and a third towards the north west corner, on which probably were some of those ancient towns mentioned on this lake, particularly Saanaim, placed by some geographers here; it was in this country, and at these waters, that Joshua smote Jabin king of Hazor, and all his allies.

From the waters of Merom, we saw very plainly Jebel-Sheik; at the foot of it the river Jordan rises, which is called in Arabic, Shriaah. Antiently it was the common opinion, that the Jordan rose north west of Paneas, afterwards called Cæsarea Philippi; until Philip the tetrarch made an experiment, which proved, that it rose out of the lake Phiala, fifteen miles to the north east of that city*, and is now computed to be about four hours distant from it. This discovery was made by throwing straw into the lake, which appeared at the place where the river comes out near Paneas†; the river might also be enlarged by other springs. I cannot certainly find how far the city Paneas was from the lake Samachonitis, but it is thought to have been very near it‡.

* Josephus De bello Judaico, iii. 9.

† Ibid.

‡ It is somewhere mentioned, if I do not mistake, that it was a hundred stadia from Cæsarea Philippi to Sephama, west of Jordan, where it falls into the lake Samachonitis.

The site of Cæsarea Philippi is now called by the ancient name Paneas: it was distinguished from Cæsarea at the sea, by the name of Philip the tetrarch, who improved this city, and called it Cæsarea in honour of Tiberius. St. Jerom mentions a village called Dan, four miles from this place, though the general opinion has been, that this is the ancient Dan; and if so, it must have been Leshem*, or Laish†, taken by the children of Dan. The Jews say, Dan was buried at that village, and call the place Hedjeoua.

The hill called Jebel-Sheik which is over this place, had antiently the name of Panius, from which the city and country was called; and though some think that this name was derived from Dan, yet there are others of opinion, that it was from the worship of Pan, their having been a temple on the top of it, supposed to be dedicated to that deity. This hill is called in scripture mount Hermon, and is mentioned as the northern bounds of the land of Israel on the other side of Jordan, and as part of the possession of Gad and Reuben‡, as over the valley of Libanon§, and as the bounds of the country of the Hivites in mount Libanon, that extended from Baal-Hermon to Hamath||, which name of Baal seems to refer to the heathen worship that was carried on here; perhaps to the same deity that was adored at Baal-beck, which is not a great way from the foot of it, and probably in that very valley of Libanon, which is said to be under this hill¶. The description also of Hermon, as a mountain of snow, agrees with its present appearance, being always covered with it; and interpreters of scripture have called it, The mountain of snow**. The Targum also calls mount Hor, a hill of snow; which is mentioned as the northern bounds of the country given to the children of Israel††; so that it may be conjectured that Hor is the same as Hermon. But a great difficulty occurs in the comparison which the Psalmist‡‡ makes to the dew of Hermon that fell on the hill of Sion; which might easily be interpreted, if it had been observed, that the clouds which lay on Hermon, being brought by the north winds to Jerusalem, caused the dews to fall plentifully on the hill of Sion. But there is a Shion mentioned in the tribe of Issachar§§, which may be Seon, spoken of by Eusebius and St. Jerom, as near mount Tabor; and there might be a hill there of that name, on which the dew of the other Hermon might fall, that was to the east of Esdraelon. However, as there is no certainty, that mount Hermon in that part is ever mentioned in scripture, so I should rather think it to be spoken of this famous mountain, and that Tabor and Hermon are joined together, as rejoicing in the name of God, not on account of their being near to one another, but because they are two of the highest hills in all Palestine. So that if any one considers this beautiful piece of eloquence of the Psalmist, and that Hermon is elsewhere actually called Sion|||, he will doubtless be satisfied, that the most natural interpretation of the Psalmist would be to suppose, though the whole might be called both Hermon and Sion, yet that the highest summit of this mountain was in particular called Hermon, and that a lower part of it had the name of Sion; on which supposition, the dew falling from the top of it down to the lower parts, might well be compared in every respect to “the precious ointment upon the head that ran down unto the beard, even unto Aaron’s beard, and went down to the skirts of his clothing,” and that both of them in this sense are very proper emblems of the blessings of unity and friendship, which diffuse themselves throughout the whole society.

* Joshua, xix. 47.

† Judges, iii. 3.

‡‡ Psal. cxxxiii. 3.

† Judges, xviii. 27.

¶ See note in p. 458.

§§ Joshua, xix. 19.

‡ Jos. xiii. 11.

** Relandi Palestina, i. 49.

||| Deut. iv. 48.

§ Jos. xi. 17.

†† Numb. xxxiv. 7, 8.

CHAP. XIX. — *Of Saphet and Dothan.*

FROM the plains that are west of the waters of Merom, there is a steep ascent up the hills to Saphet. We went to this place from Tiberias: ascending the hill, north of the vale of Hutin, we descended into that valley, and came to Bethsaida already mentioned. We went through the Pass of Doves into the Vale of Gennesareth, which is a rich soil. We viewed Magdolum on the lake, and then went to the round fountain, where we reposed a while, and took some refreshment; and going north passed by a spring called Moriel, and began to ascend the hills towards Saphet, which I take to be the east end of that chain of hills which run from the sea, northward of the plain of Acre. There are several summits separated from one another by small vallies, one of the first of which is called Rubasy. On the top of the northern summit, we passed by Aboutbesy; in the valley beneath it, is a bridge, called Geser-Aboutbesy. Here there is a stream, which runs to the plain, that is to the west of the lake of Tiberias. We ascended this first part of the hills, and stopped at a tent of Arabs, it being very hot weather; here they prepared for us eggs, and also four milk, in which they had cut raw cucumbers, as a cool diet in this season. We afterwards went along these hills for about an hour and an half, if I mistake not, to the north west, and descended into the gut or valley that encompassed the highest part of the hills on which Saphet stands. About a place called Akeby, there are grottos cut in several parts of the perpendicular rocks: further on is Cefy: we went to the right of a place called Adborow, and passed through a narrow vale known by the name of Waad Elakab; it is a gentle ascent. I saw on the left a hill, which seemed to have been improved by art into a fortress, and might be Nephtali, placed by geographers about a mile south of Saphet on the top of the hill.

We arrived at Saphet, where I was recommended to the *cadi*, who received me with great civility, and entertained us with coffee; I had also a letter to the *cocam*, or head priest among the Jews, a fine old man, and very learned in his way: when I came in, he was saying a grace to himself, which he finished before he spoke to me; and when I gave him a letter, as it was their Sabbath day, he put it into the hands of another to open it, and then he read it. I was very civilly entertained by him, and gave him several hints, that I was desirous to take up my abode with him; but he would not seem to understand me, and I afterwards found the reason of it, that it would have been an unpardonable affront to the *cadi*, if he had invited me to his house, after I had been recommended to that magistrate, and had been under his roof; so I returned to the *cadi*'s, where a great supper was prepared, there being an *aga* of Siden there, and much company: we all lay on the *sopha*, without any accommodations of beds or coverings, but what we brought with us. The next day was the day of parting of the Jews, where I saw the chief priest very decently habited in white satin, receiving the compliments of the inferior rabbis, who came with great reverence and kissed his hand.

Saphet is not mentioned by name in our translation of the Bible; but in the vulgar Bible, Tobias is said to be "of the tribe and city of Nephtali, in the upper part of Galilee, beyond the road that leads to the west, having on the left the city of Saphet." The city of Nephtali is said to be a mile south of it; Saphet is mentioned by several

* Tobias ex tribu et civitate Nephtali, quæ est in superioribus Galilee supra Nazareth, ubi ducit ad occidentem, in finibus habent civitatem Sephet. Tobit, l. i. iuxta vulgaram editionem,

writers of the middle age; its situation is very high, and commands the whole country round; on the very summit of the hill are great ruins of a very strong old castle, particularly of two fine large round towers that belonged to it. The Jews think part of this castle to be as old as the time of their prosperity. The Christians had possession of it in the time of the holy war; and I saw on a building in the town a relief of the arms of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; it was surrendered by them to Saladin, sultan of Egypt, and afterwards came into the possession of the Ottoman family, together with all the country round about it. The town is a little lower down, on three sides of the hill on which the castle stands; it is a considerable town, having been formerly the place of residence of the pasha of this country, on which account it was called the pashalic of Saphet; and the whole territory now goes by the name of the country of Saphet, but the pasha resides at Sidon, and a cadi from Constantinople lives here. There are many Jews in this place, it being a sort of university for the education of their rabbies, of whom there are about twenty or thirty here, and some of them come as far as from Poland; they have no less than seven synagogues: several doctors of their law, who lived in the time of the second temple, are said to be buried here, three of whom lie in a place, which is now turned into a mosque; and the Turks say, they are three of the sons of Jacob. The Jews have a notion, that the Messiah will reign here forty years, before he will take up his residence at Jerusalem. To the north of the hill, on which the castle of Saphet stands, there are several wells, which they say Isaac dug, and about which there were such contentions between the herdsmen of Isaac and Gerar; but they have much mistaken the place, the valley of Gerar, in which they were dug, being at a great distance on the other side of Jerusalem. If mount Tabor were not the mountain on which Christ was transfigured, this would seem to be the most probable place for that extraordinary event.

I set out from Saphet, went down the hills towards the north east, and descended into the uneven country to the west of the lake Samachonitis: we came up with a party of men, who belonged to the Sheik of Samwata, and lay there to guard the country against robbers; they enquired who we were; and our men answered, they would stop and give them the satisfaction they desired. We went a little beyond them, and one of their party coming to us, we informed them, that we had a letter from the consul to their master, which we sent to their chief, and then they all came and eat with us, were very civil, and ordered two men to attend me wherever I had a desire to go. We went to the lake, and travelled by the side of it southwards to all those places I have already described: we lay at an encampment of Arabs, near the mineral water before mentioned, called Hamam [the bath]; we went the next morning to the bridge of Jacob, and continued our journey on the west side of Jordan: when we were at Kaifar-aterah, I went from the company to view the ruins of the town to the south, and one of the Arab soldiers of the Sheik of Samwata followed me, and offering to take one of my pistols out of my holster, I laid my hand on it, but he took it from me by force; on which I rode back to the company, and his companion ordered him to return it, which he immediately did: we came soon after to the end of their master's territories, where I made them a present, and they returned. We went to the lake of Tiberias, and Tarichea, and seeing some horsemen in the road, we were afraid of each other, and going out of the way, kept at a distance, until we found there was no danger. Having travelled about a league from Tarichea, along the side of the hills, as I think, to the west, we came to the plain of Sephorin, and to Jeb-Joseph at the south end of it, near the high road from Damascus to Jerusalem; it is a cistern under ground, into which, they say, Joseph's brethren threw him; but this was at Dothan, which is mentioned as near Bethel

Bethel or Bethulia; and as Saphet has falsely been thought by some to be Bethulia, which was besieged by Holofernes, this seems to be the occasion of that mistake. It is said in scripture, that Jacob, when he returned from Padan-aram, went first to Shalem, a city of Shechem, and afterwards to Bethel, then called Luz; and it is probable from the history of Joseph, that Dothan was near Shechem, because when he was sent to his brethren to Shechem, he was told they were gone to Dothan, which was probably to the east of Shechem. Dothan also could not be a great way from Bethulia, because Holofernes's army extended from Bethulia to Dothan; and though this place might antiently have been called Dothan, as it is at present by the Jews, yet its great distance from Shechem makes it unlikely to be the place where Joseph went to his brethren, as it is at the distance of two or three ordinary days journey, and could not be performed in less than five or six days, with the cattle which they were charged to feed. The well of Joseph is within an enclosed court, in which there is a Turkish praying place: as it was very hot, we reposed there till night, and then went on. A little to the north is Jebbal, a hill with a ruined village on it, and also a place called Renety, and near the cistern of Joseph is a mosque, and a sheik's burial place, called Sheik Abdallah. About midnight we halted and slept under a tree, and at break of day pursued our journey: we stopped at a village three hours from Acre, where the sheik entertained us very handsomely, and presented me with a live partridge, of a large beautiful kind, called the Francoline, which is thought to be the birds that Horace calls *Attagen Ionicus* *.

CHAP. XX. — *Of Libanon and Antilibanon, and of the Fountains, Aqueducts, and City of Tyre.*

I SET out from Acre northward on the twenty-eighth of May; we passed by Semmars, or Saint Mary's, on a low hill, where there are remains of a wall of hewn stone, so that probably it was a convent; and about this place might be the castle of Lambert, mentioned in the account of the holy wars, as four miles north of Acre. We passed by Mesrah, and came to Zeb, near the sea, which is thought to be Achzib, in the tribe of Asher, mentioned in scripture †, and was one of those cities, out of which the children of Israel could not drive the ancient inhabitants ‡. Saint Jerom says, it was afterwards called Ecdippa, which is spoken of by several authors §, who place it indeed further from Acre ||; it is mentioned as on a low hill over the sea; and Josephus ¶ seems to say, that the old name of it was Arce; there are some ruins about this place. I observed, that at a distance in the water there are large flat rocks; and as it is a sort of bay, sheltered by the hills to the north, it is probable, that it was antiently a port. To the south of this place is the bed of a winter torrent, over which there is a fine bridge of one arch; and to the north east there is a covered fountain and a ruin near it. About three miles further there is a fountain, called Miesherty; west of it are remains of a strong wall to confine the water that ran from this spring. Under the northern hills there is a village called Bercea, which is to the east of the road. This is the first village under the great sheiks of the sect of Ali, of which there are three between Acre and Sidon.

We began to ascend the hills to the north, falsely called by the writers of the middle ages the mountains of Saron, which were between Caesarea and Joppa.

* Epodon libri. Od. 2.

† Jos. xix. 29.

‡ Judges. i. 31.

§ Plin. v. 17. it is called Aedippus; and Eedippon by Josephus, Antiq. v. 22. et De bello Jud. i. 13.

|| Ptolemæus, v. 15. S. Hieron. De locis Ebraicis.

¶ Antiq. Jud. v. 1.

This end of the mountain, which is probably the beginning of Antilibanon *, must be the ancient Scala of the Tyrians, mentioned by Josephus †, as about eleven miles north of Ptolemais, and by St. Jerom as only nine miles ‡. It seems also to be the white promontory of Pliny §, and is known by the same name among Europeans, which is derived from the white cliffs to the north; on it is the famous road, which is said to have been made by Alexander; and the writers of the holy war speak of that part by this name. Under the south side of this cape, there is said to be a very extraordinary large grotto, at some height from the water, to which they can go only in a boat.

But as we went up the mountain, I crossed a rivulet called Ailmanè; it runs by a hill of the same name, which has some ruins on it; on the top of the hills called by the inhabitants Nakoura, and which I suppose to be Antilibanon, we came to a small tower, called Borge Nakoura. I saw several of these towers to the north; and the people say, they were built all the way to Constantinople by the empress Helena, in order to give notice by some signal, when they had found the cross; but it is more probable, that they were built either by the Greek emperors, when they apprehended that these countries would be invaded by the Saracens, or they might be the work of the Christians during the holy war. We afterwards passed over a river called Dislemet, and came to another tower called Kaphar-latick, which has its name from a kaphar, formerly taken there; it is a very pleasant road, great part of it being on a fine green sod, beautifully shaded with trees. Having travelled about an hour near the sea, we turned out of the road, and ascended the hill to the east, to the village or encampment of the new kaphar, where the Arabs live in a sort of open huts made with boughs, raised about three feet from the ground, and encompassing a square spot of ground; in these they lie at night; I laid my carpet on the outside of them; the sheik attended with great civility; they made a fire near; and here I reposed all night.

The next morning we descended the hill towards the road, and came to a ruin about five miles from the tower of Nakoura; it seemed to be the remains of some antient

* These hills seem to be the beginning of Libanon or Antilibanon to the south. Strabo, in his 16th book, page 754, says, Libanon began near Tripoli, and Antilibanon about Sidon; probably he means at those hills which are to the south of that city, about Sarepta. But Pliny makes Libanon to begin about Sidon, Nat. Hist. v. 20. Though at which soever of these places that chain of mountains began, this may be Antilibanon, which in breadth might extend from Sidon to this place; as it certainly stretched to the east near as far as Damascus, and probably to the north near to Hems, the antient Emesa. Libanon, whether it began near Sidon, or at the famous promontory south of Tripoli, which is more probable; it certainly extended to the north, almost as far as Simyra, which is near Arradus, and that in a parallel line with Antilibanon; so that from this place all the mountains near the sea, as far as to that part where Libanon began, seems to be Antilibanon. The valley between these mountains, and the flat country on the sea, to the west of Libanon and Antilibanon, is Cœlesyria properly so called; for Strabo speaks of Cœlesyria proper, as on the sea, and particularly mentions the length and breadth of it. This author also speaks of the hills of Arabia and Trachonitis, over the country of Damascus; which seems to be a ridge of mountains to the east of these (as I shall explain more fully) that might be distinguished by this name, and seems to have been divided by a valley from Antilibanon: though, if Ptolemy's authority is to be regarded, Antilibanon might end at the river Chrysorrhœas, which runs by Damascus, as he makes it begin and end a degree south of the beginning and end of Libanon; and in this case the hills of Trachonitis and Arabia could not be part of Antilibanon, though, from the common description we have in other authors, the mountains of Libanon and Antilibanon seem to have run parallel for a considerable way towards the north. They are both comprehended under the name of Libanon in sacred writ; and Hiram supplied Solomon with the Cedars of Libanon, which probably were the produce of the mountains near Tyre.

† Josephus De bello Jud. ii. 10.

‡ Hieronymus.

§ Promontorium album. Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 19. Europeans call it Capo Bianco.

temple, about thirty feet square, with a colonade round it, which appeared to have been double to the east, where the entrance probably was; there are many broken columns about it, and two standing which are two feet in diameter; one of them has a fine capital of the Ionic order; it is probable there was some town in this place. We came into the road, where I saw an antient way about eighteen feet broad, paved with large round stones, having a margin on each side, partly of hewn stone: there is a castle on the hills called El-Kapharlah; at some distance from it is the tower Bourge El-Kaphar: we came to a fountain called Scandaretta, near which there are ruins of a wall of hewn stone. In about an hour and a half from New Kaphar, where we lay, we came to the north part of the hill, which is on the south side of the bay Nakoura, that extends to Tyre. The road here very much resembles those in North Wales, being a great height above the water, on the side of the mountain, which is almost perpendicular, both above and below the road; the way in most parts is thirteen feet wide, though in some places it is not above six: there is a parapet towards the sea, partly built, and in some place cut out of the rock. Authors of the middle age speak of this road as made by Alexander, which tradition seems to have its rise from the name of some places here. At the first ascent to this road, there is a tower called Bourge-Scandarette [the Tower of Alexander], which the Europeans here call Scandaloon, probably from a town of that name, which is near; this road is about a mile in length. We descended into the plain, and came to some ruins about a mile from the hill, which extend toward the sea, and may be Scandalium, mentioned by the writers of the holy war, who say, it was first built by Alexander, and that it was repaired by Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, when he was about to undertake the siege of Tyre. This place is probably Alexandrochœne, of the Jerusalem Itinerary, placed twelve miles from Tyre, which must be an error in relation to the distance, as it is not so far.

Here we came into that part of Syria, which was the ancient Phœnicia, a country always remarkable for its commerce, the inhabitants of which went out in many colonies, and peopled Carthage, Sicily, and several other countries. Ptolemy, indeed, makes it to begin about Dora, near Cæsarea on the sea, and to extend northward to the river Eleutherus, beyond Tripoli, which empties itself into the sea not far from the isle of Aradus.

Near the ruins beforementioned, is a place called Elminten, and a little further the spring Ein-el-Hamerah [the red spring], we came to the bed of the torrent Shebria, across which there are remains of a wall fifteen feet thick, that was probably made to keep up the water for the use of the armies that were in these parts. The guides mentioned a place on the hills, called Cana; and if a passage of Joshua *, and St. Jerom's comment on it, may be interpreted of a town in this part, and not of the noted Cana of Galilee, possibly this may be the place.

We came to the fountains which supplied the aqueducts of Tyre; they are called, as they informed me, Talioun †; we found the great sheik of these parts with a considerable company of attendants who had stopped there, but soon went away; it being usual for them to halt wherever they meet with a spring ‡. These fountains are about a league and a-half south east of Tyre, and are called, the Fountains of Solomon; they are said, though I know not on what foundation, to have been made by him, at the time when he cultivated an alliance with Hiram, king of Tyre, to facilitate the building

* Joshua, xix. 28.

† They shewed me here a hill, called Jebel-Sheik, and villages on the hills of the following names, viz. Shamah, Emuran, Elaily, and a part called, Ooad Shoy'y, which I suppose is a vale among the hills.

‡ Maundrel was told, that it was called Roselayu, that is, the head of the spring.

of the temple of Jerusalem; and are supposed to be the well mentioned by him in the Canticles *, "as a fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon."

Near the north-east corner of the great bay, which is south of Tyre, there is a fountain inclosed in the same manner as the others, except that the walls are not so high; and I saw the foundations and remains of an aqueduct, which appears to have been low, and not to have been built on arches; it probably went to old Tyre, which seems to have been in this corner * of the bay, because near the spring there is a little hill, which, in all probability, is the very mount that Nebuchadnezzar raised in order to take that city, which was destroyed, as described by the prophet Ezekiel †; and I saw a ruin to the south east of this hill. It is no wonder, that there are no signs of the ancient city, since Alexander carried all the remains of it away, in order to join new Tyre to the continent; and as it is a sandy shore, the face of every thing is altered, and the great aqueduct, in many parts, is almost buried in the sand.

New Tyre is now called Sur, which is the ancient name of Tyre, and this having been the chief city of the whole country, possibly Syria might receive its name from Sur. The Tyrians retired to this place, which was then an island, and made so great a stand against Alexander the Great, that though it is said to have been half a mile from the land, yet he joined it to the continent, and made it a peninsula ‡; if it was so far from the land, which, I think, is much to be doubted, it must have been a very small island, and a work of very great expence to join it to the continent. I observed a hollow ground that crossed the peninsula; and the higher ground to the west of it was probably the east part of the island. There are some few remains of the walls all round, and of a port on the north side, defended by strong walls; at the east end also there are ruins of two great square towers, very strongly built, which seem to have served for reservoirs of water from the aqueduct, in order to distribute it all over the city; for there are foundations of a thick wall from one to the other, which probably are remains of the aqueduct. The east of the city appears to have been defended by three walls, and as many fosses. As we approached towards Tyre, we saw several vultures, and shot at them. I went to the house of a Maronite, who was agent for the French here, it being a place where they export great quantities of corn, and even Malta itself is supplied from this place.

Within the walls there are ruins of a very large church, built of hewn stone, both within and without, in the Syrian taste, with three naves, each of them ending in a semicircle; there are also very perfect remains of several buildings to the north of it, which probably belonged to the archiepiscopal palace. I saw also some granite pillars, which, they say, are the remains of a church dedicated to St. John, and near it is the ruinous church of St. Thomas, part of which is repaired, and serves as a church for two or three Christian families that are there; besides these, there are few other inhabitants, except some Janizaries who live in a mean castle near the port; to the west of which is the custom-house; there are also ruins of two or three other churches, but nothing that carries any great signs of antiquity. Both Origen and the emperor Frederic Barbarossa were buried in the cathedral church.

According to Pliny's account, there seems to have been a suburb that extended to old Tyre, the whole city and suburbs having been nineteen miles in compass, for old

* Solomon's Song, iv. 15.

† Ezek. xxvi. 7.

‡ Tyrus quondam insula, præalto mari septingentis passibus divisa, nunc vero Alexandri oppugnantis operibus continens.—Circuitus xix. mill. passuum est, intra Palætyro inclusa. Oppidum ipsum xxii stadia oblongum. Plinii Nat. Hist. v. 17.

Tyre was three miles and three quarters distant from this island. He makes Tyre also to be near two miles and a half in circumference, though it does not seem to be half a mile long, nor a quarter of a mile broad.

Tyre was at first governed by its own kings; it was besieged, without success, by Salmanasar, king of Assyria *; and afterwards taken and destroyed by Nebuchodonosor, king of Babylon, as it is computed, near seventeen hundred years after its foundation †. Tyre was then on the continent, though without doubt the island was inhabited, because we find mention made of it in scripture ‡, and elsewhere, even in the time of Solomon §; but the prophecy that Tyre should be built no more ||, must be understood of the ancient city on the continent. The city on the island seems anciently to have been considered as the new city; here the government seems to have resided, and it is probable went to the island on the invasion of Salmanasar. The city on the continent probably then began to be distinguished from it by the name of old Tyre, or Palatyrus; for it is said, that old Tyre and some other cities revolted from the government of the Tyrians to the kings of Assyria ¶. The city on the island was rebuilt seventy years after it was destroyed, and, about two hundred years after that, it was taken by Alexander the Great, and joined to the continent. The inhabitants of this place became very zealous Christians; and it was made the first archbishopric under the patriarchate of Jerusalem; it was taken by the Saracens, and afterwards by the Christians, in the time of the holy war; in one thousand two hundred and eighty-nine, it was retaken by the Saracens, and the Christians were permitted to go away with their effects; from this time it is probable its ruin may be dated. This city was anciently famous for the worship of Jupiter Olympius, and Hercules; and there were temples in it built to them; it is not at present noted for the Tyrian purple, which was extracted from the shell fish called Murex **, and was so dear, that it was only used by princes; though without doubt it might still be made, if other materials were not found to serve for this purpose at much easier rates. The harbour north of the peninsula is so good that all ships, whose business in the winter leads them to traffic with the merchants of Sidon, are obliged, by the contract of insurance, to harbour here, where they take in their loading.

Near the aqueduct, without the town, I saw a ruin, which probably is the place, where, according to a tradition, which they had in the middle ages, though it is now lost, our Saviour preached, when he came into the parts of Tyre and Sidon; and on this coast it was that he cured the daughter of the Canaanitish woman ††. And St. Paul was at Tyre when they dissuaded him from going up to Jerusalem, on their apprehending what dangers would befall him ††.

CHAP. XXI. — *Of the river Casmy, of Sarcpta, and Sidon.*

TWO miles to the north of Tyre, in the road to Sidon, there is a spring called Bakwok; it appears to have been enclosed with a wall; the waters are not very good, being a little salt. I observed the foundations of a wall that went from it to Tyre, which may be the remains of an aqueduct to convey the water to the city for common uses.

Two leagues further is the river Casmy, commonly called by travellers The Casmir,

* Joseph. Antiq. Jud. ix. 14.

† Vide Joseph. Antiq. Jud. ix. 14.

‡ Isaiah, xxiii. 2. 6.

Ezek. xvi. 17. xxvii. 4. 32. xxviii. 2.

§ Joseph. Antiq. viii. 2.

|| Ezek. xxvi. 14. 21. xxviii. 19.

¶ Joseph. Antiq. ix. 4.

** Nunc omnis ejus nobilitas conchylio atque purpura constat. Plin. Nat.

Hist. v. 17. et Strabo xvi. 757.

†† Matt. xv. 21. - Mark, vii. 24.

‡‡ Acts, xxi. 3, 4

which the writers of the middle age falsely imagine to be the river Eleutherus, whereas that river was beyond Tripoli. This must be the reason why the historians give an account, that the emperor Frederic Barbarossa was drowned in the river Eleutherus, falling off from his horse as he was pursuing his enemies, and sunk under the weight of his armour; but as they call it also the Cafamy, it determines that remarkable piece of history to this river. There is now a bridge over it of two arches; it is probable that the old bridge was destroyed in the time of the holy war, to prevent the pursuit of the Christian forces, and that the emperor lost his life by attempting to ford the river; it is a very deep rapid stream, inasmuch that travellers do not think it safe to water their horses in it unless they dismount. This seems to be the river mentioned by Strabo, as falling into the sea near Tyre *. On the other side of this river, the hills approach very near to the sea, and some spacious sepulchral grots are cut in them. The city called Ornithon might be here, which is mentioned as half way between Tyre and Sidon †; it being a place which might easily be defended, having the river to the south, and the hills to the north, between which there is a narrow pass into the plain where the famous city of Sidon stands.

Here I cannot but make a conjecture, that these hills were probably the bounds between the states of Tyre and Sidon; as the southern bounds of the former were the hills of Nakoura; and probably the river which runs four miles north of Sidon, was the northern bounds of that state; and also of the tribe of Asher, and of the Holy Land; and though these territories might extend some way into the mountains, yet it naturally leads to this reflection, how great any state may become by commerce; since neither of these plains are above twenty miles long, or more than five broad; and yet these Republics make a very extraordinary figure in ancient history; and Tyre alone gave those two powerful princes, Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander the Great, more trouble than any other state in the course of all their wars.

We ascended the hills near the sea to a village called Adnou, where we lodged in a Mocot, which was in the yard of an uninhabited house. The next morning, the twenty-ninth, we descended the hills northwards into the plains of Sidon, near to the sea side, and passed by a rising ground towards the sea, which seemed to be a good situation for a town, and I observed some ruins at a little distance from it. We then ascended the hills to the east, to a village called Serphant, supposed to be a corruption from the old Sarepta ‡. There are great marks of improvements about the hills, and at the foot of them are a great number of sepulchral grots cut into the rock: it is said, that the house of the widow who received Elias, and was so miraculously supplied during his stay with her ‖, was by the sea side, where there now stands a small mosque, into

* Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 758.

† Strabo, *ibid.*

‡ Jude Sarepta et Ornithon oppida Plinii Nat. Hist. v. 17. — After we had passed this place, I saw on the hills to the east Ben Elkanah; we passed over a stream called Sakat Elourby, on an old bridge. Near this there is a castle on a promontory, strongly situated by nature, and called Bourge Elourby, there being a village near called Elourby. To the east we passed over the river Nofey, and saw Cubegou; we then came to the fountain Liberek, mentioned below. To the south of it is Tel Eborek; we went over the head of the winter to rent Elmor, and afterwards that of Zakaitanete. Near this is the way to Damascus, which goes by the village of Guish, which I saw, and further north Mahmetin; between them is a vale called Zaid. Guish. We went over the river called Nar-Sinet, and saw the village Darbeseiah; to the north beyond it is the mountain called Jebel Macluta. Near Sidon we passed over the river Nahr-Iheiah, and saw the hill Jebel a-la-Ma-Elras, commonly called of Zakaitanete. Near this is the way to Damascus, at the foot of it is Elkanah; and just at the entrance of the town I passed over the river Narel-Barout, which I supposed might be the southern bounds of the old town.

‖ 1 Kings, xvi. 9. Luke, ix. 26.

which I entered. There is a little cell in it, where they say, the prophet lay. The old Sarepta was most probably here, for I saw several foundations of wells; and these sepulchres must have belonged to the people of this town. About a quarter of a mile north of the mosque are some ruins of a very ancient building, as I conjectured it to be, from a round plinth, which projected about a foot beyond the pillar, and the edges of it were taken off; the whole being exactly after the manner of the very ancient architecture, which I saw in Upper Egypt. If this place was not Sarepta, it might be Ad Nonum of the Jerusalem Itinerary, which is computed about four miles from Sidon, and twelve from Tyre.

A little further to the north, is a fine spring called Elborok; it had a wall round it, in order to raise the water, as there is about those of Tyre; and I could see the foundations of the aqueduct from that place to Sidon, of which they have an account by tradition.

The plain of Sidon is not above two miles wide; to the east of it there are fine fruitful hills; whereas the plain of Tyre is four or five miles broad, but the hills to the east of it are high, and covered with wood, and do not seem to be capable of any other improvement. When we approached Sidon, I saw, about a mile from the town, an antient Roman milliary in the road, set up in the time of the emperor Septimius Severus; it is a round pillar of grey granite.

When I arrived at Sidon, I went to the convent of the monks of the Holy Sepulchre, to whom I was recommended, and was entertained by them during my stay at Sidon. I also received many civilities from the French merchants, and I was one day entertained by them with a collation in a garden, under the shade of apricot trees, and the fruit of them was shook on us, as an instance of their great plenty and abundance.

Some think that Sidon, or Zidon, was built by Sidon the son of Canaan, the grandson of Noah*; others suppose that it had its name from the fishing trade carried on here, which is called in the Syrian language Sida; Bethsida being the house of fishermen. It is a city of very great antiquity, being mentioned by Jacob in his prophetic speech concerning the country which his sons were to inherit†. And we have an account that Joshua chased the kings from the waters of Merom to the great Zidon‡, as it is called in another place§. This city was in the tribe of Asher, but the Israelites could not drive out the inhabitants of it||. It always underwent much the same fate as Tyre. During the time of the holy war, Lewis the ninth of France repaired the city. It was a place of great trade, and was famous for a manufacture of glass¶. The Sidonians are also said to be the inventors of arithmetic and astronomy**. This city is now called Saida, and is thought to be older than Tyre; the ancients say it was twenty-five miles distant from that city to the north, though it is not so much††; and is computed to be sixty-six miles about west south west of Damascus, and a day's journey from the rise of the river Jordan; it was situated on a rising ground, defended by the sea on the north and west. The present city is mostly on the north side of the hill; the old city seems to have extended further east, as may be judged from the foundations of a thick wall that extends from the sea to the east; on the south it was probably bounded by a rivulet, the large bed of which might serve for a natural fosse; as another might, which is on the north side, if the city extended so far, as some seem to think it did, and that it stretched to the east as far as the high hill, which is about three quarters of a mile

* Gen. x. 15. † Gen. xlix. 13. ‡ Joshua, xi. 8. § Joshua, xix. 28. ¶ Judges, i. 31.

¶ Sidon, artifex vitri. Plin. Nat. Hist. v. xvii. et Strabo, xvi. p. 758. ** Strabo, xvi. p. 757.

†† Strabo. ib.

from the present town. The space between that hill and the town is now all laid out in gardens, or orchards, which appear very beautiful at a distance. On the north side of the town, there are great ruins of a fine port, the walls of which were built with very large stones, twelve feet in length, which is the thickness of the wall, and some are eleven feet broad, and five deep; the harbour is now choaked up; and this, as well as some other ports on the coast, are said to have been destroyed by Feckerdine, that they might not be harbours for the Grand Signor's galleys to land forces against him. This harbour seems to be the inner port, mentioned by Strabo*, for the winter; the outer one probably being to the north in the open sea between Sidon and Tyre, where the shipping ride in safety during the summer season. In a garden to the south of the town, there is a small mosque called Nebi-Sidon, where the Turks say the patriarch Zabulon was buried; though it does not appear that his bones were brought out of Egypt; but, if I mistake not, the Jews say that he was buried in Schem. In another garden to the east is such another mosque, called by the Mahometans, Zaloufa, who pretend also that some holy person is buried there; the Europeans call it La Cananea, being, as it is said, the place where the Canaanitish woman cried out, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that thou hast sucked." This building has the appearance of an ancient chapel. On the high ground to the west of the town, there is a large old church turned into a mosque.

The highest ground of the old city seems to have been a little hill on the north side, where there are great remains of an old castle, said to be built by Lewis the ninth of France: but on the summit of the hill there is a work of an older date, which is a square castle of hewn stone rusticated, and there are remains of a circular wall, with which that building was probably encompassed; it might be a work of the Greek emperors, repaired or rebuilt by Lewis the ninth. On the north also, by the bed of the torrent El-hanly, to which I suppose the town extended, I observed an old building, which they call the Venetian Kane, and probably it belonged to them when they traded to these parts. Three quarters of a mile east of the town is a hill called Saïda-Mar-Elias; at the foot of it there is a village called El-hara, and about three quarters of the way up the hill, there is a mosque with a sepulchre named Jeb-Zachariah; on the top of the hill there is a cistern called by the name of Elias. The Turks have a public praying place here. On the right I saw Ein-Dielp, on the left Avara, and further El-Halely.

Sidon is the place of residence of a pasha, and there are in it a great number of new well-built houses. The trade here is carried on entirely by the French, the export being chiefly raw silk, cotton, and corn. Their consul obliges them to live all in one Kane, in which the Jesuits, Capuchins, and the fathers of the Holy Sepulchre, have their respective convents.

Going out of Sidon, I saw several sepulchral grotts cut in the rock at the foot of the hills; some of them are adorned with pilasters, and painted in a very handsome manner.

* Strabo, xvi. p. 756.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE EAST, &c.

BY RICHARD POCOCKE, LL.D. F.R.S.

Book the Second. Of Syria and Mesopotamia.

CHAP. I. — *Of Syria in general. Of the places between Sidon and Beyrut.*

SYRIA extends northwards from Palestine to the mountains of Amanus and Taurus, having the Euphrates and Arabia Deserta to the east, and the Mediterranean sea to the west; it was divided into several parts, which chiefly had their names from the principal cities of those territories. Palestine indeed is looked on by some as a part of Syria. Phœnicia was another district, part of which was the Holy Land, and began, as some say, about the southern part of the territory of Tyre, or, as others affirm, near Cæsarea by the sea, and extended northward to the river Eleutherus beyond Tripoli. These countries were antiently divided into small kingdoms, such as were those of Damascus, Hamath, Zobah, and Gesher; and in Phœnicia, those of Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus. They were all conquered by the Assyrians, and afterwards by the Greeks. Syria was made a kingdom, under the successors of one of Alexander's generals; the Romans put an end to their power; and from the eastern emperors, it came into the hands of the Saracens, from whom it was taken by the present Ottoman family, that enjoy the Turkish empire.

I set out on the thirty-first from Sidon, and passed several rivulets, and by two fountains, one called Elepher, and the other Brias. About two miles north of Sidon, we came to a considerable rivulet called Elouly, very near the hills that are to the north of this plain; which river, I conjecture, might be the bounds of the tribe of Asher, and of the Holy Land; there is a large bridge over it of rustic work, consisting only of one arch.

We passed over the hills, which are called the Mountains of the Druses, from the people that inhabit them; there is a tower at the end of them, called Bourge Romely, from a village on a hill of that name*; we came to a bay about four miles over; opposite to the middle of it is a village called Jee, and a mosque near the shore, with a well by it, called the well of Jonah, where, they say, the prophet Jonah was thrown out by the whale: here I saw some broken pillars, a Corinthian capital, and ruins on each side of a mountain torrent, which may be Parphirion of the Jerusalem Itinerary, eight miles from Sidon. After some time we came to the tower Bourge-Dameur, and soon after to the river Damour, which must be the Tamyras of Strabo, half way between Sidon and Berytus, and may be the river mentioned by Ptolemy, as four miles south of Berytus, which he calls The Lyon, [Λαῶν], though it does not answer to that distance, but there is no other river in this road nearer to that city; and this seems

* We passed this part of the hills, and came to a plain between the hills about a mile over, and then to Ouâ-el-Gederah, which, I believe, may be a mountain torrent; in this plain there is a village called Gederah, which is to the east on the hill, and likewise Kephernah. We then went about a mile over a low hill, and came to a plain half a mile broad. We crossed such another hill, and in about a mile came to the bay.

the more probable, as Strabo mentions the city of Lyons, and the grove of *Æsculapius*, with this river*. A few miles further we passed by a village called Carney; at a well that is near it, I saw an ancient stone coffin, a fine piece of entablature, some large hewn stones, and two round vases of red and white marble. At some distance from this place to the north, on a rising ground, are several stone coffins cut out of the rock, with large covers, very much like those at Zal near mount Tabor; and beyond them I saw the remains of a wall twelve feet thick, which was continued along on the east side of them: this might be Heldua, mentioned in the Jerusalem Itinerary, as twelve miles from Berito, though this place is not above six or seven; so that there may be a mistake in the Itinerary, as there certainly is in the distance between Berito and Sidon; it being put down as twenty-eight miles, though it is not above twenty, as the latest sea charts make it. The distance also of eight miles from Purphirion, on this supposition, is much too great; this may be the same as the city of Lyons of Strabo†. We soon came to the tower of Bourge-Héle, and then passed over a rivulet, called Alopha; from a village of that name, which is to the east. We then came to a very fine country, between the cape on which Bayreut stands, and the hills to the east: on the side of these mountains we saw three large villages that are contiguous, and are called Sukefet, from which that hill and country have their name. If I do not mistake, I was informed, that one of these villages was inhabited by Druses, the other by Christians, and the third by that sect of Mahometans, called Amadei, who, as I was informed, are followers of Ali. After my return from the east, I was informed by a considerable Maronite of great credit, that there had been an Arabic press among the Maronites for many years; and by the description he gave of that place, I concluded, that it was at this village, though I omitted to take down the name from him. Further in the country is Itefe, and beyond it Jebel Sewene. We passed through Bourge Elrage, and saw Edshaim in the bottom, and higher up Elmeleele. We passed through a large grove of olive trees, and as we approached near Bayreut, I found the country exceedingly pleasant, being a rich soil finely improved. About two miles before we came to this city, we passed through a fine grove of tall pines on the promontory; which, it is said, the famous Feckerdine planted with his own hands, though it seems to be a mistake, as this grove is mentioned to have been of great use to the Christians in besieging Bayreut, in the time of the holy war. A finer situation cannot be imagined; it is a green sod, and ends on the east side with a hanging ground over a beautiful valley, through which the river of Bayreut runs; the north end commands a view of the sea, and a prospect of the fine gardens of Bayreut to the north-west.

The city of Bayreut is the ancient Berytus. Augustus when he made it a colony, called it after the name of his daughter, with the epithet of happy, naming it Colonia Felix Julia‡. This town was taken from the Saracens by Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, after a vigorous siege, in one thousand one hundred and eleven; and was retaken by Saladin in one thousand one hundred and eighty seven; it was afterwards often taken and retaken during the holy war. This city was antiently a place of study, more particularly of the civil law, and especially about the time that Christianity began to be publicly established§.

* Strabo, xxi. p. 756.

† Ibid. and see note ‡ following:

‡ In ora montana et iunum subjecta Libano, fluvius Magoras: Berytus colonia, quæ Felix Julia appellatur. Leonis oppidum, flumen Lycos, Palæbyblos, flumen Adonis. Oppida, Byblos, Botrys, Gergiza, Tereis, Cammos. Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 17.

§ See the Ecclesiastical Histories of Eusebius and Socrates.

It is situated over the sea on a gentle rising ground, on the north side of a broad promontory. The gardens appear very beautiful on the hanging ground over it: the old port is a little bay, and was well secured by strong piers, which were destroyed by Feckerdine, as mentioned before, for he had possession of this city; and his successors, the princes of the Druses, have most of them been made governors of it, till of late years the Turks have thought proper to take it out of their hands: to the east of the port is a castle built on two rocks in the sea, with a bridge to it. East of this, over the sea cliffs, is another castle; and to the east of that, are remains of a very large one, defended with a fosse, where I saw some broken pillars. About a furlong to the east of this place, I came to the old city walls on that side. The town may be near two miles in circumference, and is defended with a very indifferent wall, which on the west side, is built of hewn stone, with some small square towers, and part of it may be the remains of the ancient wall. At a little distance to the west of the town is a small bay, which opens to the north, where I saw some signs of ruins, but I could not judge what they were; it is possible the theatre built by Agrippa might be here, and be contrived so as to have the advantage of the hill, like those of Pola and Fréjus, and the sea may have washed it away. Some authors also mention an amphitheatre in this town. I copied an ancient Greek inscription over the south gate. In the middle of the city there is a large well-built mosque, supported by Gothic pillars, which was formerly a church dedicated to St. John. There are several granite pillars about the town, and particularly six or seven of grey granite in one part, some standing, and some lying on the ground.

The things most to be remarked in this city are the improvements of Feckerdine; that prince having acquired a taste for architecture, during his stay at the court of Florence. His seraglio, which is now only the shell of a building, has the air of a Roman palace; water was conveyed by channels in the walls through all the apartments, and in the middle of it is a garden of very large lemon trees: the stables are truly magnificent, built with several rows of square pillars, and there are niches on the sides within, with a stone manger at the bottom of each of them for the horses provender. There are several other unfinished buildings, that have even a greater air of magnificence in them, and look more like the remains of ancient Roman buildings, than unfinished modern ones.

This town is under the influence of the Maronites and Druses, as many other places are under the Arabs, and the inhabitants of mount Libanon or Antilibanon dare not go to any other town. When I came to Bayreut I went to the Capuchin convent, where I was very civilly received; there was only one monk in it, who resides there chiefly on account of the French ships that come into this place.

CHAP. II. — *Of the river Lycus. The territory of the prince of the Druses; and of the Maronites and Druses.*

I SET forward on my journey from Bayreut on the first of June, and went to the east along the side of the bay; after having travelled about a league, we came to the place where, they say, St. George killed the dragon which was about to devour the king of Bayreut's daughter: there is a mosque on the spot, which was formerly a Greek church; near it is a well, and they say, that the dragon usually came out of the hole, which is now the mouth of it. The writers of the middle age by this place was called Cappadocia. In this mosque I saw an extraordinary ceremony performed on one of the Turks that was with me; who sitting down on the ground, the religious person,

person, who had the care of the mosque, took a piece of a small marble pillar, in which, they say, there is an extraordinary virtue against all sorts of pains, and roll'd it on the back of the Turk for a considerable time. About a mile to the east of this place we cross'd over the river of Bayreut, on a bridge of seven arches, some of which are of antient workmanship. This river runs to the north, along the plain which is east of the grove of pines: it may be the river Magoras, of Pliny, and agrees with his order in speaking of places; though some think that it is the same as the Tamyras. Soon after we had pass'd this river, we turned to the north, and went along the strand under the high cliffs for about an hour and a half, and came to the famous road, which is cut like a terrace on the west and north sides of the mountain, over the sea, and on the south side of the river Lycus; the road being, as I conjecture, about half a mile long; it is very much like that road which is near the fountains of Tyre, and is said to have been made by Alexander. We ascended it going to the north; over the highest part there are remains of a tower; we then descended, and turning to the east ascended again. This road was formerly called *Via Antoniniana*; the ascent to it is difficult, and a Latin inscription is cut on the rock, mentioning the name of the road; and that it was made by the emperor Aurelius. I saw some small figures of men in relief, cut in different compartments, but very much defaced by time; one, I observed, wore a particular cap like the Phrygian bonnet; probably it was the Persian habit, and may be as old as the time when the Persians had possession of these countries. Under this road runs the river Ke.p, as it is called in Arabic: it is the Lycus of the Greeks, that is, the Dog river; so called, as it is said, from the statue of a dog, which was formerly there. On one side of the road there is a ruin something like the pedestal of a statue, and below it in the sea, at the mouth of the river, is a large stone, which the people shew for the statue of the dog, from which, they say, the river received its name; and there is a relief on the rock over the river at the end of the bridge, which is much defaced, and seems to have represented a dog. This river was formerly navigable, though the stream is very rapid*. Opposite to the south end of the bridge, is an inscription in an eastern character, which seemed to be very ancient. The bridge over the river has four arches, one of which is large, being built, as they say, by Feckerdine; this river was the bounds between the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch. On the other side of the bridge is an aqueduct brought four miles along the side of the hill, and is of so great a height, that seventeen arches about twenty feet high, are built against the hill near the bridge, for the water to run on; it is the work of one of the successors of Feckerdine, in order to water a small plain by the sea, from which one ascends the Castravan mountains, which extend northward near to the ancient city Byblus, now called Esbde, where also the dominions of the prince of the Druses end, which begin near Sidon, and only include the mountains. This part, called the Castravan mountains, is inhabited solely by Maronite Christians; the other parts being possessed by the Druses and Christians promiscuously. The mountains of Castravan are part either of Libanon or Antilibanon, according as the bounds of those mountains are fixed. The name of Libanon is now given only to those mountains that are north east and south east of Tripoli, which stretch northwards to Laodicea Cabiosa, near the ancient Hems or Emesa. These mountains are high and rocky, but the ascent is not very difficult; the highest parts are almost all the year covered with snow. It is surprising to see such barren hills so well inhabited and improved; they are chiefly cultivated with mulberry-trees for silk-worms, and also with

* Strabo, xvi. p. 755.

vineyards, which produce excellent wine, far preferable to any other wines of Syria. On these mountains, a considerable way up, I saw the rocks rising above the ground in such extraordinary figures, for about two miles, that at a little distance they appeared like a ruined city, resembling castles, towers, and houses, and even some of them like men. Such a scene as this probably gave rise to the fable of a petrified city beyond Tripoli in Africa. The mountains are inhabited altogether by Christians, and they do not suffer Mahometans to settle on them, nor even the pashas themselves to come up the hills. The prince of the Druses pays a certain sum for his whole country to the Grand Signor, which consists of these mountains from Sidon to Esbele or Byblus; and he resides at a place called Der-el-Kemer, [The Convent of the Moon]. The people pay for their lands to this prince. It is a place of refuge for Christians from the tyranny of the Turkish governors, and especially for those unhappy wretches, who, having denied the faith, repent of it, and become Christians again. Every village has a well built church, and there are almost as many monasteries as villages, and to all their churches they have a bell, which is an extraordinary thing in these parts.

As I observed before, they are all Maronites on these mountains, and acknowledge the pope. The patriarch of the Maronites, who, as I apprehend, is a sort of Legatus natus, is elected by the bishops, about ten in number, and the governors of the country; every district having over it a sheik or head; the usual residence of the patriarch is at Cannobine on mount Libanon, but I waited on him at a little convent near the top of these mountains, he having retired to this part on account of some disturbances in the country where he usually resides; he is one of the principal families of the Maronites, was married, and has children; but being a widower, he became a monk, and was promoted to this dignity. The bishops have their sees at some cities near, many of which are ruined, so that they mostly reside in convents on the mountains. The monks are of the order of saint Antonio the Egyptian; if I do not mistake, most of them are reformed by a monk of Aleppo, and called Aleppines. Many of these convents have been built within these fifty years past, and most of them have a nunnery adjoining; but they have usually only poor old women in them for the service of the convents. The monks, both priests and others (as in all the eastern churches), are employed in taking care of their lands, being persons of no learning. They usually perform their long offices of devotion by night, which are in the Syriac language, that they do not understand; and being used to that character, both they, and the Syrians, or Jacobites, write the Arabic, their native tongue, in Syrian characters. In the reformed convents the superior is chosen every three years; whereas in the others they continue during life; and, if I mistake not, take the vow of poverty, which the eastern monks generally do not, and the inconvenience of not taking such a vow in that station of life, appears very much, in a people who have naturally such an exorbitant love of money, as it necessarily exposes them to many temptations. There are also some few nunneries that are not dependant on the monasteries, though they are very rare in the eastern countries, and are rather like hospitals for the aged and decrepit; and if any young women are in them, they generally continue in a state of probation, rarely taking the vow, and so may change their manner of life when they please; which might be an improvement on that kind of institution. I was at a nunnery of Greek catholics on these mountains, which had been very lately founded by some young ladies of Aleppo, on the rule of St. Francis de Sales, under the direction of the Jesuits, who have a convent near. These ladies were at this time retired to it, to perform their two years of probation, in order to take the vow. There is also an Armenian catholic convent, founded by a bishop, whom I saw there, and who was obliged

obliged to retire to these parts, on account of some distresses. The Latin fathers, the monks of the Holy Sepulchre, the Jesuits, and Capuchins, have commodious convents on this mountain; and the Jesuits have erected a seminary, both to prepare the youth for the education at Rome, and to fit those in a better manner for the Maronite church, who cannot be sent to that place of education. The Maronites are esteemed more honest, simple, and less intriguing than any other Christians in the east.

If any account can be given of the original of the Druses, it is, that they are the remains of the Christian armies in the holy war; and they themselves now say that they are descended from the English*. They are esteemed men of courage, and of greater probity than any others of these eastern parts. As they, and their prince, are protectors of the Christians that live among them, so they seem to have the best opinion of Christians, and the greatest regard for them; though, in reality, it is to be feared that they have little or no religion at all; they occasionally profess themselves Mahometans, but go as seldom as possible to their mosques, which they do only to enjoy the privileges of the established religion; and I have been informed, that in some of their books that have accidentally been found, they both blaspheme our Saviour, and speak evil of Mahomet. They have among them a sort of religious persons, whom they call by the name of Akel; these drink no wine, and will not eat any thing that belongs to the prince, because, they say, it is rapine; they have private places under their houses for their ceremonies of worship; and I was informed they do not perform any openly, except reading out of their books over the dead, before they are carried to burial, though, as to this, I much doubt my authority. These religious people meet together in their private places, and seem to be rather like the wise men, or philosophers of old, than the chief persons of a religion, in a community that has little or none. I rather think, if these in particular have any, that they are worshippers of nature. I was, indeed, told that by some accident, the statue of a calf had been seen in their retired places; but if the information of one who pretended to have discovered some of their secrets, is to be depended upon, they have a small silver box, closed in such a manner as not to be opened, and many, even among them, know not what it contains: they pay a sort of worship to it; and he said he was informed, that there were in these boxes the images of the nature of both sexes.

CHAP. III. — *Of the Castravan Mountains, of Esbele the ancient Byblus, and other places in the Way to Tripoli.*

WE ascended the Castravan mountains, and went two miles eastward to the convent of St. Antony Elisy, where I was civilly entertained by the monks. We then travelled near a mile to the village of Elisy, where they have a handsome new built church: we went about three miles north to the nunnery above-mentioned, called Derbenady, and were invited into the apartments allotted for strangers, where we were entertained with converse of roses, a dram, and coffee, a young Maronite sheik being with us. We went a mile eastward to the Jesuits convent at Ontua, where I was very civilly received by the general of the mission in these parts, who frequently resides in this convent. On the second, I went up the hill to the north east, in order to wait on the Maronite patriarch: after having travelled four or five miles we came to Ajalton, where one of the great families of the Maronite sheiks resides. The mountains, though very rocky,

* Sometimes they are descended from the Franks, whom Godfrey of Bullion brought with him to the holy war; and that Feckerdine pretended to be related to the house of Lorrain.

are well improved, as high as this place, with mulberry trees, and even with corn, wherever there is any soil. We went northward, and ascended for three or four miles to a part of the hill, where the rocks appeared in extraordinary figures, like a ruined town, as mentioned before. We came to the convent of Refond, where the monks are of the antient order of St. Antony not reformed, and have a nunnery to serve them; all the monks work in cultivating the ground: this is the usual residence of the bishop of Patronè: here they entertained us with roasted eggs, soup made with kidney beans, four milk, and excellent white wine, of a good body and flavour. We travelled northward down a very gentle descent, and passed by the village of Ashout and Einegratè, and soon after by two high rocks, that appeared at a distance, like the ruins of some antient building. We ascended and came to Eirkeen, where we found the patriarch, and the bishop of Patronè sitting under a tree near the convent, after the eastern manner: the patriarch was a very venerable old man, and received me with great civility, though by some accident I had not my letter to give him from the Maronite interpreter of the English consul at Acre. The bishop having been many years minister of the church at Tripoli spoke *Lingua Franca*. Bread, wine, and coffee were brought; and, after some time, the patriarch went in; and I was soon called to dine in an open cloyster or portico of the convent. Pilaw, fried eggs, honey, and some other things were set before us; the patriarch sat a while at some distance, and when he went away, the bishop came and sat with me. After dinner I went out to the patriarch, who was sitting under the tree, and coffee was served; when I talked of departing, the patriarch pressed me much to stay, and seemed almost angry when he found I was determined to go. This is a very high cool retreat, and we saw the tops of the mountains near this place covered with snow; we descended by the same way we came, to Ashout, and then turned to the right, and went on to the top of the mountains, about five miles to the south west, and found the country both uninhabited, and without any improvement. We descended to Aosta, which is situated on a hill not a great way from the sea shore; the house of the patriarch is there, with a church or chapel built to it, which is the family burial place. We found the patriarch's brother sitting under a tree. I alighted and sat a while with him, and he invited me to stay all night. The custom of sitting under trees at this time, and many others I had observed, led me to reflect on the great resemblance there is between the manners and simplicity of the antients, and those of the eastern people at this day; which is very remarkable only in one short part of the history of Abraham. Thus, for instance, as air and shade are very desirable in hot countries, so we find them often sitting under a tree: thus, we see Abraham, when the Lord came to him in the plains of Mamre, desiring the three angels to rest themselves under the tree. Fine meal was made ready for them, kneaded and baked on the hearth; and now it is the custom to make bread whenever they eat, and they bake it on iron hearths, which are heated, or on the embers. It is usual also to serve, to sit, or stand by the guests without eating with them; and so Abraham set the butter and milk, and the calf that was dressed, before them, and stood by them under the tent when they did eat: the wife Sarah also did not appear, but stood in the tent within the door, according to the custom among the eastern women at this time. From Aosta we went on that evening two miles south to Arisla, to the new-built convent of the Holy Sepulchre: it is most pleasantly situated on a high hill, over the plain which is by the sea shore; there being a village below it, near which, I was informed, they find those white stones which have the figures of fish in them. We staid there all night.

We set out northward on the third, and returning near as far as Aosta, we went down the hill to the catholic Armenian convent, called Elerem, which is under Aosta;

it was not then finished. The bishop shewed me the convent with great civility, and set before us an elegant collation of dried sweetmeats, prunellas and pistachio nuts, and we were served with coffee and wine. We ascended up to Aosta, where I sat under a tree, with the patriarch's two brothers and nephews, and drank coffee; they pressed us to stay, but we went on southward in a very bad stony road, and passed by Der-merran-Kairoula, a Maronite convent, and afterwards by Eran and Lublan. We had a gentle descent down the hill going near Sdidieh and Aramost, and came to the village called Gasier, where there is a Capuchin convent, which was shut up, all the monks being absent; so I reposed under a lemon-tree, until the servant came, and let us into the garden where I dined. The Maronite sheik came to me, who talked Italian, and had travelled eight years in Europe; there were two or three who had travelled, and probably went with him as servants; one of them had been in England, I suppose he went under the name of a prince of mount Libanon; for those who have travelled under that character, are the sons of those sheiks who rent the parishes of the prince of the Druses, and being chiefs of the country, the monks here give them certificates to Rome, under the name of Principi di monte Libano; and they often return home very much enriched; for they ask charity in a genteel manner, on a pretence of supporting the Maronites under the hardships which they suffer from the Turks. I was informed, that one of them lately returning home, was murdered in Sicily, for the sake of the treasure which they were informed he had with him. This sheik invited and pressed me to go to his house and take coffee: I went with him; and a carpet being spread, we sat down in the court, on a raised place over a running spout of water: he told me, that his brother, a young man who was there, designed to travel into Europe, and even hinted that he would be glad to join me. He appeared extremely civil, and offered to send one with me to the prince of the Druses, and all over the mountains. Coffee was brought up, and a fowl roasted in quarters, a kind of European dish, the rest being after the Arab manner. Toward the evening, a relation of the sheik's came from Bayreut, where, he said, he had heard that I walked about the city, and had observed every thing very curiously, which had alarmed the people; on which I immediately found that their behaviour was altered towards me; and they began to advise me to lay aside the thoughts of going to the prince of the Druses; and it is probable that they were afraid of being suspected, in case they should conduct me to that prince, at a time when the Turks were in war with the emperor; the prince of the Druses having sometimes given the government great trouble, when they were engaged in wars with the Christian princes. I found it was too late to go away, so I staid all night, and went to see the convent near, where they shewed me a monk who was a hundred and ten years old.

I hired a man from this place to go with me to Esbele: setting out the next morning on the fourth, I saw a great number of young mulberry-trees on the foot of the hills, which had been cut down by a pasha who had some demand on them, which they did not answer; so he came with his men to the skirts of the mountain, and cut down the mulberry-trees; which was doing them a very considerable damage, as these trees are absolutely necessary for their silk. We descended into a narrow valley, in which there runs a small river, and over it there is a bridge, in the high road from Sidon, which is near the sea: I take this river to be the northern bounds of the Castravan mountains. We ascended and came into the high road, passing by the vale Ouad-Enamar, on the south of which I saw some grottos. We passed by Ouad-Etcheny, and the church called Maria Mari. We then crossed the river Ibrim on a large bridge; this river was anciently called Adonis. Travellers observe, that the
water

water of it is red after great floods, which is occasioned by the nature of the soil through which it runs; and that this having happened about the time of the feasts of Adonis, the ancients said the river ran with blood on account of his death. It is probable that Palæbyblos * was on this river.

A little beyond the Ibrim, we came to Esbele, called by the Franks Gibeles; it is the ancient Byblus, supposed to be the country of the Giblites, mentioned in Joshua †. Here, it is said, Cinyras, the father of Adonis, had a palace; and the city became famous for the temples and worship of Adonis. The walls of the town remain, which are about a mile in circumference; and at the south east corner there is a very strong castle of rusticated work, built of hard stone that has pebbles in it. Towards the foundation are some stones twenty feet in length: there are very few inhabitants in the town, but many ruinous houses are standing, which shew that it has been well inhabited, and probably within two or three ages past. There are remains of a beautiful church, which seems to have been the cathedral; it is of the Corinthian order, and appears plainly to have been built before the entire corruption of architecture, probably about the fourth or fifth century. This town was taken by the Christians in the time of the holy war, and followed the fate of Tyre, and other cities of this coast.

When we came to Esbele, I stopped at a tree a little without the gates: having heard a bad character of the inhabitants, I had procured a letter to the sheik, which I sent to him. He came out to me, with his brother and relations, and ordered his Christian steward to shew me every thing about the town. The sheik happened to cast his eyes on a pair of my pistols, which he liked, and immediately ordered his man to propose an exchange for his, which I refused. When I returned from viewing the town, the sheik and the elders were sitting in the gate of the city, after the ancient manner, and I sat a while with them; but when I came to my place, I was informed that the sheik intended to take my pistols by force, if I would not agree to his proposal. The sheik himself came soon afterwards, took my pistols out of the holsters, and would have put his own in their place, which I would not permit; he then put his pistols into the hands of one of my men, whom I ordered to lay them down on the ground; they offered to give me some money also in exchange; but I intimated, that if they did not return them, I would complain to the pasha of Tripoli. I departed, and they sent a man after me to offer ten dollars; two or three messages passed, and when we were about a mile from the town, they sent the pistols to me; for, as they knew the character of the pasha, it is probable that they apprehended, he would be glad of such a pretence to come and raise money on them.

After having travelled near the sea about three leagues we came to Patronè, a furlong to the west of the high road. This is thought to be the ancient Botrus, placed by Ptolemy ten miles north of Byblus †; it is a bishop's see, and gives title to one of the Maronite prelates, as well as Esbele. There are remains of a large church, which

* Strabo xvi. 755.

† See Maundrel. As the Septuagint translate it *Βυβλος*, and that was part of the land given to the Israelites, so it seems probable that the people of this place are meant in 1 Kings, v. 18. and Ezekiel, xxvii. 9. though the names Giblites, and Gebal, according to our literal translation from the Hebrew, would incline to think that Gabala, north of Orthofia, was meant; but as this must be Alebille of the Jerusalem Itinerary, it is very probable that Gabal was the ancient name, and that a name something like it was always retained by the people of the country, and that the Greeks gave it the name of Byblus.

‡ It seems by mistake to be called Botria, in Strabo, xvi. p. 755. probably it is Bruttolalia of the Jerusalem Itinerary. This city was built by Ithobalus, king of Tyre, about the time of the prophet Ehas, according to Menander, quoted by Josephus, Anti. Jud. lib. viii. cap. 13.

was probably the cathedral, and of buildings about it, which might serve for the priests; there are ruins also of a smaller church, which is well built; but nothing is to be seen of the walls of the city, nor is there even a village on the spot. The rocky cliffs on the sea-side have been much worked with the tool; and I observed a sort of a canal cut between them from the sea, running north and south, which probably might serve for a harbour for boats and small vessels in bad weather, as it is an open port without any shelter. All these towns of Phœnicia are supposed to be of very great antiquity.

We went on and passed by a village called Masid; it is to the left, at the end of the plain, under the great cape; near it is a church on a small hill; about this place possibly might be Gigartum*. Four or five miles from Patronè, we entered in between those mountains, which stretch westward to the sea, and make that cape, which was called by the antients Theoprosopon, where, some say, mount Libanon began. Here those Arab and Ituraean robbers, who infested the country, had one of their strong castles, which, with many others belonging to them, were destroyed by Pompey†. Between these hills we crossed the river Nar-el-Zehar on a bridge, and came to a very extraordinary rock about a hundred feet high, a hundred yards long, and twenty broad: there is a castle on it, and it is called Empsiles. We intended to have staid all night, though there was no place to lodge in, nor any other accommodation; but a Maronite priest coming by, to whom we shewed some civility, he very kindly invited us to go two or three miles further to his house; we went on with him, and when we came into the plain that leads to Tripoli, we turned to the east, and ascending the hills, came to the poor cottage of the priest; he prepared a supper for us, and we lay on the top of the house, which is a very common practice in this country during the summer season.

We set out on the fifth, travelled along the narrow plain that runs to Tripoli, and went near a small town on the sea called Enty, where, they say, there are remains of a large well-built church. I came to some ruins that seemed to be the remains of an ancient temple; and there are several heaps of stones about it for a considerable way. This might be Trieris, mentioned by Strabo‡ between the promontory and Tripoli, and may be the same as Tridis, placed in the Jerusalem Itinerary twelve miles from that city: to the east there is a low ridge of mountains that extend almost as far as Tripoli; they are chiefly inhabited by Greeks, as well as the vale to the east of them; there are some convents on the hills, particularly the large monastery of Bellemint, which is delightfully situated; and another called Mar Jakob, (Saint James), where the Europeans that die at Tripoli are usually buried. Beyond Enty I saw a Greek monastery near the sea, called Der-Nassour. After having passed under the Greek convent of Bellemint, we came to Calamon, where there is a small stream, and a ruined building: this, without doubt, is the antient Calamos.

CHAP. IV. — *Of Tripoli.*

TRIPOLI, now called Traplous, is situated at the entrance of a narrow valley between the hills, and to the east of a low promontory, that extends about a mile into the sea, but is not above half a mile broad: on this promontory were the three cities which were colonies from Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus; they were a furlong distant from each other, but seem at length to have been joined by their suburbs, and to have made

* Strabo, xvi. p. 755.

‡ Strabo, *ibid.*

† Strabo, *ibid.*

one city; on that account it was called Tripolis. One of them, probably the most ancient, which might be that peopled from Tyre, was at the end of the point, and so might be easily fortified, by building a wall across the promontory on the east side of the city: there are great ruins of this wall, which appears to have been fifteen feet thick; and it seems to have been thrown down by force: it was cased with hewn stone, which is now carried away; about the middle of it was the gate of the city, and near the wall there are several pieces of large pillars of grey granite. The second city, which probably was the colony from Sidon, might be at the angle made by this promontory to the north, where the river which runs through the present city falls into the sea; but there are no signs either of this or of the third city; for that part is all converted into gardens, and is a sandy soil easily driven by the wind, which has probably covered whatever remained of those antient cities. The third city, was the colony from Aradus, and might have been at the south angle, where there is good water, and a small stream; but as it is a rocky ground, and exposed to the south west wind, which is the most dangerous, and consequently could not be a port, it is more probable that this city was in the middle between the other two on the north side; where there is a tolerable good harbour, which is used at this time, being sheltered by some islands and rocks to the west. There are six large towers, about a quarter of a mile distant from each other, on the north side of the cape: but I could not be informed whether they were joined with a wall (which might formerly have been raised for defence along the shore), or designed only to protect the place against privateers, for which they serve at present. On this side, where the wall crossed the promontory, is a little town called the Marine; it is inhabited mostly by Greeks: the custom-house is there, and all goods are landed in small boats from the ships, which lie at a distance. The Greeks some years ago built a fine church here, which was soon after pulled down by a pasha.

When the Saracens took the city of Tripoli, they constituted a king to govern this country. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, took it with the help of the Genoese fleet, after seven years siege, and made Bertrand count of it, who was son of Raymond, count of Toulouse. His territory extended from the river Lycus to the river Valania, as it was then called, being the river Eleutherus of the ancients, which falls into the sea near Aradus. In the year one thousand one hundred and seventy, the city was almost destroyed by an earthquake. The Saracens took it by sap, in one thousand two hundred and eighty nine, and entirely destroyed it, but the city was afterwards rebuilt by them*.

The present city of Tripoli is about two miles in circumference; it stands low, and a river runs through it, which, after great rains, overflows, and does much damage to the city; there are also some buildings on the side of the hills: over the south east corner of the city there is a large castle on a hill, thought to be built during the time of the holy war; for there is a mosque in it which was a church dedicated to St. John. There are five or six mosques in the city, which they say were churches; they have square towers to them, one of which in particular, is built after the European manner; but the finest mosque has an octagon tower, and was formerly the church of St. John. There are a considerable number of Greeks here, who have a handsome cathedral, near which the bishop resides: the Maronites also have their church: many of the Bazars, or streets of shops, seem to have been made out of old convents and nunneries, as may be seen by the manner of the buildings. The monks of the Holy Sepulchre, the Jesuits, and Carmelites of mount Libanon have their convents here; the latter

* See the writers of the holy war.

residing in this city only during the excessive cold weather in the winter season, when mount Libanon is covered with snow. This is the residence of the pasha of Tripoli, from which city the whole pashalic is denominated.

The river of Tripoli runs through a most delightful narrow valley from the east: there is a convent of Dervises on the side of the hill over the river, about half a mile out of the town; it is one of the most beautiful situations I ever beheld, being adorned with several water-works, supplied by an aqueduct that runs through it. On this aqueduct the water runs from the foot of mount Libanon about eight miles distant; it is carried along the side of the hills by a channel to the north of the river, till it comes within a mile and a half of the city, when it crosses the valley and river, on an aqueduct of four arches, which is one hundred and thirty paces long; the aqueduct is seven feet eight inches broad, and serves for a bridge; the two middle arches, which are Gothic, have been probably rebuilt, but the others are fine arches, and seem to be of a more antient date. The bridge is said to be built, or rather repaired by Godfrey of Bulloign, though it is more probable that it was done by Baldwin king of Jerusalem, and upon that account it might have been called the Prince's bridge, for I observed a cross cut on the stones: from these arches the water runs on the south side of the vale by the Dervises convent.

The trade of Tripoli consists chiefly in exporting raw silk to Europe, and the cotton and silk manufactures of Damascus to the different parts of the Levant; they have also a manufacture of soap made with the oil of olives, for which they were formerly more famous than Joppa, though now the latter has rather the preference. There is only one English house here, which is the consul's, but there are several of the French nation.

The pasha was lately returned from his voyage towards Mecca, it being his office always to set out with provisions to meet the caravan in its return; they go about half way to Mecca, setting out the same day that the caravan usually leaves Mecca. When I was there the consul went in ceremony to compliment the pasha on his return, and all the English nation accompanied him. The Janizaries went first; then the two dragomen or interpreters; after them the consul in the Turkish dress, having on a purple *serijee*, or gown of ceremony, but with a perriwig and hat. Soon after we came into the apartment, the pasha entered between two persons, gave the welcome as he passed, and sat down cross-legged in the corner to the right, having a cushion on each side, and one over them behind him; he had on the garment of ceremony, lined with ermine, and a knife stuck in his girdle with a very fine handle, the end of it being adorned with a large emerald; no person moved his hat. The consul sat down facing the pasha, on a stool covered with red cloth; and those of this nation, and the second dragoman stood at his left hand; and his first dragoman, and the dragoman of the pasha on the right, who was to interpret between the dragoman of the consul and the pasha; the former speaking Arabic and the latter Turkish. After compliments were passed the consul made a request for justice in some case, and delivered a letter from Latichea relating to business: Sweet-meats and coffee, and afterwards *shirbet* were brought to all; but only the consul was perfumed and incensed. The two dragomen of the consul kissed the hem of the pasha's garment, and put it to their foreheads, as soon as he was seated, when he granted the request, and when they went away. The consul demanded permission to take leave, and rising put his hand to his breast, but the pasha kept his seat. We then went to the caia, or chief minister of the pasha; a stool was set for the consul; but he sat down on the sofa, which is more honourable. A stool is used at the pasha's on account of the short habit which the French always

wear, and so the other consuls sit on it likewise, though they are in the long garb. At the ca'a's those who attended the consul kneeled on the sopha, resting behind on their hams, which is a very humble posture; we were served here in the same manner, except that all were perfumed and incensed.

CHAP. V.—*Of Cannsbine. The cedars of Libanon, and other places between Tripoli and Balbeck.*

WE set out from Tripoli * eastward on the twelfth, and ascending the low hills which are over the city, we came in three hours to the foot of Mount Libanon. We ascended about four hours, and then went along the side of the hills, over a most romantic valley, which appeared as if it was shut in on every side by high pointed rocky mountains, almost covered with wood. The river Abouali rushes through it with a great noise, but is so covered with trees, that it is seen in very few places; we went almost half round the valley, and turning to the left, came to the Maronite convent of St. Antony Casiech; the convent is almost all cut out of the rock; the large church being a grot, and so are several other parts of the convent. There is also a large natural grot, that extends a great way under ground, in which there are what they call petrifications of water, that being hewn, appear to be very fine white alabaster, like that in the grotts of Carniola. In a dark part of this grot they discipline mad people; this place being, as they say, famous for miraculously curing the disorders of the brain; the patients are commonly brought to their senses in three or four days, or a week, and rarely continue longer, and even sometimes are cured in their way to the convent, according to their account. They bury the monks in a vault above ground in their habits, in which they appear like skeletons; and I saw one whose skin seemed to be uncorrupted, who, they say, was a holy man. This place is famous for excellent

* In this journey we ascended up the hill at Tripoli: the country to the foot of Mount Libanon, for about two leagues, is called a plain, though it is a very uneven ground; there are two rivulets run through it, one coming from the east, called Gutban; the other from the south south east, Abouali; they run into one valley to the west north west, and, uniting, run under the prince's bridge, and retain the name of the former. We first crossed a hill, and then passed over a small track of ground planted with olive-trees; we went a little way to the north, and turning eastward crossed the valley in which these rivers unite, and turning southwards into the vale of Abouali, we went over the river on a narrow bridge of six arches; far to the right, on a hill to the right, and farther south Nakely and Erkael; going further, we saw Kephteen to the south, where there is a Greek convent, and further Kephcrakey, where there is a ruined castle, and a large pillar that seemed to be built. We passed by Boukpherhouah to the left, near the road; we afterwards went by some vineyards on a hill near the foot of the mountains; when we began to ascend the mountains I saw Argy. in the valley of Bishath to the left; we passed by Turfinah on the left, and Shmea on the right; the convent Antoura is on a mountain over it; further on we had Ibsah to the right, and over it Ramaskah; to the north, beyond the river Gutban is Mount Turbul, which runs to the east south east, there being a valley between it and the high parts of Mount Libanon. We ascended up a hill to Carensidy, and then another steep hill, down which there is a narrow channel cut to convey the water to the villages beneath. I saw a church called St. John, on a hill to the right, and afterwards Hunte, likewise to the right, and Aito on the left; we descended down the hill to Orby, opposite to which on the right, is Touria; in this part there are many pines, and some cypresses. We went along the side of a hill, and descended towards the romantic valley, described below, in which the river Abouali runs, and came to the convent of St. Antony Casiech, over which, on the point of the high mountain, is Martakeis, under which is the pleasant village of Aden. We crossed the valley from St. Antony, and went up the hill to the south, and passed by Ban, where I observed a red earth like iron ore, and saw a single church on the right, called Aouka, and descended to Cannsbine. Returning up the hill the same way, we passed by Ban, and afterwards Capede, and a village, pleasantly situated on a rock over a valley; we went near Biltureh, finely situated on a well-improved hill, over the river Kalthe, which below is called Abouali, the river I have mentioned before; we came to the Carmelite convent, from which one sees the village of Sherasfe to the south.

wine,

wine, which they preserve, as they do in all these parts, in large earthen jars, close stopped down with clay, but being sent to distant places in skins, it receives a strong flavour from them which is disagreeable. I saw the monks in their church, standing four and four at two square desks, chanting their hymns alternately, and leaning on crutches as some ease during the long time they are obliged to be at their devotions.

From this place I went towards Cannobine, the convent where the Maronite patriarch usually resides; the descent to it is very steep, by a narrow winding road. The convent, which is about three quarters of the way down the hill, chiefly consists of several grotts cut into the rock; the river, which empties itself at Tripoli, runs in a narrow valley below it, having on both sides two very high ridges of mountains, covered with pines; this situation is the most extraordinary and retired that can be imagined, there being only one way to it, which makes it a very secure retreat, and is probably the reason why the patriarchs have taken up their residence here. The church is a fine large grot, and there are three bells hung in a window of it; the bishop of mount Libanon was there, who generally resides with the patriarch, and is a sort of vicar to him. Near the convent is the chapel of St. Marina, which is a grotto; it is said she lived as a monk at Tripoli, and on the mountains, in the habit of a man; near this chapel there are descents to two vaults, in one the patriarchs are buried, and in the other the monks.

On the thirteenth, we ascended the hills by the same way, and returning, we overtook a Maronite priest; as I was leading my horse, on account of the bad road, out of his great civility, he would take the bridle out of my hand, pressed me to go aside to his house, and conducting me to his shady tree near it, brought us a collation of fried eggs, sour milk, and olives; as they are very poor, it is proper in these cases to make a small present of money. About these parts I saw a great number of young mulberry trees that had been cut down, of which they have considerable plantations on account of their silk manufacture; for the pasha having let this district to a new Amadean sheik, the old one made war on him, ravaged the country, and did this mischief; for these hills are inhabited partly by Maronites, and partly by Amadean Arabs, who are followers of Ali. Going eastward we passed near a village called Aden, which is reckoned one of the most pleasant places in the world, on account of its situation and prospect, its waters, and the fine improvements about it. We saw several beautiful cascades on both sides, and came to the convent of the Latin Carmelite fathers, called St. Sergius, which is a most delightful retirement in summer; the beauty of the opposite hills, the several cascades, and streams of water, and the perpetual freshness of the air in these high regions, make the place very agreeable, whilst the heats in the plains are almost intolerable; but in the winter the fathers reside in Tripoli.

From this convent there is a gentle ascent for about an hour to a large plain, between the highest parts of mount Libanon; towards the north-east corner of it are the famous cedars of Libanon; they form a grove about a mile in circumference, which consists of some large cedars that are near to one another, a great number of young cedars, and some pines. The great cedars, at some distance, look like very large spreading oaks; the bodies of the trees are short, dividing at bottom into three or four limbs, some of which growing up together for about ten feet, appear something like those Gothic columns, which seem to be composed of several pillars; higher up they begin to spread horizontally; one that had the roundest body, though not the largest, measured twenty-four feet in circumference, and another with a sort of triple body, as described above, and of a triangular figure, measured twelve feet on each side. The young cedars are not easily known from pines; I observed they bear a greater quantity of fruit than the
large

large ones. The wood does not differ from white deal in appearance, nor does it seem to be harder; it has a fine smell, but not so fragrant as the juniper of America, which is commonly called Cedar; and it also falls short of it in beauty; I took a piece of the wood from a great tree that was blown down by the wind, and left there to rot; there are fifteen large ones standing. The Christians of the several denominations near this place come here to celebrate the festival of the Transfiguration, and have built altars against several of the large trees, on which they administer the sacrament. These trees are about half a mile north of the road, to which we returned; and from this plain on the mountains, ascended about three hours up to the very highest summit of Mount Libanon, passing over the snow, which was frozen hard. These mountains are not inhabited higher up than the Carmelite convent, nor all the way down on the east side, which is very steep, and a barren soil. I observed that Cypress are the only trees that grow towards the top, which being nipped by the cold, do not grow spirally, but like small oaks; and it may be concluded that this tree bears cold better than any other. From the top of Mount Libanon there is a fine prospect of the beautiful parts of the mountain below, and of the sea beyond Tripoli to the east, of lake Lemoun at the foot of the hill, which seems to be two or three miles in circumference, and beyond it, of that great plain, which was Cœlesyria, on the east side of which I saw Baalbeck.

Though all the people about Libanon drink of the snow water, yet they have not that swelling in the neck which the people are subject to who drink of the snow water of the Alps; which may be owing to a greater freedom of perspiration; and possibly this snow may not be charged with so great a quantity of nitre as it is in the northern parts. It is observed on Mount Libanon, that in the spring time, when the snows begin to melt, the waters of the rivers rise, but the fountains continue as before; after a certain time the fountains flow plentifully, and the waters of the rivers abate; and then the fountains continuing to flow, the waters of the rivers increase again; the reason of which seems to be, that when the snows first melt, the waters run down on the surface of the frozen snow without soaking into the ground to feed the springs; and so the greatest part of it runs into the rivers; but when the snow is melted towards the lower parts of the mountains, the water begins to be drunk up by the earth, and consequently increases the fountains; and when the earth is almost full of water, and of course does not imbibe so much of that element as before, it then runs more plentifully into the rivers, continuing still to feed the fountains. At the foot of the mountains of Libanus there is a narrow valley, in which the small lake Lemoun, before mentioned, is situated to the south of the road. We travelled to the east for two hours, between low hills covered with wood, and came into the plain of Baalbeck, which is about eight miles broad, extends a considerable way to the south, and much farther northwards, where it opens into a plain; to the north east of which are the deserts that carried outward to Palmyra; and northwards to Hems, the ancient Emesa. Towards the north part of this plain the river Afi rises, which is the Orontes of the ancients; it is a barren red soil, very little improved, and the crops it produces are so poor, that it hardly covers the expence of tilling and watering; and they cannot sow it two years together, the part having no water but what is brought from a stream that rises plentifully but a mile south east of Baalbeck, which runs through the city, and is lost in the fields and gardens.

We descended into the plain to Delehamait, a small village on the left hand, inhabited by Maronites, where there is an old church that has been repaired, and seems to have been built after the model of the temple of Baalbek, except that it has no columnade round it. It is of the Corinthian order, and is doubtless of great antiquity. As

Aphaca, remarkable for an infamous temple dedicated to Venus, is said to have been between Heliopolis and Byblus *, one might conjecture that it was here, if it was not described as on the top of Mount Libanon, and probably the lake Lemoun is that which is mentioned near it, as having such extraordinary properties in it †. The sun was very low when we came to this place, and we had some thoughts of staying there all night, but the people gave us no great encouragement, and very honestly informed us, that we might run some risk of being plundered by the Amadean Arabs, if any of them should chance to come that way; so we proceeded on our journey, and arrived very late at Baalbeck.

CHAP. VI. — *Of Baalbeck, the ancient Heliopolis.*

THERE are many cities in Syria that retain their ancient names; which is a proof that the Greek names, introduced under the Macedonian kings, were rarely received by the common people; of this Baalbeck, or rather Baalbeit, is an instance, which signifies the house or temple of Baal. This deity is supposed to be the same as the Sun; accordingly the Greeks in their language call this place Heliopolis, or the city of the Sun ‡. It stands on the east side of that plain, which is between Libanon to the west, and what is commonly supposed to be part of Antilibanon to the east, and consequently was in that part of Syria, which was called Cœlesyria proper. The river Asê or Orontes, rises in this plain about eight hours north of Baalbeck, near a village called Ras. The mountains to the east are very near the town; to the south-east side of which there is a hill that stretches southwards, part of it being taken within the city walls, which are low, and about four miles in circumference; they are built with square towers, and though probably on the same site as the ancient walls, yet the greatest part of them appear to be the work of the middle ages, from the great number of broken entablatures, pillars, defaced reliefs, and imperfect inscriptions, both Greek and Latin, that are placed in them §. It is very extraordinary that ancient authors should be so silent in relation to Heliopolis, which must have been very famous for the worship of Baal, and where there are at present such remains, as may be said to exceed every thing of antiquity in that kind. It is probable there was some very considerable building on the part of the hill enclosed within the city to the south east; for there I saw in the walls a great number of broken entablatures, reliefs, pedestals, and several small fluted Corinthian pillars in a fine taste, and imperfect Greek inscriptions, which seemed to be of great antiquity; and within the walls there is a large stone adorned with carvings of a most exquisite workmanship, which seems to have served for the covering of the colonnade round the building, being like that of the temple below. On the highest part of the hill within the walls there is a very fine Tuscan pillar, which probably had some relation to this building. It is raised on a square foundation, five feet seven inches high, consisting of three steps up; the two uppermost, which are not high, might be

* Zosimus, i. 58.

† Eusebius De vita Constantini, iii. 55.

‡ The Itinerary of Antonine, and the tables agree so exactly in a very great error, as to the distances between Baalbeck and Damascus, that this as well as other instances, are a great circumstance to make one conjecture that one was copied from the other; they make Abila thirty-eight miles from Damascus, which ought to be corrected to eighteen; though I did not compute it to be above twelve. From this place to Heliopolis, it is twenty-two, according to these accounts, and the real distance may be about twenty.

§ I saw one inscription in the ancient Syriac language, and in the arched way leading to the famous temple, these words in large capitals, MOSCHIDIVISI, which probably were on a triumphal arch. On a pedestal of a statue or pillar, at the grand entrance of the imperfect temple, is this inscription, DIIS HEL. VI., by which it seems to be signified, that something was dedicated to the gods of Heliopolis.

designed to be wrought into a base and plinth: the shaft and capital are composed of eighteen stones, each about three feet thick: near ten feet below the capital it is encompassed with an ornament of five festoons, very finely wrought; and on the top of the capital, there are two tiers of stone, which make a small basin, about three feet deep. From this basin there is a hole through the capital, and a semicircular channel nine inches wide and six deep, cut down the south side of the column and steps; it is supposed, that this was a passage for water; the tradition is, that the water was conveyed from this pillar to the top of the famous temple, on which the people are so weak as to imagine there was a garden; but it is most probable, that the rain waters were conveyed from the building, which I suppose to have been here, into this small basin, and run down the channel, which was probably covered so as to make it a tube, and might be conveyed to some part of the city, possibly to the temple, where it might be necessary to raise the water to a certain height; or it might relate to some machinery of the ancient superstition.

In the plain, about two leagues west of the city, and a league from Mount Libanon, there is another pillar. The pillar is called Hamoudiade; the capital is of the Corinthian order, and is much injured by the weather; it stands on a foundation six feet three inches high, which is built so as to make five steps. The shaft of the pillar consists of fourteen stones, each of them about three feet thick; on the north side, about twenty feet from the ground, there is a compartment cut on the pillar, which seems to have been intended for an inscription, but there is no sign of any letters; they have a tradition that it is hollow within, and that, being filled with water from some springs on the neighbouring hills, the waters were conveyed from the pillar to a hill, which is at the distance of a league, on which there was a monastery; but it is more probable, that this pillar was erected either in memory of some great action, or in honour of a heathen deity.

On the outside of the city walls, to the south east of the famous temple, there are fragments of pillars of red granite, and some signs of the foundations of a building, which might be a temple. There is also a Mahometan sepulchre of an octagon figure to the south east of the town in the way to Damascus; the dome of which is supported by granite pillars of the same kind, which probably were brought from that place; they are about twelve feet long, and five feet in circumference, so that probably each pillar was sawn into two parts; they are of the most beautiful granite, in large spots, and finely polished. The river of Baalbeck rises half a mile south east of the city, and runs through it; the springs seem to have risen in three very plentiful streams, under three semicircular walls that might be contiguous, two of which remain; that to the south is the larger, and has a Greek inscription on it. I was informed, that half a day's journey south of Baalbeck, there is a place called Elarach; and there is a tradition, if I mistake not, among the Jews, that Noah was buried there.

In the city, about half a quarter of a mile south east of the famous temple, there is a beautiful small temple almost entire, of a very singular architecture, which is now used by the Christians for a church; it is a *faniole* *. The steps and the basement, which are represented entire, are only supposed: the ground being risen up to the cornice of the latter, and so it is likewise near the top of the bases under the pediments within; the pillars also that support the pediments are not now standing. The

* Monsieur de la Roque, in his account of his journey to Mount Libanon and Syria, affirms, that this temple is an octagon within; but, as he says, that the temple was round on the outside, he may be mistaken in the one as well as the other.

room seems to have had no light but from the door; on each side of which there are two round pillars.

The famous temple of Babelbeck, which has been so often mentioned by travellers, is a most exquisite piece of workmanship, on which the utmost art has been bestowed; it is built of a fine white stone, that approaches very near to the nature of marble, but grows yellow when exposed to the air.

The several members of the columns and pedestals of the pilasters, both within and without, are carried all round the building, and the whole temple is built as on one solid foundation. The ground is risen near to the top of this basement, both within and without, except on the south side without, where the basement is seen in all its proportions. The architecture of the sides within, and of the further end, is of two kinds, that of the main body of the temple being in one style; but the small pillars that support the pediments are only supported, those places seem to have been designed for statues. I went down into the vaults under this part by the light of wax candles; they consist of two rooms; going into the inner vault I was startled to see a dead body lie in its clothes; the murder was committed about six months before by a Greek for the sake of his money, and the body was never removed. The entablatures of the temple, both within and without, are exceedingly rich; in the quarter round of the cornice without, there are spouts carved with a lip and flowers that do not project; and the frieze is adorned with festoons, supported by heads of some animal. Nothing can be imagined more exquisite than the door-case to the temple: almost every member of it is adorned with the finest carvings of flowers and fruits; the frieze, particularly, with ears of corn, most beautifully executed. The top of the door-case consists of three stones; the middle stone is finely adorned with reliefs; possibly the eagle which is carved on the door-case might represent the sun, to whom this temple was dedicated; the winged persons on each side of it may signify the zephyrs, or air, which operates with it: and by the several other particulars may be figured, that the sun produces fruitful seasons and plenty: the caduceus, which the eagle has in its claws, may be an emblem of commerce and riches, which are the consequence of this bounty of nature.

This fine temple is deservedly admired as one of the most beautiful pieces of antiquity that remains; and yet it is a melancholy thing to see how the barbarous people of these countries continually destroy such magnificent buildings, in order to make use of the stone; they privately chip the pillars in order to undermine them, and when they fall, the stones are so large that they can carry away but very few of them. The pillars of the portico before the temple are ruined, except four at the south east corner; and four of the pillars on the south side are fallen. There is a wall likewise built across the portico before the temple, inasmuch that a great part of the beauty of it is destroyed; and yet the admiration of every one must be greatly raised, who has the least taste of architecture, and considers all the particular parts of it. It appears, that the temple was converted into a church by the Christians.

There is another piece of antiquity in Babelbeck near the famous temple, which has been taken very little notice of by travellers; it seems to be part of a grand temple which was never finished; the entrance is very magnificent, consisting of two grand courts, encompassed with buildings. This temple, which seems to have been designed in a very fine taste, is sixty-eight paces north of the other, and extends farther to the west, very near to the city walls; several stones of these buildings are left rough, and others only marked out to be hewn into bases, or other forms; which is a plain proof that this temple was never finished. As the other temple was dedicated to the sun, so it is probable this

was

was erected in honour of all the gods of Heliopolis, from the inscription before mentioned, which I saw on one of the basements of the colonnade at the front of the entrance*. This temple stands on higher ground than the other, the bottom of its basement being near as high as the top of the other; the wall of the basement is left rough, and seems designed either to have been adorned with all the members of a pedestal, or to have been joined by some other building: it is twenty-seven feet above the ground on the side next to the old temple; there now remain but nine pillars, each consisting only of one stone; they support an entablature, which is very grand, but exactly of the same architecture as that of the other temple, except that in the quarter round of the cornice lions heads are cut, as spouts for the water: I measured the top of a base of one of the pillars, on which there was no column, and found it seven feet ten inches diameter; they are eight feet and an inch apart, so that the intercolumniation is but little more than one diameter, of which, I believe, there are few instances; what is called the Pycnostyle, which is a diameter and a half, being the least that is mentioned by the antients. To the west of the nine pillars is the base of a tenth; and in a line from it, I saw the bases of pillars across, which shewed the end of the colonnade; and by the measures, I imagine it consisted of ten pillars in breadth; some of the broken ones are still remaining on their bases. To the east of the nine pillars, I found that there were six more in the same row, so that there were in all sixteen in length; and I had reason to conclude, that there were no more; so that this temple was pretty near in the same proportion as the other, which has eight pillars in breadth, and fourteen in length.

The south side of the two courts which lead to the temple, were either never finished, or have been much ruined, but the other side remains so entire, especially that of the inner court, that it was not very difficult to make a plan of them. The spaces on each side were doubtless designed for some apartments, of which there are remains to the north. There are pedestals in the front, which seem to have been designed for statues, being too small for pillars: if there had been a colonnade, this building would have very much resembled the design of Bernini, executed at the Louvre in Paris. There is a square pavilion at each end, and the rooms within are adorned with the same architecture as the walls in the front. This magnificent entrance is at least twenty feet above the ground to the east, and without doubt a grand flight of stairs was designed to it, the foundation wall being left rough between the two pavilions; and in De la Roque's time there seem to have been steps to this terrace. This grand entrance leads to a court, which seems to have been an octagon of unequal sides, of which there is very little remaining. Beyond this is a large court of an oblong square figure. On each side of the middle of the court, there are remains of two low walls, adorned with the members of a pedestal; they have doors through them, and it is probable there was a magnificent colonnade on them leading to the grand temple, and this colonnade seems to have been standing in De la Roque's time. who says, there was a double row of pillars, which formed porticos or galleries sixty fathom long, and eight broad. Under these buildings, on each side of the two courts, is a long arcade; there is also a cross one under the buildings, which divides those courts; the arcade to the south seems to have been a private entrance to both the temples; it leads to the area near the north-east corner of the old temple; the other is a way to go round the walls of the city, which there is in to the south. In these arcades I saw two busts in mezzo relievo; one was very singular, being the face of a young person, with

* See note § in p. 490.

bull's horns coming out of his shoulders, and a particular relief at the bottom, something like a coronet reversed. All these buildings in later times were turned into a castle; and an addition was made of a very strong building near the south-east corner of the old temple, and another to the south-west on the town wall, which they have almost destroyed for the sake of the stones. It is said this fortress was demolished by Berberdine, and mounds of unburnt brick still remain in some parts, which were put up in the breaches, and against the walls, as if they were designed to resist the force of cannon.

About twenty feet to the north and west of the unfinished temple is the town wall, which is only of the height of the ground within, though between twenty and thirty feet above the fosse without. The walls are built of very large hewn stones, which are laid in such a manner as if they were designed to form the members of a basement; it is probable they proposed to have built such another wall to the south of the temple, and to have adorned the whole with a magnificent colonnade or colossal statues of the gods of Heliopolis. But what is very surprising, in the wall to the west of the temple there are three stones near twenty feet above the ground, each of which are about sixty feet long; the largest of them is about sixty-two feet nine inches in length. On the north side there are likewise seven very large stones, but not of so great a size: what I wanted in the measures of these stones as to their thickness and breadth, which is said to be about twelve feet, I presume I found pretty near in the quarry half a mile from the town, out of which these stones were doubtless taken. I saw there a stone hewn out, but the bottom of it was not separated from the rock, which measured sixty-eight feet in length, is seventeen feet eight inches wide, and thirteen feet ten inches thick. These stones were probably conveyed to the walls on rollers through the city; the ground on the inside being levelled for that purpose; for though the wall is near thirty feet above the ground on the outside, it is notwithstanding on a level with the top of the wall within. The quarry in which this stone lies is very large, and the place is called St. Elias; there are several little grotts round it; they shew one, where, they say, that prophet really was; though it is most probable, that these grotts were inhabited by the Greek monks, or hermits of St. Elias, now called the Carmelites by the Latin church; and on this account the place might have its name; this quarry consists of a fine white stone, but somewhat brittle. There is a quarry of finer stone at a small hill a mile to the west of the city, which appears to have been much worked, and it is probable, that they took their pillars and stones for the finest work from that place.

As I came to Baalbeck after it was dark, I lodged the first night in the Kane. The next morning I carried a letter from the consul of Tripoli to the Christian secretary of the pasha; this being a small pashalic; he was at that time with the pasha, who desired to see me; on which I informed the secretary that I had a letter for the pasha, though for certain reasons I had determined not to deliver it, unless I should find it necessary to be introduced to him. When I came, he was sitting with the musti, as they call him, or rather the mulla, who is head of the cadis in a pashalic; the cadi also and some others were with him. I delivered him my letter, which he read with a pleasant countenance, being a very good man, and particularly civil to the Franks, having lately been a pasha in Bosnia; he appeared very fond of his son, who was about five years old, and told me that when he returned from Bosnia by Ragusa, a gentleman there caused both his and his son's pictures to be drawn. When I asked his leave to see the antiquities, he told me I might go were I pleased, and called for a janizary

to attend me. Sweetmeats and coffee were brought ; both at my coming and going he saluted me with Hofgelde, as much as to say I was welcome. I took up my abode at the Secretary's; and in the afternoon went to see the famous temple. In the evening I was elegantly entertained by the secretary in an open mocot in his court, a fountain of water playing into a basin in the middle of the court. We had for supper a roasted fowl stuffed, pilaw, stewed meat with the soup, a dulma of cucumbers stuffed with forced meat, and a desert of apricots, apples, and mulberries, both red and white, for here they have not the black kind. On the sixteenth, I viewed the two other temples, and went round part of the walls. On the seventeenth, I went in the road to Tripoli, about a league to a village called Nead, where there are some ruins, particularly of a building about forty feet long; near a league further we came to the pillar Hamoudiade, already mentioned. We returned towards Baalbeck, came to the quarry of fine stone, which is a mile to the west of it, then to the Turkish sepulchres, which are to the south of the town, and to the quarry of Elias; and went all round the city walls, and to the rise of the river, which is divided into two or three streams. When I returned, the secretary told me, that the pasha wondered that he had not seen me again, and ordered him to bring me to his house; and whilst I was at supper, a messenger came from him to conduct me to him. When I came to the pasha, he was sitting alone on an open raised sopha in the court, near a basin of water; he desired me to come up to him, and put me on his right hand; and signified to me, that I should not put myself in the kneeling posture, as is usual, when inferiors are before superiors; but that I should sit as I found most convenient. He asked me, why I did not come oftener; and shewed me a young tiger that had been caught in the mountains, and was brought to him that day; he talked to me about the war with the Germans, and asked several times who was the greatest prince in Europe. He had sent all the company away except his own interpreter, and as I could not well understand him, he called for mine, and talked on some subjects that I thought had relation to his own interest. He asked me what I had seen, and why we did not fast as the Greeks do; he told me I was welcome to stay three or four days, or as long as I pleased, and treated me in every respect as an equal, and with the utmost politeness, of which there are very few examples in these countries. On the eighteenth, I reviewed every thing, saw one of their mosques, and a great number of old pillars in and about it. On the nineteenth in the evening, we lay with the caravan near the fountains of the river, in order to set out the next morning for Damascus.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the places in the road from Baalbeck to Damascus.*

IT is sixteen hours or two small days journey with a loaded caravan from Baalbeck to Damascus; the course altogether being about east south east. The road is mostly between hills, there being three chains of mountains divided by narrow valleys, which extend in breadth from Baalbeck to Damascus. The most western mountains, I apprehend, are those which begin to the north of Acre, and stretch away to Jebel-Sheik, from which this middle chain of mountains seems to extend; both these being probably Anti-Libanon. The third and most eastern ridge of the mountains, begins to the north east of Jebel Sheik, as I shall have occasion to observe: these seem to be the mountains over Damascus, called by the ancients the mountains of Trachonitis and Arabia, to which, they say, Antilibanon extended. Mount Libanon began at the cape south of Tripoli, and is that chain of mountains which is to the west of the plain of Baalbeck.

Having

Having laid with the caravan by the river without the town of Baalbeck, we set out on the twenty-first, very early in the morning for Damascus, and went two hours south south east on the side of the mountains which are to the left; these mountains are called Jebel Choke; those east of them, I suppose to be the second ridge of hills, and are called Jebel Jourgie Charkieh: we had the great plain still to the right, which here inclined a little more to the east, where the Castravan mountains begin; to the south we saw the village of Doris in the plain. We turned to the east, and went on the side of the hills over a river called Neytane, I suppose the same as Leytane, which, if I do not mistake, runs into the plain of Baalbeck; and after three hours travelling we turned south, and passed over it on a bridge. About this place two streams unite, which make this river. We passed by the source of the fourth branch of it, which rises at the foot of the hills from three or four springs that flow very plentifully; from the name of it, I should take this to be the river Letana of the map published in a printed account of a journey from Damascus to Aleppo, and mentioned also by Maundrel in the road from Sidon to Damascus, which is made to fall into the Cadisy. We went an hour further to a village called Ainhour, on a rivulet of that name which runs to the south. A foldier of Damascus, who was in the caravan, asked my servant some time before we came to this place, why he wore the cap which the Turks call a carpack, turned up with fur, snatched it from his head, and took away his gun, and to frighten him, desired one of his companions to assist him to bind him and carry him to the pasha; and asked our conductor why he brought Franks into that country. We stopped at Ainhour, each company getting under the shade of a tree; a very obliging Malometan youth came, and asked us why the foldier took away our arms, and enquired if we had any wine, and desired us to give him some: we readily complied with his request; and he and the foldier both grew cheerful with it; and the youth brought us what the fellow had taken. Afterwards, when I was asleep, they came to us, and asked if we had more wine; the foldier threatened much, would have waked me, and threw some stones at me; and said, that if it were not for the janizary, our conductor, he would carry us bound to the pasha, and in his drunken fit threatened to murder us; the youth all the time endeavouring to soften him; and at last he parted. We went on in the evening, and came in an hour to a fine round plain called Gebelisha, about six or seven miles in circumference; on the west side of it there is a pleasant village called Sepriany, which has much wood about it. We travelled near an hour on the south side of the plain and stopped under the village of Modoia, near a spring and rivulet; we lay all night in the open air. A little further is a village called Edaidy; the place where we lay is computed to be eight hours from Damascus, and the same distance from Baalbeck.

On the twenty-second we set out very early, travelled near an hour in the plain, and turning to the south east, ascended the middle ridge of hills. To the south of them is a river which rushes through the trees and stones, and runs to Damascus; it is here called by the country people the Shamaweys, but it is the Barrady, which seems to have been called the Bardines, as Stephanus mentions Damascus on that river, but the more ancient name of it is Chrysorrhoas, and it is probably the Abena of scripture, mentioned as a river of Damascus. They say it rises in the mountains towards Bayreht, and being divided into several streams, they are either lost or fall into a lake three or four leagues east of Damascus. We went along by the side of it; and after some time turned northwards; the road here is cut through the rock in three places; first for about twenty yards, the rock being near twenty feet high on each side; then

for about forty yards, the rock being fifty feet high ; the third passage is near the same length, but the rock is only about ten feet in height. We crossed the river on a bridge, a little below which it falls into a large basin ; part of it seemed to run under ground ; however, a little below this place, the river turns again to the east, and then it is called the Barrady.

I was informed, that about eighteen miles from Damascus, somewhere near the road, there is a village called Zebdaineh *, where, according to their tradition, Cain slew Abel. Four or five miles north of it, among the mountains, there is a place called Nebi Shiit [Prophet Seth], where, it is said, there is a very long tomb, which they shew for the sepulchre of Seth, the son of Adam ; it was not safe to go to that place. At some distance from the road to the north is a village called Sukè, where, as I was afterwards informed, there is an inscription on a stone near the river ; to the east of this, and north of the river is Burhaliah ; I saw this place from Nebi Abel, which I shall mention hereafter : I observed two pillars with their entablature at a place called Kosehadah, on the north side of the river, opposite to a hill called Kepher, and about half a mile north of the village of Kepher ; there are ruins about them, particularly to the north, where I thought I saw the foundations of some building, which might be an antient temple : there is also an old tower near the road, called Bourge Hamane ; it is beyond Kepher, on the hill to the north east. About two miles from the bridge, and twelve from Damascus, we saw to the right a mountain, which is very high and steep ; there is a ruined church on the top of it, the place is called Nebi Abel [Prophet Abel] ; here, they say, Cain buried Abel, having carried him on his back, lamenting (as the vulgar have the story), and not knowing what to do with the dead corpse, till he saw a raven making a hole in the ground to bury one of his own species, which gave him the hint to inter his brother. I went to see this place from Damascus, and found a most beautiful church uncovered, which stands north and south ; the wall is three feet thick, and is built with single stones of that dimension ; the building is plain within, and the door-case is very beautiful : about five feet from the portico there are two pillars three feet and a half in diameter, with round Doric capitals, one is broke, and the other remains entire ; they seem to be of very great antiquity ; that to the west corresponds to the wall of the church, but the other is five or six feet within it, which convinced me that either they were some monument erected in memory of an extraordinary action, or belonged to a building of less dimensions than this, or might have been part of a portico before a large temple, for it is situated just over the clift ; and there are seven steps from the clift to these pillars, which probably led to the portico † : I find there was a tradition some years ago, that this church was built by St. Helena ; though they say the same of almost every old church that remains, but I could learn nothing of such a tradition now. I hoped for some light as to the founder of it, from a Greek inscription which I saw on a stone about four feet wide, and three deep, that was fixed in the inside of the church, but some of it has been broke off ; so that the latter part of the lines are lost ; it seems to consist of verses in honour of the builder, and to run in the first person, beginning with the year, and afterwards makes mention of Lyfanias, tetrarch of Abilene ; and by the last line it seems to be

* This may be the same as Septany above-mentioned.

† 2 Kings, v. 12. — There are some particularities in the architecture of this building ; that part of the cornice, which is over the pilasters, projects like another capital, and about two feet below the capital, the pilaster itself projects four inches in front.

the devotion of a lady of the name of Eusebia. This inscription is a confirmation that Abila was near, which doubtless was the capital of the tetrarchy of Abilene, mentioned in scripture as under the government of Lysanias *; and probably from him this city was distinguished by the name of Abila of Lysanias †, on account of his being a benefactor to it. Opposite to this, in the valley on the north side of the Barrady, I saw two pillars, with their entablature, which seemed to be the remains of a portico to some considerable building, there being several large stones about them on the ground. I am apt to think that Abila might be there, and probably extended on both sides of the river. In the tables it is placed eighteen miles from Damascus, and thirty-two from Eliopoli, but these distances are much too great. Every one may judge as he thinks proper, whether this place or country had its name from any memorable action of Abel, or whether the people, being fond of fables, might not be desirous to derive the name from Abel, and invented stories to confirm it. This is certain, that as the Damascenes think their situation a sort of earthly paradise; so they would make one believe, that it really was the spot where our first parents were happy; and accordingly they say, that Adam was created in the field of Damascus to the west of the city, and formed out of the red soil which is found there; and to confirm this story, have others of places near, relating to Abel and Seth.

At the village Seneiah, at the foot of this hill, there is a short marble pillar, on which are some imperfect remains of a Greek inscription, so that probably it was an antient milliary. Going on near an hour further, we ascended a little hill; the river winding round it to the north, passes by a village called Ishdaidy; then turning east, and afterwards to the south, it runs by a village called Dunmar, about a league and a half from Damascus. Here we crossed the Barrady on another bridge; from this village we went over a high hill, from which there is a glorious prospect of Damascus, and of the country about it. One sees the Barrady dividing into many streams, coming from between the hills, and running to the city through the fine field of Damascus, which appeared more beautiful, as the pasha's army, with their beautiful green tents, was encamped at one end of it: this is the place where, they say, Adam was made. On each side of it are gardens and villages, which extend two or three miles to the north, and five or six to the south; this, with the view of Damascus itself, and its towers, minarets, and cypress trees growing all over the city higher than the houses, makes a most glorious appearance.

We came to a little town called Selheiah at the foot of the hill, and arrived at the city, where I took up my abode at the convent of the monks of the Holy Sepulchre, who were all Spaniards.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of Damascus.*

DAMASCUS was the capital of that part of Cœle Syria, which was called Damascene. The Hebrew name of this city was Damasek, and the inhabitants now call it Demesk. The Arab historians say it was built by Abraham, and that he gave it the name of the servant presented him by Nimrod, who, they say, was called Demschak, and suppose him to be the same as Eliezer mentioned in scripture †; it is commonly called by the Arabs Sham, which is the name they give to Syria, this having been the capital of that country. Some think that this country is so called by the Arabs,

* Luke, iii. 1.

† Ptolemæi Geographia, v. 15.

‡ But it could not well be true, that he was presented to him by Nimrod, as he was born in Abraham's house. Gen. x.

because it is the country to the left, and that Arabia Felix is called Jemen, as it is to the right; that being the signification of these words in Arabic.

This city is of great antiquity, being, without doubt, at least as old as the time of Abraham, in whose history it is mentioned, though it may be doubted very much whether he was the founder of it *. Josephus traces its beginning higher up, to Uz, great grandson of Noah †; his father, Aram, the son of Shem, having possessed himself of Syria, from which the country was called Aram, and sometimes Padan Aram, or the field and champaign country of Aram. This country and city were conquered by David, after the people of it came to the assistance of the king of Zobah on the Euphrates, whom he vanquished, and put garrisons in Syria of Damascus, or Syria-Damascus ‡; that is, probably in the part of Syria called Damascusene. But when Solomon went after other gods, he was punished by the revolt of the people that were subject to him, who stirred up Rezon against him, who reigned in Damascus, and was an enemy to Israel all the days of Solomon §. From that time they were governed by their own kings, among whom was Hazael ||, and also Rezin ¶, both of them mentioned in scripture. It remained under them until it was taken from the latter, in the time of Ahaz, by Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria **. This city afterwards followed the fate of Syria, and became subject to the Greeks, Romans, the emperors of the east, the Saracens, and lastly to the Turkish emperors, having been the residence of the Saracen kings of the Omniade race, who removed to this place from Medina in the seventh century, about forty years after Mahomet.

The city of Damascus is encompassed with walls, extending about two miles from east to west, and a mile and a half from north to south; but the suburbs are much larger than the city; that to the north is small; part of it is called the Meidan, where they have an open place for riding, and other exercises; and there are likewise several burial places and gardens in it: but on the south, the suburb extends for two miles, and is inhabited chiefly by Turcomen; it is called Babel Elah [The gate of God], because the gate at the end of it leads both to Jerusalem and Mecca. From the former it is computed to be six days journey, that is, about a hundred and twenty miles. The Barrady, and two or three streams of water that are brought from it, run through several parts of the city. Damascus does not answer within to its outward appearance; the streets being all narrow, there is a foot way on each side of them, and a lower way in the middle for horses and cattle, just large enough for one beast, which serves also to carry off the water after rain. Most of the houses are built for a few feet from the foundation, with hewn stone, the rest with unburnt brick; their palaces are very magnificent within, and are built round a court, but make no manner of appearance without, and it is very rare that more than a dead wall is seen from the street. The bazars, or shops make a better appearance, which have wide streets between them, and many of them are open only to foot people; they are covered over at top with roofs or arches, which are a shelter from the sun and keep them cool; they have water in such abundance at Damascus, that all parts are supplied with it, and every house has either a fountain, a large basin of water, or at least a pipe or conduit.

The walls of Damascus are probably built on the foundations of the ancient walls of the city; for I observed, in many places, towards the bottom of them, large stones of

* The steward of Abraham is called Eliezer of Damascus, Gen. xv. 2. But the Arab historians seem to interpret it that his name was Demschak; some think that he was a great improver of this city.

† Josephus Antiq. i. 6. ‡ 2 Sam. vii. 3, 4, 5, 6. 1 Chron. xviii. 3, 4, 5, 6.

§ 1 Kings. xi. 23, 24, 25. || 1 Kings. xix. 15. 2 Kings, viii. 13.

¶ 2 Kings, xv. 37. and xvi. 5. ** 2 Kings, xvi. 9.

rusticated work, different from the other parts; which seem to have been built in the middle ages, being in the Gothic manner with battlements, and semicircular towers, and holes over the gates to annoy the enemy; and there is a low wall without the fosse, defended also with semicircular towers. The east gate, called by the Christians The gate of St. Paul, may give one some idea of the magnificence of the ancient walls of Damascus; the gateway is about ten feet wide, it is arched over, and adorned with a kind of Doric pilasters, and all round the arch there is a plain architrave well executed; without the walls, a little more to the south, is a very large gateway near thirty feet high, executed in the same manner; and it is probable, that beyond this, that is south of it, there was another gate like the first, to answer to it, the middle one being the grand gate for carriages to pass, and those on each side for foot people.

The castle, which seems to be older than the present walls, is towards the south-west part of the town; it is a noble rustic building with three square towers in front, and five on each side, and is about three quarters of a mile in circumference; it seems to be the work of the middle ages, either of the Greek emperors, or of the first Mahometan conquerors of Syria; it appears within like a little town, and one sees nothing of the form of a castle; at the entrance are some old arms; one of them is mentioned as an ancient Balista, which is a large cross bow, such as they had in the ages before the invention of gunpowder. This castle was probably inhabited by the kaliffs of the Omniade race.

As to what relates to sacred history in this city, besides what I have already mentioned, it chiefly regards the conversion of St. Paul; half a mile without the city, to the east, they shew the place where, they say, he fell from his horse; near it is a mass of cemented gravel about four feet high, and from ten to seventeen feet wide, and about seventy feet long; it seems to have been designed to raise the ground for some building. It is difficult to say, whether this is really the place of the conversion of St. Paul, for it is not in the present road to Jerusalem, which is to the south, though, they say, the road was formerly here, which it possibly might be, and further on turned to the south; there was, without doubt, a church here dedicated to St. Paul, and the Christians are buried about this spot. Between this place and the city is the tomb of a person whom they call St. George, who, they say, was porter of the gate near, which is now shut up; where some pretend to shew a hole by which the apostle was let down in a basket, though the gate appears to have been built long since; they say, that this St. George was put to death for favouring the escape of St. Paul; about his sepulchre the Christians formerly buried, and now they rest the corpse at it, to perform an office. At the east gate, as it is called by the Turks, or the gate of St. Paul before mentioned, some say the apostle entered, and there is a road from the place of his conversion leading towards it. Not far from this gate, in the street of Ananias, is the house of that devout man; it is now like a cellar under ground, and is converted into a mosque; they shew the house of Judas in the street called Strait, where St. Paul was lodged when Ananias was sent to him, in which there is a little room, which now serves as a mosque, and a tomb, which, they say, is the sepulchre of Ananias. There are several pieces of marble pillars in and about the house, which was the remains of a church formerly there; not far from this place is a fountain, where, they say, St. Paul was baptized.

There are a great number of mosques in Damascus, some of which were formerly churches, particularly the principal mosque, which was the cathedral church: this building, with its avenues and edifices belonging to it, is one of the finest things that the zeal of the first Christians produced, for by the architecture it appears to have been

built before that art was lost, being all of the Corinthian order, and very well executed. The structure of the cathedral itself was very particular ; it is an oblong square ; there are three rows of columns in it ; in the middle there was a dome, under which probably was the high altar ; to the west of the church is a large court with a portico of granite pillars on three sides ; the front of the church next to the court consisted of arches, supported by pillars of verd antique ; between them there are large folding doors to be opened at pleasure ; so that when the doors were open, the people in the court and portico round it could see the priest celebrate divine service. Over these arches there are a double number of arched windows ; there was likewise a portico on the outside of the court and church, of which there are now but small remains ; there is a gallery over the portico, with a double number of arches, supported by small pillars. There were three grand entrances into the court, and as many to the church. All the walls of the church, and of the porticos within the court, were adorned on the outside, over the arches, with Mosaic work, of which there are great remains. On the north side there is a grand ascent to the court, by many steps, and remains of a beautiful colonnade before the entrance, and of another of the same kind on the south, which is more entire. Below the steps to the north there is a very fine jet d'eau, which throws up a great body of water. It seems very probable that there were buildings all round, which belonged to the officers of the church, and they might be divided from one another by the several avenues to the church ; on each side of which it is probable there were twelve columns, which might form a portico on each side, and support galleries like those round the court, for in one avenue the pillars are standing ; and it is not unlikely that every particular building was encompassed with such a portico, for it appears there were very large pillars, about three feet diameter, on the outside all round ; those of the porticos being about two feet diameter ; the great pillars are of a coarse marble, except some very large ones at the entrances, which are of granite ; one part of these buildings is called the patriarch's palace ; another his seminary ; and as it is probable that there were five piles of building, one might be for the canons, another for the priests, and a fifth for the deacons and other inferior officers ; the whole was probably enclosed with a wall, within which there might be a portico corresponding to the portico of large pillars round the buildings ; for I saw in the town, at proper distances, remains of some very beautiful door-cases in the finest taste, and also several pillars. The Turks call this the mosque of Saint John Baptist, but the Christians say, that it was dedicated to John Damascenus, whose body is in it ; and they tell some miracle that happened, when they attempted to remove it. They have a tradition, however, that this church was built by the emperor Heraclius, and that it was at first dedicated to Zacharias, which is not improbable ; for we find that the Christians of the first ages, especially the Greeks, distinguished their churches by the names of the prophets and holy men that were before Christ, which is the reason why so many churches in Venice have those names ; and it may be, the first hermits calling their churches after the name of Elias, who lived a solitary life, might be the occasion of their being called the hermits of St. Elias ; so that although this church might be at first dedicated to Zacharias, yet it might afterwards receive the name of St. John Damascenus, either by a formal consecration, or because the body of that saint was deposited in it, as the convent of Mount Sinai is called St. Catherine, out of the regard which the Greeks have for the reliicks of that saint, which are deposited there. It is said, this church was, by agreement, continued in the hands of the Christians ; but that, at length, the Mahometans took it from them, which may account for the tradition they have of the patriarch's palace, whose see was removed to this place

on the destruction of Antioch ; though all these great structures were doubtless raised under the bishops of Damascus, when Christianity was the established religion here. The Arab historians * observe, that this mosque was much improved by the Kalif Valid about the eighty-sixth year of the Hegira, which has made some of them affirm, that he built it. Near this mosque there is another, which is a very solid building of hewn stone, and though not large, yet the design of it is grand ; there is a fine sepulchre in it of Daher, who, they say, was king of Syria, before it was taken by Sultan Seliman. And one reason why there are so many grand mosques in Damascus is, that the Kalifs built several of them as mausoleums over the places in which they were to be buried. Most of the mosques have a court before them, with a portico round it, where the people pray in the summer, and, when it is not the hour of prayer, sit and discourse, or sleep. One mosque particularly is most beautifully adorned with all sorts of fine marbles, in the manner of Mosaic pavements ; and another has a very high minaret or tower, the outside of which is entirely cased with green tiles. At the north-east corner of the city walls there is a mosque, which, they say, was the church of St. Simon Stylites, and I find this church is said to have been a temple to Serapis, and further out of the town that way, there are some signs of the foundations of a building near a stream of water, which, they say, was a church.

There are several hospitals in and about the city ; but the Turkish charity is not a settled maintenance for the poor and sick, except for such people as have not their senses, for whom they have a particular regard ; but their charity consists in giving victuals to the poor once or twice a week ; and sometimes in distributing medicines to the sick on certain days ; they have indeed an hospital for the maintenance of lepers at a mosque, where, as some say, the house of Naaman the Syrian stood, or as others, the house which he built for Gehazi and his posterity ; it is to the east of the city wall ; in one part of it there is an Arabic inscription, which is a sort of prayer, it being in an open place, built to pray in ; it was interpreted to me in this manner, “ O God, for the sake of the leprous prophet, a friend of our prophet, and for the sake of all the other prophets, give unto us health and peace.” The Christians also have an hospital for lepers, maintained by constant charities ; and it is certain, that in some villages not far from Damascus, there are several lepers. The finest hospital is to the west of the city, at the east end of the field of Damascus ; it was founded by Sultan Seliman, or Selim the second ; the rooms are built round a court, with a portico before them, which is covered with cupolas, as well as all the rest of the building, there being in all no less than forty cupolas covered with lead ; at the south side of the court there is a fine mosque covered with a large dome ; it has a magnificent portico before it, and two fine minarets ; near it there is a smaller hospital in the same style of architecture, and both of them serve for no other end at present, but to give out food on certain days to the poor.

The coffee-houses in Damascus are remarkably pleasant ; many of them are large rooms, and the cieling of them are supported with rows of pillars, round which they have their sofas ; there is generally a court behind them with a basin of water, and a fountain in the middle, and the seats round the courts are either shaded with trees, or covered over ; one in particular on the Barrady, which runs through the city, has an island behind it planted with trees, and the place is accommodated in a very convenient manner, which renders it one of the most delightful places one can imagine in the midst of a great city ; in these coffee-houses they have concerts of music at certain hours every day ; and in some, a person paid by the house tells at a fixed hour Arabian

stories in a very graceful manner, and with much eloquence. These coffee-houses answer the end of public houses with those, who openly drink nothing but water, coffee, and sherbets; where all idle people, strangers, and others, who are not of the first rank, pass their leisure hours, send to the shops for their provisions, and take their repasts; the people from without carrying about their different sorts of sherbets, for which the place is famous.

The waters of Damascus are the great conveniency and ornament of the city, and of the places about it, and the division of them is very curious. These waters have two sources, the Barrady before mentioned, and a river called the Fege, which falls into the Barrady about eight miles above Damascus, and four miles below the place of Abel. The river Fege comes out in a large stream of excellent water from the foot of a mountain, and running about a quarter of a mile, falls into the Barrady, the waters of which are whitish, and not esteemed wholesome; and therefore the people of Damascus do not drink the river water, but that of the springs, which is very good, and in great abundance. After the two streams are united, the river is called the Barrady till it comes within two leagues of Damascus, and then it is divided by art into six streams within the space of a league; and a seventh is derived from it towards the east end of the field of Damascus; two of the streams are north of the Barrady, and do not enter the city; the highest canal is cut from the river, in order to water the high grounds and gardens of a most pleasant village called Salheiah; to the north-west of Damascus, the channel is made along the side of the hill, which is west of the city. This stream runs on a hanging terrace, which in some parts is at least sixty feet above the Barrady, and, if I do not mistake, this water is called the Jesid; there is a stream under it called Toura, in a channel of the same kind, which is about half as high, and waters some high grounds to the north of the city. From these two streams a great number of small channels are distributed to the lower grounds; and the water of the Jesid, which is not carried off by these small channels, falls into the Toura. The Barrady runs in a large stream through the town, and so do the three last streams that come out of it on the south side, namely, the Baneas, Kenouat, and Derany; another, which is more elevated, and is called the Mezouy, runs south of the town, and waters a village called Mezy, and some other parts; these are small streams; but the two rivers, which run north of the town are large; and where they pass on the side of the hills, the water is confined and the ground kept up on the south side by thick walls, each tier of stone setting in two or three inches. The Acrabane or Serpentine river, which goes out of the Barrady in the field of Damascus, runs close to the north walls of the city, the Toura being further to the north. Some of these rivers run under ground in several places, as particularly the Baneas, before it arrives at the great hospital of Sultan Seliman; the Jesid passes the corner of the mountain, and runs under the rocks in several parts; and at the corner of that mountain, the Toura likewise goes under the rock, and there being a hole over it, one can look down and see the stream entering in at one part of the rock, and going out through the other part, and a little further it goes again under the rock, and so runs along the foot of the hill towards Salheia. This beautiful division of the waters into eight streams, which run so near to one another, may be looked on as a very extraordinary thing, and the place is so pleasant, where they begin to widen at the field of Damascus, that it is very much frequented as a place of recreation, where neither verdure nor trees are wanting to make it a most agreeable scene.

Damascus is famous likewise for its gardens; and whatever is beautiful in them is chiefly owing to the great command there is of water; they afford a very fine pro-

spect from a height at a small distance, on account of the great variety of trees that are in them; and it is certain they are the most beautiful of any in these parts. The eastern gardens indeed are only orchards, or woods of fruit trees, not regularly disposed, and only laid out in narrow walks; there are several small streams brought through them, and some are beautified with basins of water in open pavilions, or with fountains and little water works, in which, and their pleasant summer houses, their chief beauty consists. In these gardens the people often spend the whole day, and there are always some to be let for that purpose, in which the guests are at liberty to eat what fruit they please; and those who have houses in their gardens frequently retire to them for two or three days in the summer: the ground is naturally a poor red soil, in which nothing thrives so well as trees; their gardens are enclosed with walls of unburnt brick, made of a mixture of earth, small stones, and chopped straw; the bricks are about eight inches thick, but of such a size, that at a distance, they appear like hewn stone; they are of different measures, but seldom less than three feet square; and being set an end on a stone foundation, three or four tier of them make a high wall, which would be soon washed away in a country where there is much rain.

The pasha of Damascus resides in this city, which, together with the country about it, pretends to have had the same privileges that Egypt enjoys at present; so that it is a difficult government: the pasha has a troop of Bosniacs, which he changes often, that they may not contract friendships; he has also a body of men, who are natives of the coasts of Barbary, in order to defend him against the populace in case of insurrections; for there have been instances of their driving the pasha out of the city; and on his return from Mecca they have refused to admit him with these soldiers; for the pasha of Damascus conducts the caravan to Mecca that goes yearly from Damascus. Tumults, however, do not frequently happen in this city, but when they once get to a head, they are not easily suppressed. They have a body of janizaries under their aga; out of these they take what they call the capicules, who are guards to the gates of the city, each of them having a gate allotted to him, and a certain district near it, over which he has a sort of absolute power; and as these are janizaries of the greatest interest, they influence the whole body, when these heads of the gate raise any seditions, they are generally formidable, and of dangerous consequence.

The patriarch of Antioch ordinarily resides here, who has under him forty-two archbishops and bishops; this patriarch was chose at Aleppo; for the late patriarch dying there, the Aleppines presumed to elect another, but those of Damascus chose a Roman Catholic Greek, who was supported by the pasha; but that governor being soon displaced, his successor took part with the patriarch elected at Aleppo, who is now in possession, and the other fled to mount Libanon. This patriarchate is worth forty purses a year, which revenue arises partly out of a tenth of what the bishops receive from every family throughout the whole patriarchate, which from each house is from four to twenty shillings a year, and partly out of what he receives at Antioch, Damascus, and the country about them, which is his own peculiar diocese; being fifteen piastres for a licence to bury, and five for every marriage, which all the bishops receive in their own dioceses. It is computed that there are twenty thousand Christians in Damascus, a thousand of them Maronites, two hundred Syrians or Jacobites, and about thirty families of Armenians, the remainder are Greeks; each of these have a church. Of the Greeks eight thousand acknowledge the pope, and these I call Roman Catholic Greeks, who think it a sin to go to the established Greek church, and are not permitted by the pasha either to go to the Latin church, or to have separate congregations for themselves; but they have some priests of their own persuasion, who, together with the

Latins,

Latins, go privately to their houses with the host, and confess them. These Greeks observe the rights and fasts of the established Greek church; but I was informed that some priests had allowed them to fast according to the rules of the Latin church, and that it had been condemned from Rome. Those of the established Greek church have about thirty priests.

The Christians of Damascus have a very bad character, and it is said that they have all the vices of the Turks, only with this difference, that they are more ashamed of them; and many of them are sad examples, that they were only Christians in name; having turned Mahometans either to avoid a punishment, or to have an opportunity of revenging themselves on some Christians who had used them ill; and there are generally six or seven instances of this kind every year. As the Christians are worse here than in any other parts, so also the Turks indulge those vices here to the highest degree, for which they are generally infamous; with many of them, drinking wine takes the place of opium; but they are secret in this practice. The Damascenes are much addicted to pleasure, and love to pass their time in a lazy indolent manner: they do not want parts, and most of them have fine black eyes, and, when children, are of a surprizing fairness and beauty; but by the heat, their vices, the great use of bagnios, and the custom of wearing their beards, they lose that comeliness when they arrive to maturity: but it is said, that their women are the most beautiful in the world.

They take care to be supplied with snow every day from the neighbouring mountains, which is preserved in the cavities of them; they cut it out in large pieces, and it is said, that sixty ass loads are brought to Damascus every day, which are worth about a dollar and a half a load; they use it both in their wine and rinfrescoes, which are made either of liquorice, lemons, or dried grapes; and they put the snow into the liquors, and let it dissolve, which is not so wholesome as the European manner of cooling their liquors with it. The wine about Damascus is strong and good, generally of the colour of Burgundy; and they have plenty of all sorts of provisions excellent in their kind, and fruits in the greatest perfection.

The trade of this city, as to the import, chiefly consists of two branches; one is the trade of Mecca, from which place they bring yearly with the caravan the merchandizes of Persia and India; for when Alexandria ceased to be the port for those commodities, on finding out the way by the Cape of Good Hope, it is said that Damascus was then the place where the Venetians settled for the Indian and Persian trade, and being drove away on account of some intrigues with Turkish women, the trade, they say, went to Aleppo; and there is a well-built street in the city, which is still called the Frank Street. From Europe they have their clothes, glasses, and several small wares: the manufactures they export are chiefly burdets of silk and cotton, either striped or plain, and also plain silk-like rabbies; all these things are watered, which very much adds to their beauty; they are made also at Aleppo, but not in so great perfection. This place is likewise famous for cutlery ware, which, they say, is made of the old iron that is found in ancient buildings; though some pretend that it is a chemical preparation invented by St. John Damascenus; the blades made of it, appear damasked or watered, and they affirm that their cutlasses will enter common iron, without hurting the edge; but they make the same sort of blades also at Aleppo; and they likewise say, that they are all made of pieces of old iron worked together: they make also very beautiful steel handles for knives, which are inlaid with gold in running flowers; a knife of this kind costs thirty shillings. They have very fine iron work in the windows of the ancient buildings, especially in the mosques, which they say, are of polished steel,

and indeed they appear very beautiful : the cutlery and silver smiths trade are carried on by the Christians, as the latter is in most places.

They have fine fruit in Damascus, especially apricots, of which they have five or six sorts : these being dried in different ways, are exported in great quantities to all the countries round for a considerable distance. They have one way of preparing them to make the *frument* : others being barely dried, are eat either soaked in water or stewed ; but the greatest export is what they make into a sort of thin dried cakes, which, when they are eat with bread, are a very cooling and agreeable food in summer ; they pack up these in bales, and send them to the distance of ten days journey.

The most pleasant gardens are on the foot of the mountain about the village of Salheia, to the north west of Damascus ; for being on a descent, they have a great command of water from the canal *Jesid* ; so that there one sees the best water works. The road from the city to this place is on a paved way of broad hewn stones, after the manner of the ancients ; on each side of it there is a channel for water, and without these a foot path under the garden walls ; which is the most beautiful manner of laying out a road I ever saw.

On the side of the hills over Salheia, there are some grottos cut in the rock ; one of them is large, consisting of several rooms ; it is a mosque, where they pretend to shew the tombs of the forty martyrs, who, they say, suffered for Moses ; they likewise tell several other stories of these places : another is the grot of the seven sleepers, where they pretend they slept and were buried ; and the sheik or imam told us, that they suffered martyrdom for Christ.

There are two caravans which go to Mecca every year, one from Cairo, chiefly with the people of Africa, the other from this place, which is commonly under the government of the pasha of Damascus ; both the caravans meet near the Red Sea. It is probable many great persons coming to Damascus on this occasion, have been charmed with the delightful situation of the place, and been induced to come and settle here. There have been also many great men banished to Damascus ; and they mention an instance of gratitude in one of them, who used to say, he was very much obliged to his sultan, for laying him under a necessity of living in such a paradise.

I spent my time very agreeably at Damascus, passing my leisure hours in the coffee houses, and commonly taking my repast in them, having a person with me, who had been educated twelve years in the propaganda fide at Rome ; and as I mixed more with the people of the country of middle rank, so I had a better opportunity of observing their humours and customs, than in any other place. Some adventures, however, befall me whilst I was there ; the convent had recommended one of the capicul janizaries to go with me in the excursions I made abroad, and when I came to pay him, he demanded an exorbitant price, and took it very ill that I did not immediately comply with his request : he talked very high, and said it was in his power to embroil me, so as to raise a considerable sum of money on me, even to the amount of thirty purses ; so that I found it convenient to satisfy him ; a Christian, who afterwards accompanied me, said he thought he deserved as much as the janizary. But the most extraordinary affair related to the secretary of the pasha : I had procured letters to the pasha to do me what service he could in relation to my designed expedition to Palmyra, and I talked of going to him myself ; but the monks, who were well acquainted with his secretary, advised me to talk with him. He told me I could

not go to the pasha without making considerable presents of cloth, both to him and his Kiaia, which together with the officer's fees, would amount to about fifty dollars: he said he would do all the business without any trouble to me, and that I had nothing to do but to put the money into his hands; and he accordingly procured my letters: but when I mentioned the affair to some friends, they told me I might be assured that he had kept the money himself. Accordingly, I employed one to enquire, who found that he had paid but a very small sum to the officers of the pasha for their fees; and I was informed that my letters would have procured whatever I wanted without any presents, which I had determined not to make, unless I had judged that there was an absolute necessity for it, in order to facilitate an affair of such an importance as the journey to Palmyra. For, if presents are given in one place, it is known as one travels on, and then they are expected every where; which would be so great an expence, that, after I left Egypt, I was determined to make none: but as this affair had happened, it might have been of bad consequence to have moved in it at Damascus, so I took no further notice of it; but accidentally mentioning the story to our worthy consul at Tripoli, who knew the man, he told me that he would make him refund the money, and accordingly wrote to him, that if in a certain time he did not return it, he would acquaint the pasha himself, who was his friend, with the whole affair. In answer to the consul, he made it appear that he had disbursed twenty dollars, and returned the rest, which the consul afterwards remitted to me to Egypt.

CHAP. IX. — *Of some Places to the South of Damascus.*

I WENT about a day's journey south of Damascus, in the road to Jerusalem. We passed over a stream that comes from the rivers; and going two miles south of the city came to the village of Elkoddam [the footstep], so called, as they say, from the resemblance of the footstep of Mahomet, which I saw on the mosque. This is the place to which, they say, he came, and seeing the delightful situation of Damascus, immediately returned back, leaving this print of his foot, saying there was but one paradise for man: if they believe this, they seem to pay very little regard to the place, it being a very indifferent mosque, with nothing ornamental about it; though I saw some common people kiss the footstep, and say their prayers before it. A mile and a half further we passed through Dercia, where there is a mosque, which, they say, was formerly the church of a convent; there are several sepulchres about this place, and the country is improved with vineyards. We passed over a stream, and soon after over two others, which must all come from the rivers of Damascus: further to the left is Lathronick and Senaia; near the latter we reposed by a rivulet. We went on three miles, and passed by Junie on a hill to the right, and going over a fine stream, we saw on the right a rising ground, on which there are large stones that appear like ruins: we ascended a hill to the left, on which there is a poor village called Deirent-Caucab; near the top of the hill there is a long narrow grot called Magara Ner Baalos [the grot of St. Paul], where, they say, he lay hid the first day after his escape from Damascus, that he might not be found by those who might pursue him: die Christians sometimes come to this grot, and stay two or three days at it out of devotion. We went half a mile along by the stream, and then half a mile further to a village called Artoudè: on the other side of the low hills to the south is a fine plain called Zaid Artoudè; we saw in the middle of it Kane Shick, at a place called Saka, where they lay the first night from Damascus in the road to Jerusalem and Mecca, resting the second night at Kane Jer-Jacob, on the east side of the river Jordan, to which I went from

from Tiberias. To the left of Kane Sheik there is a large village called Derhalich; we staid all night at Artoud^s, and as we were under some apprehensions, with regard to our safety, it was thought proper I should take on me the character of a physician, a Greek Catholic, who was with me, understanding something of that profession; I was received in an open mocot in a yard, where the master of the house laid a carpet for me; I found we were much respected; and a woman who wanted advice for her child brought corn for our beasts.

The next day we went two miles to the south west, and came over against Calana, which is two miles further west, being opposite to that valley, which is between the two ridges of hills that run to the north, one being called Seleiah, which is next to Damascus; the other extends from Jebel Sheik, and is here called Rabusich; there is a third which runs by Balbeck. We went over a desert uneven country without water, and in about three hours and a half came to the village of Betimie, on the side of a hill over a vale, in which there is a rivulet of the same name: here we reposed in a very pleasant place under shady walnut trees; I saw some pieces of columns about the mosque. We went on and passed over the rivulet Moidebherane, and in half an hour came to Kepherrhoua; beyond this place, on the east side of a high mountain, near the foot of it, is a small ruin called the sepulchre of Nimrod, of which there are very little remains. It is a building about fifteen feet square, of very antient architecture, something like the temple of Segge, which I shall have occasion to mention; the basement of it is plain, with a step all round; it is probable the tomb was built on this basement, which I saw was solid, and might be in the manner of the sepulchre of Absalom: in the village near it there are the remains of a very magnificent building; one side of it to the south, which was perfect, measured fifty feet, and the other side that was ruinous as much, and might have extended farther; it was adorned with pilasters; I saw two of them at each corner, on a basement round the building, above which very little remains; but enough to shew that the wall was two feet eight inches thick, and that the stones were of the same thickness. I saw in the houses near this place, some very good Ionic capitals, so that doubtless this building was of that order: they call it the castle of Nimrod, and it is possible, that great hunter * might be worshipped as a God, and that this might be a temple built to him. They have a proverb in Damascus, and the country about it, "As active as Nimrod:" And as the scripture † mentions Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, as the beginning of his kingdom; the last may possibly be Chalybon, the capital of Chalybonitis, bounding on the Palmyrene, which is not above three days journey north of Damascus.

The mountain over this place is called Jebel Sheik [the chief mountain]; it was antiently called Panias and Hermon, as observed before; it is the highest mountain in this country, and is always covered with snow. The river Jordan rises at the foot of this hill, at seven or eight leagues distance from this place, as they informed me, though, I believe, it is not so far off. The way from Damascus to Jerusalem is through a plain, as far as the hills which are to the east of Jordan. Liquorice grows naturally in this plain, as fern does with us, and they carry the wood to Damascus for fuel, and the root serves to make their rinfrescoes; when it comes up green, the wild boars feed on it, which gives such a flavour to the flesh, that in that season it is not to be eaten. As we were leaving this village, the sheik of it called to my man to know where we had been, and whither we were going; we satisfied his curiosity, and went on towards the high road from Damascus to Jerusalem: we saw at a distance, to the south east, Kane

* Gen. x. 9.

† Gen. x. 10.

Sheik before-mentioned, to which we directed our course, and beyond it the hill Jebel Strata, which had a building on it; and among the hills, to the east, I saw one called Jebel-makerat, which has a tower on it; I observed another called Jebel Kifney to the east of the Kane, and Jebel Houran in a line with Caucab. We lay at Kane Sheik. The houses of the village, which are built round the inside of the Kane, are made of hurdles, covered with clay, and their fuel was dried cow-dung. The people of the pasha came to this Kane, and the next morning seized on the horse of a man whom I took with me from a village near Damascus, as they wanted it for their own use; which is no uncommon thing; but they restore the beasts when they have no further occasion for them.

We returned by Caucab, passing for some time by a rivulet called Lanage, which is divided into several streams; it was a very hot day, but we went two hours and a half to a garden near Mezi. The easterns themselves complained of the excessive heat of the sun, and I found afterwards, that all my side which was next to the sun peeled, but without any inconvenience. In this garden we dined under the shady trees by the rivulet that runs through it; for here the Mezoui divides into several streams: this place is about an hour south west of Damascus, and the village Kepher-Sely is in the middle between them. We passed on by Rabouy, near which place I saw the Mezoui come from under ground; we went to the division of the waters, and so along by the river. I observed, that where the Toura divides from the Barrady, there is an artificial cascade about six feet high, made by raising the bed of the river, in order to turn the water into the channel of the Toura on the side of the hill. We came to Dummar, where we lay, and were well received in the house allotted for travellers, where they had made provisions for any passengers that might come.

The next day we went about an hour on the north side of the river to Elkamy; a little below it a stream goes out of the Barrady, which, I suppose, is the Jesid. This village is pleasantly situated on the side of a hill, on which, and on the river under it, are beautiful plantations of trees; to the south west of it there is a village called Ishdaidy. We crossed the plain, and came again to the Barrady at the pleasant village of Eshrafy, which is in the middle of a wood over the river, and has a stream brought through it from above; I discovered the aqueduct cut through the rock in the side of the hill, being the same that goes towards Tadmor, which I shall have occasion to mention. Higher up the river is a village called Pessima; we staid till the evening at Eshrafy, and returned by Dummar to Damascus.

CHAP. X. — *Of the Places to the North West of Damascus.*

I MADE an excursion to the north west of Damascus, to see some remarkable places that way: about two miles north of the city is a village called Jobar, where there is a synagogue like an old Greek church, as they relate it formerly was: on the spot, which is now the middle of the synagogue, they say, Elijah anointed Hazael king over Syria, as he was commanded by God *. In three apartments of the synagogue there are thirty-six copies of the law, excellently well written on parchment rolls, each of them having a round wooden case to put them in; and though they seem to make little account of them, yet it has been mentioned that the law was preserved here when Titus destroyed the temple. From one of these rooms there is a descent to a small grot, in

* 1 Kings, xix. 15.

which there is a hole like a window, where, they say, Elijah was fed by the raven; but that miracle was wrought near the river Jordan*.

We went on, and passed over the stream Jesid, and about two miles beyond Jobar, a little before the entrance to a village called Berze, we came to a rising ground at the foot of the mountain, where, they say, Abraham overtook the four kings, when he delivered Lot; and according to tradition they are buried in that rising ground. The scripture says, "He pursued them unto Hobab, which is on the left hand of Damascus†;" and if this tradition be true, Jobar above mentioned might be that place, at least the country belonging to it might extend so far: this Jobar, which may be a corruption of Hoba, seems also to be Choba, mentioned by St. Jerom; the inhabitants of which were Jews, who believed in Christ, but observed the law; and, he says, they were called Hebionites from the heresiarch, who might have his name from this place; this is the more probable, as the Jews might resort thither on account of this part of Elijah's history. I observed, that the corn here was plucked up by the roots, according to the antient usage, which is retained also in the upper Egypt; a custom which is often alluded to in holy scripture.

Beyond the place where Abraham is said to have overtaken the four kings, on the west side of the village of Bezzè, at the foot of the mountain, there is a mosque built before a cleft in the rock, into which one can enter: it is commonly said, that Abraham returned thanks here for his victory; but the Mahometans have a story, that Abraham's mother flying from the idolatry of Nimrod, was delivered of Abraham in this cleft‡.

There is a way which goes along the plain for about four leagues to the north, and then turns up the mountain to the north west; and at the end of three leagues there is a village called Malouca, built on the side of a steep high hill, over a narrow valley; opposite to it, on the side of the other hill, is the Greek convent of faint Thecla; it is a large grot open to the south, in which they have built a small chapel; and at the east end of the grot there is another, in which the place is shewn where St. Thecla suffered martyrdom; she was the disciple of St. Paul, according to the legends, and fled to this place from her infidel father; her picture is in the niche, where, they say, her body lies. There is a Greek inscription on it, signifying, that she was the first martyr of her sex, and contemporary with the apostles. At one corner of the grot there is a basin, which receives a clear water that drops from the rock, and, they say, that it is miraculous both in its source and effects. On each side of the mountain, at the end of this vale, there is a narrow opening in the rock, by which there are two passages up to the top of the hill, a small rivulet runs through the northern one, which rises on the mountain; from this source a channel is cut into the side of the perpendicular rock, which, without doubt, was designed to carry the water to the convent, and to the higher parts of the town. Near the entrance into the other passage, between the mountain, there is a plentiful spring that flows out of a grot, to which there is a narrow passage; they say, it rises in five springs; and have some history concerning it, that relates to faint Thecla's flying to it to hide herself, at which time, they say, a fountain rose there. On the top of the mountain, between these two passages, is the convent of faint Sergius; it is ill

* 1 Kings. xvii. 3.

† Gen. xiv. 14, 15.

‡ From this place there is a road to the west between the hills to Sidonnan; it goes by a stream called Minch; about a mile in between the hills there is a village of that name; the road then turns south, and goes over Minch to the left, and afterwards through the large village of Tehl; the road is in a narrow plain valley, that has a stream running through it and is planted with poplars; and about two miles further there is a village called Minch; beyond this the village of Tefitch is to the left, and Narrah to the right, Sidonnan being about four miles to the north of Minch.

built and uninhabited, but there is a tolerable church belonging to it; in the perpendicular parts of the rock before mentioned, where there are several sepulchres for single bodies in a very particular manner; a semicircular niche being cut into the rock, and the bottom of it hollowed into a sort of a grave to receive a body; these are in several stories one over another: there seem also to be some grotts cut into the cliffs, that are now inaccessible; and on the top of the mountain, about the convent of saint Sergius, there are a great number of fine square grottos cut out of the rock, in many of them there are broad solid seats, like sofas, cut out at the further end; they have also several niches in them, as if they were designed for domestic uses; others, which are level, and about six feet high, have holes cut in the rock round the side of the room at the ceiling, as if horses were to be tied to them. I saw one cut out very regularly with a well in it, about ten feet deep, which had channels to it from all the parts of the grot; so that I concluded the use of it was to make wine; I found several others cut in the same form in a rough manner, which are now actually used as wine vats. It is difficult to say what was the original use of these grotts, which are cut all down the gentle descent of the mountain westward to a sort of a vale, which is between two summits of the mountain; the situation does not seem proper for any city; and I should rather think it was formerly a town of stone-cutters, who might supply some neighbouring cities with this fine stone, and in cutting it might form these grotts; and as I observed in relation to the grottos about Jerusalem, they were made so as that the stone which they took out might be of use for building; these grottos, indeed, might be inhabited both by the workers in stone, and by those people to whom the vineyards and lands belonged. In the town of Malouca there are two churches, one of the Greeks, the other of the Roman Greeks, there being several here of that communion; there is only one monk in the convent, who lives in a cell built below the grot. After the feast of Holy Cross, the Greeks from Damascus come out to this convent, and to that of saint Moses, some leagues to the north, and likewise to Sidonaia, and spend a fortnight or three weeks in a sort of religious revelling*. Making an excursion to St. Thecla from Sidonaia, we dined at Touaney, in a house appointed for the entertainment of strangers, there being four of them, who take it in their turns, the people of the village supplying them with provisions in an equal proportion. Here we saw the horses of a party of about forty Arabs, who were encamped not far off; they go about to take tribute of the villages under their protection, which may be about ten, and a man sent with any one by the sheik of these villages, is a protection against them: these Arabs were of Arabia Felix, the Amadei being of Arabia Petraea: the Janizary seemed to be much afraid, talked often of the heat of the weather, and would not move until he knew they were gone, and which way they went. In the plain on the left, near the entrance into the vale towards Saint Thecla, there is a village called Einatirich, which some years past was inhabited by Christians, who on a discontent turned Mahometans; some say, because the bishop refused to permit them to eat milk in Lent; and others, because he would not suffer an excommunicated body to be buried. To the right, farther to the south, is Jobaidin. From Saint Thecla we went southward again in a plain between two chains of mountains; about two leagues from it, we passed by the ruined convent of St. Joseph on the mountains to the west; and about four leagues from that convent we arrived at a village called Marah, where there is a Greek parochial church of the Roman communion,

* Sidonaia is about four leagues from Saint Thecla; the first place in the road is Touaney; the road then goes to the left of Mohalick, and passes through Aushay, from whence we take our way to the right the convent of saint Joseph; and if there is no village called Karkout; and at a little distance from Sidonaia, is the village of Bodau to the right, and Hamat to the left.

and a Greek convent; which had in it only one lay brother, who lives there to entertain those who come to see a chapel which is about two miles to the east, near the top of the mountain; it is built, as they say, at the grot of Elifha, where Elijah came to anoint him to be his successor, as he was commanded by God, when he ordered him to go towards the wilderness of Damascus*; and on the outside of it there was a passage, which is now stopped up, that led to some other grot, the entrance to which I was also shewn. The Greeks pretend, that it is the place where the prophet was anointed, and that it is dangerous to go to it; which seems to be a piece of policy to hinder the Mahometans from taking possession of the place, and turning it into a mosque; it commands a fine view of the whole plain of Damascus, and of the city itself, and in that respect is a very delightful retirement.

From this place we went about a league to the west to Sydonia, a village situated on the south part of a rocky hill, on the top of which there is a famous Greek nunnery, founded by the emperor Justinian; who endowed it with lands that brought in a considerable revenue, for which they now pay rent to the Grand Signor; he also gave the convent three hundred Georgian slaves for vassals; whose descendants are the people of the village, and are of the Roman Greek church: the convent has the appearance of a castle, with high walls round it; the buildings within are irregular. Towards the bottom of the hill there is a building where strangers are lodged. The church remains according to the old model, though it has been ruined and repaired; it consists of five naves, divided by four rows of pillars, and has a portico before it; behind the high altar they have what they call a miraculous picture of the virgin Mary, which, they say, was painted by St. Luke, but it is not to be seen. The convent is governed by an abbess, whose office continues during life; she is put in by the patriarch, and nominates the nuns, who are about twenty in number; these nunneries are more like hospitals than convents, the members of them being mostly old women, and are employed in working, especially in the managing of silk worms; and the abbess shewed me her hands, and observed to me, that they were callous with work; she eat with us both above in the convent, and below in the apartment for strangers; the women seldom take the vow in less than seven years, and often remain many years at liberty; they may see and converse with men, and go any where, even to distant places, with leave. A great part of the revenue of the convent arises from their vineyards, which produce an excellent strong red wine: they have two chaplains to the convent, one is a monk, who lives in the convent, the other is married, and resides in the town. Near the town there is a small building called the convent of St. George, a Roman Greek priest belongs to it, who lives in the town; and south of it is the ruined convent of St. Christopher, to which there is a good church; and there are seven or eight more ruined churches and chapels here. Those of St. John, St. Saba, and St. Barbara, on the north side, have three naves, with an altar at the end of each after the Syrian style; and I saw in them several Doric capitals, and remains of fresco paintings; near them is the chapel of the transfiguration; and in two little grot, on the side of the hill, are altars to saint Thecla and saint Eleazar: to the east are the small chapels of Saint Sergius and saint Christopher, and likewise an entire chapel of saint Peter and saint Paul, which appears to be a building of great antiquity; it is a very solid work, and is thirty-two feet six inches square; there is an ascent all round on the outside of three steps; the cornice, door-case, and a sort of a basement above the steps, are proofs that the architecture is antient, it may be, before Christ; within, it is in form of a Greek cross, and there is a stair-case to

* 1 Kings, xix. 15, 16, 19.

the top of it. There is a Roman Greek church here, called Saint Sophia, in which are two rows of slender pillars with Corinthian capitals, which seem to have belonged to some antient building on that spot; adjoining to it there is a long chapel, now in ruins, dedicated to Saint Elias, in which there are remains of several fresco paintings. On the high mountain to the north was the convent of Saint Thomas; the church, which is entire, very much resembles in its architecture the beautiful church of Abel, but is rather plainer; the convent, which was built of large hewn stone, is entirely destroyed: there are several spacious grotts near it, particularly an extraordinary one, called the grot of the council; and from the manner of it one may conjecture that it might have served as a chapter-house, and also as a library for their church books, and other manuscripts; it is fifty-five feet long, twenty broad, and ten high; there are two seats and a shelf round the grotto, and four square pillars in the room; there is likewise an apartment at the further end, and on each side; and all is cut out of the rock. About two hours to the north, on the very highest summit of the mountains, is the convent of Saint Serphent (Sergius); the way to it is somewhat difficult and dangerous; they say the church is of the same kind of building as that of Saint Thomas; the convent is inhabited only by one monk. These two convents, as well as the nunnery, are said to have been built by Justinian. On the north side of the hill, under the convent of Sidonaia, there is a sepulchral grot about twenty-two feet square; over the front of it there are three niches with semicircular tops, and a scollop-shell cut in the arch; the cornices of them are supported by two round Corinthian pillars; in each of the niches are two statues of a man and woman in alto-relievo, the heads of which are broke off; the drapery of them is very fine; those on the right seemed to be women, and the other to be men; the drapery of the former coming down to the foot; but the latter only within eight inches of it; under each of them there is an imperfect Greek inscription, containing the name of the man and woman.

CHAP. XI. — *Of the river Fege, of Abana and Pharphar, and of the Aqueducts to Palmyra.*

FROM Sidonaia we travelled south to Meneh before mentioned*, and then turned to the west, having high rocky mountains on the right, which are almost perpendicular, in which, at a considerable height, I saw a sepulchral monument that seemed to be very antient, being a niche and a sort of grave cut into the rock, but not in the middle of it; the pilasters on each side support an angular pediment; the capitals are of the most antient Doric order; it has also seven steps cut in the rock before it. We passed by Dradge on the left, and Halboue on a hill to the right, and crossed a rivulet of the same name; we then ascended a hill, and crossed the road that goes from Dummarr to Fege, and descended into a bottom, where there are several springs of bad water, which have no outlet, and make a sort of a morass called the Dog-waters: on the right I observed several grottos in the mountains, and went to one of them; on each side of the door-place there are rough unfinished pillars cut in the rock, which support a pediment, and over the door there is a relief of a spread eagle. About a mile further we turned to the north, and came to the Barrady, and going about two miles, on the east side of it, we arrived at the source of the Fege, having gone in all about four miles to the south, six to the west, and two to the north.

The river Fege comes in a large clear stream from under the mountain, through an

* See note † page 510.

arch about twenty feet wide. Twenty feet to the west of it there is a niche, about fifteen feet high, which was probably designed for a colossal statue; about eight feet to the west of this, there is a very antient temple, which is on a level with the river, and almost entire. To make this regular, it is probable there was such another temple, or at least a niche, on the other side, and there is a temple in the middle, on an eminence over the river, which is almost entire, between which and the river there is a narrow passage about sixteen feet above the current: the temple on the side of the river seems to be of the greatest antiquity, and was probably built before the orders were invented; the stones are of the same thickness as the walls, and the pilasters have no capitals; there is a cornice below that ranges round, which might belong to a basement; within, at the further end, are two oblong square niches like those in the front; the stream now washes the side of the temple, which probably was dedicated to the deity of the river, and some religious rites might be performed by going out of it by the door that leads to the river side.

The other temple is a plain building much ruined; it seems to have had a portico before it; in the front on each side, about ten feet from the ground, there is a sort of pedestal setting out of the wall as if designed for statues; this temple seems to have been built long after the other. They have a notion that this river Fege comes from the Euphrates under ground; the Arabic name of that river is Fara; and if they were formerly of such an opinion, it might be a reason for their calling this river Pharphar; and if this was the Pharphar, the Barrady might be the Abanah. These waters, when united, run between the high mountains in a very narrow vale for about two leagues; on the north side there is a narrow strip of ground at the foot of the mountain, and a little below the temple, the pleasant village of Fege is situated; this narrow spot is improved with gardens, orchards, and plantations, which make it a very delightful place; to which the Damascenes often retire, and spend the day in summer.

Near the river, about a mile from the rise of the Fege, I discovered an aqueduct on the side of the hill cut through the rock; it is about two feet broad, and four or five feet high; the top of it is cut archwise; I traced it for about four miles, most part of it is from twenty to forty feet above the river; in some parts, where the mountain is perpendicular, the upper part of it is open in front like a gallery, and in other parts, where there are hollows in the mountain, it is an open channel two feet wide, and from two to eight feet high; I went into it from several of the hollow parts of the mountain; where I first discovered it, there is a channel cut down to it through the mountain about one foot six inches wide, and two high; I went about three quarters of the way up these hills, and by what I could discern, the water of a mountain torrent was stopped about that place, and diverted into this channel; and I found a large channel above it. In one part of the mountain, where the aqueduct is cut through the rock, there is a perpendicular cliff over the river, where there is now a foot way through the aqueduct for half a mile. They say this aqueduct is carried round the side of the mountain to the country about Caraw, which is a town in the way to Aleppo, about two days journey from Tadmor, though I should be inclined to think it was carried along to the end of the mountain Antilibanon near Haffah, as I was afterwards informed it was, where it might be conveyed from the side of the mountain to a high ground that extends to Palmyra; and there is great reason to think this, as it is a very dry country, where they have hardly any other supply but from the rain water.

Though I saw nothing of the aqueduct till within a mile of Fege, where there is an entrance into it, as from the hollow parts of the mountain, yet it is very probable that

this aqueduct was constantly supplied from the Fege, which might be by an open channel that may have been filled up; but it was doubtless supplied also by those channels down the mountains from the rain water, and by the melting of the snow, and when there was plenty of water, it might be let out from the aqueduct into cisterns, at the several villages, for the use of the country when the rain water failed; and at Hems, abovementioned, about seven leagues south-east of Hems, I saw a ruined work, like a large pond or cistern, sunk a considerable way down in the rock, and walled round.

A little below the part of the aqueduct which is nearest to Hems, there is a fine water, called the green spring; whether it was ever conveyed by this aqueduct, or by another to Damascus, for a supply of wholesome water, and so might possibly be the Alemana, is difficult to determine; it is certain this water is now conveyed in a channel to water the lower gardens, and some letters remain of a Greek inscription cut over it in the rock.

As to the great aqueduct, there is a tradition, that it was made by Solomon, which, if it were well grounded, would confirm the opinion, that Tadmor was first built by him; for the Scripture says, that he built Tadmor in the wilderness; they have also another tradition, that the aqueduct was made or improved by a woman, which may be owing to some improvements that might be made by Zenobia, the famous queen of Palmyra.

CHAP. XII.—*From Damascus to Hems, the antient Emesa.*

THE journey from Damascus to Aleppo is performed in eleven days with a caravan, which is generally numerous, in order to be secure against the Arabs, of whom there is great danger, especially for the first part of the way, as far as Hems; they do not take the road of the Itinerary from Damascus to Emesa, which crossed the mountains to the north west, and went by Heliopolis or Baalbeck, and Laodicea ad Libanum; but they go to the east of the mountains, and come into the antient road towards Laodicea, where the two roads in the Tables also met.

On the fifteenth of July I set out from Damascus for Aleppo, having hired a young janizary to go with me; I paid sixty medines to a janizary at going out of the gate; their demands on Franks being arbitrary. We went two leagues to a large village called Touma, where I could get no lodging, but was obliged to lie on the bulk of a shop; I observed that there were many vineyards about this place, which they watch from a high floor fixed on four poles, to which they ascend by a ladder. On the sixteenth we went along the plain to the north east; I saw a spring encompassed with walls like those near Tyre, that the water might be conveyed to some high ground. A little further there is an aqueduct from the western hills of a particular kind, which is much used in all these countries; the channel is about ten feet under ground; and there are holes down to it, at the distance of about fifty yards, with a great heap of earth round them; so that the channel seems to have been made, and the earth brought up by these holes; and, without doubt, they descended by them to clean or repair it; this ground, I suppose, is higher than some other parts on which the aqueduct is carried; it is probable that this channel conveyed water to several villages from the great aqueduct brought from Fege; for I saw that it extended a great way. There first saw the hills a considerable way off to the east, no hills appearing that way from the parts about Damascus.

In about three hours from Touma we came to the hills called Outala-Saphire, which extend into the middle of this great plain; at the foot of them there is a ruined kane called Adra, from a village near it; this probably was Admederin of the Tables, placed twenty-five miles from Damascus, though this place does not seem to be more than fifteen miles; in about two hours and a half we passed over the hills; here the most eastern ridge of hills, which runs west of Damascus seems to end; there is but a small descent to the northern part of the plain, and we came in about an hour to Kteiphe. I saw a salt lake on the east side of the plain called Moia-Bechr [the salt water]; for the soil being salt, the water evaporates in summer, and leaves a cake of salt on the earth, but as this salt is not wholesome they are supplied from Tadmor. This may be the vale of salt, in which, it is said, David got him a name when he returned from smiting the Syrians*, though the valley of Salt near Tadmor seems to be the more probable place; the kingdom of David and Solomon extending, without doubt, as far as Tadmor, which is mentioned to be built by the latter†.

Kteiphe‡ may be Adarisi of the Tables, placed ten miles from Admederin; it is a pleasant village, encompassed with slight walls to keep out the Arabs; it is the last place in the road under the pasha of Damascus; we stayed here in a very fine kane, which has a portico round it, in which there is a sofa raised above the court for travellers to repose on, and the stables are within it. The Arabs came and asked if there was not a Frank in the caravan, and demanded a kaphar, which they said would be due to them the next day; they seemed likewise to threaten to take me out of the caravan if I did not pay it; I was told that it was not usual to pay a kaphar in caravans, and the conductors of it seeming to take part with me, I treated them with coffee, made them my friends, and refused to pay any thing.

On the seventeenth we travelled an hour to some hills, and went up by a gentle ascent, passing by a ruined kane on the top of the hills, and a village called Juhina to the left at some distance on the side of a hill; these hills were improved with vineyards, and may be the end of the second ridge of hills, which extend northward from Jebel Sheik. We descended into a well cultivated plain about three miles wide, and passed near a village on a hill to the right, from which the women brought eggs, raisins, bread, curds, cheese, and other provisions to sell to the caravan; in about two hours we came to a hill, on which there is a ruined square castle; on the other side of it we arrived at the village Nephte; at the foot of the hill on which it stands there is a fine kane and mosque, where we stayed all night.

On the eighteenth we proceeded on our journey, and after a while perceived four Arabs (being the same who had threatened me) riding at some distance before us; on which those who were foremost stopped that we might make a closer body, and two or three of the caravan went before to observe them, that they might not surprise us; it was said, that they had an intention to plunder the caravan, and that there were more of their company near, but in a little time they left us, and we saw no more of them. About half a league from Nephte is Heboud, which I did not see; I was told, that antiently it was called Bensila, and that there are ruins of a large church there. Having travelled two hours, we came to some hills that cross the plain, on which there is a low watch tower; these seem to be the end of a ridge of hills between the

* 2 Sam. viii. 13.

† 2 Chron. viii. 4. This is generally thought to be the famous Tadmor, or Palmyra, especially as it is mentioned with Hamath, which seems to be the country of Hamah.

‡ This is Coteifa, in the account of the journey from Aleppo to Damascus, in which it is said that the kane was built by Sinam Pasha, but I heard nothing that travellers were supplied with provisions gratis.

second and third chain of mountains before mentioned ; for afterwards we had to the west the high mountains, which are east of the plain of Baalbeck. About an hour beyond these hills is the village of Caraw, probably *Ocurura* of the Tables, placed fifteen miles from Adarin, which ought to be corrected to thirty-five ; it is finely situated on a hill, on which there seemed to have been a camp ; I was told, that it was called *Carinthia* when the Franks had possession of it. I saw in the kane some niches with angular pediments over them, which might be the remains of a church. To the north-east is a hill with a watch tower on it, so that probably those towers extended to *Palmyra* ; and I was informed, that a league west of Caraw there was a convent called *Der-mar-Jacob*, which is now entirely ruined ; there were two or three Christians at Caraw who came to see me ; we stayed here till night.

On the nineteenth we kept close together, being under some apprehensions of the Arabs ; we went two hours along the plain, and passed by a hill with a watch tower on it ; our way afterwards was between low hills, and we came to a spring where we expected to see the Arabs, as it was a place frequented by them ; we passed by a mosque, and two or three houses called *Bes* : I saw here a plain coffin of polished marble, without any ornaments on it. We went about two hours and a half through the desert plain to *Hasseiah*, computed to be eight hours from Caraw, though I think it is not so much ; when I was about half way between these two places, I saw a hill directly to the east, which I conjectured might be between twenty and thirty miles off ; and they told me, that *Tadmor* lay a little way behind it. I had designed to have gone to that place from *Hasseiah*, but I found that it would have been a very dangerous undertaking, and the aga of *Hasseiah*, to whom I had letters, was not there. *Hasseiah* is situated on the edge of a plain, which is higher than the country to the south ; this plain extends away to *Tadmor*, or *Palmyra*, and is probably a part of the desert of *Palmyra*. I was informed by an understanding Turk at Caraw, that the aqueduct does not come to that place, but that it passed near *Hasseiah*, where, he said, there were some signs of it ; he also informed me, that they have an opinion among them that *Hasseiah* was no old place, and probably it was never a place of any consequence ; so that the principal design of the aqueduct seems to have been to water the high country towards *Palmyra*. He told me, that the water was brought from *Raboua*, which is the place where the waters of the *Barrady* are divided ; and when I mentioned *Fege* to him, he informed me that one branch of the aqueduct came from that river. At *Hesseiah* they have now only some bad water in the pond ; it is a miserable place, there being only the governor's house in it, a mosque, and two or three houses enclosed within a wall adjoining to the kane, and a few other houses built in a hollow ground, which seems to have been the basin of a pond or cistern for receiving water from the aqueduct. We stayed all day in the kane, but lay abroad ; this place and Caraw are subject to the same aga, independent of a pasha ; it is possible *Hasseiah* might be *Deleda* of the Tables, fifteen miles from *Ocurura*, and ten from *Laodicea*, as it agrees very well with that situation.

On the twentieth we travelled westward in the plain, and about three hours from *Hasseiah*, went by an inhabited kane*, where the people brought provisions to sell to the caravan ; about a league further the plain of Baalbeck opened to us ; I saw in it, at a distance, some wood, which they told me, were the gardens of a village called *Ras*, which might be *Conna* of the Itinerary, though that seems to be rather at too great a distance, if the Itinerary is right.

* In the account of the journey to Damascus, it is called *Shemê*.

They say the river Afe (the old Orontes) rises about twenty miles north of Baalbek, and runs, I suppose, as near by the north east corner of mount Libanon, a little further to the north west, where it makes a large lake called also Afe, and I conjectured it might be about three miles broad and eight long, and extends northwards towards Hems. There is no mention of this lake in ancient authors; so that probably it has been made like the lake of Mantua in later times, by some stoppage of the water of the Orontes. Some say, that the Afe is also called Makloub. In this part I saw two little hills on the east side of the lake, and one on the Afe, between the lake and Hems, and several others along the river to the north. The natives seem to have retained the very ancient name of this river, which it probably had before it was called the Orontes, which name might be given it by the Greeks; for Sozomen* speaks of Apamea as on the river Axis. And that it may not be thought a new name in history, it must be observed that Vaillant† in his history of Syria, has a medal of Alexander Balas, king of Syria, with the legend relating to Apamea on the Axis, ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΗΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΑΞΙΩ. The river Marfyas, now called the Yarmuc, which fell into the Orontes near Apamea, rises to the north between the hills that are west of old Reah, which I shall have occasion to mention.

Here, I suppose, we came into Upper Syria from Cœlesyria, and into that part of it called Laodicea, from Laodicea ad Libanum or Laodicea Cabiosa, which probably was on the west side of the Orontes near the foot of Libanus, and was a Roman colony. The country from this place to Chalcis, called by the Franks Old Aleppo, had the name of the plains of Marfyas, doubtless from the river already mentioned. Having travelled westward from Halseiah we here turned to the north, and after some time, arrived at Hems.

CHAP. XIII.—Of Hems, Hama, and Marrah.

HEMS is the ancient Emesa‡, mentioned in the Tables as twenty miles from Laodicea, and by the Itinerary as eighteen; it stands on a fine plain, and is watered by a rivulet or small canal, brought to it from the Afe. The walls of the city are about three miles in circumference, and probably were made about the year one thousand and ninety-eight, when the Christians had possession of it, during the time of the Holy War; for they are built like those of Cæsarea on the sea, which were made by Lewis the ninth of France; except that there seemed to have been a terrace round on the outside of the walls, defended by a parapet wall, on the outside of which is the fosse; it appears that there has been a rampart made round it since that time, which was faced with stone, probably after Saladin had taken it from the Christians, in one thousand one hundred eighty-seven, or it may be on the invention of cannon: the Tartars took it from the Saracens in one thousand two hundred and fifty eight; the city afterwards came into the hands of the Mamalukes; and the Turks took it from them§. During the time that it was in the hands of the Europeans, it was destroyed by an earthquake, which happened in one thousand one hundred fifty seven, when several other cities underwent the same fate. The present town takes up only about a quarter of the space contained within the walls, being the north-west quarter; the

* Sozomeni Hist. vii. 15.

† Vaillant Histor. Syr. pag. 261.

‡ The people of this country seem to be called Emisani by Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 23. and so also by Strabo, lib. vi. p. 735.

§ Bibliothèque Orientale d'Herbelot, under Hems.

buildings are very indifferent ; they are under the covert of a large ruined castle, which is to the south of the present town ; it is built on a high round mount, encompassed with a fosse about twenty feet deep and thirty paces broad, over which there is a bridge of several arches ; it is built so high that it rises a considerable way up the side of the hill ; the top of the hill is near half a mile in circumference, and of an irregular figure of ten sides ; the whole mount is faced with stone. The eastern historians say, that Hippocrates resided here, and went often from this city to Damascus ; and the ecclesiastical writers relate, that St. John Baptist's head was found here in the time of the emperor Theodosius. The emperor Elagabalus was of this city, in which there was a famous temple dedicated to the sun, which was worshipped here under the title of Elagabalus, from which this emperor had his name. It is said the emperor Aurelian defeated Zenobia near this city, and afterwards built some temples in it. About the town there are several pieces of pillars and capitals, and the remains of the antient gate to the north, which, from the basement that ranges round, I conclude was adorned with pilasters.

About a furlong to the west of the town, there is a curious piece of antiquity ; it is a building about forty feet square without, and thirty within ; the walls are built of brick after the Roman manner, which are about an inch thick, and the mortar between them is of the same thickness ; the casing of the building is very extraordinary, consisting of rows of stone four inches square, set diagonally, one row being white stone, and another black, alternately. There are two stories of architecture, consisting of five pilasters on each side, which are built of small white hewn stone ; the lower story is Doric, and the upper Ionic, each story being about nine feet four inches high ; above these the top is built like a pyramid, but within it is of the figure of a cone ; in the ceiling of the lower arched room there are some remains of fine reliefs in stucco : some of the people call it the sepulchre of Caius ; and Bellona says, he saw the sepulchre of Caius Cæsar here ; but this cannot be, for that prince being wounded in Armenia, died at Lamyra in Lycia, and his ashes were carried from that place to Rome, and deposited in the mausoleum of Augustus ; and his epitaph is among Gruter's inscriptions, though indeed some antient historians say erroneously that he died in Syria ; so that probably this was a monument erected to the honour of Caius, by the people of Emesa, in order to gain the emperor's favour ; for on the east and north side, at the top of the second story, there is a Greek inscription, but I had no conveniency of getting up to read it ; I could not so much as distinguish one letter of that on the north side ; but on the eastern one the first word is ΠΑΛΕΟ, and I copied some other letters *. It is said, there was another building of this kind at some distance to the north of it, and that a chain went from one to the other, and that they were the monuments of two sisters, daughters of an emperor ; if there really was another, it is not improbable that it might be erected to the memory of Lucius.

We stayed at Hems all day in the kane, and when I saw the inscription I was determined to carry a letter which I had, and a present of cloth, to the governor, who has the title of aga, and is independent of the pasha ; I desired him to lend a man with me ; he was an old and suspicious Turk, and very far from being polite ; I endeavoured in

* In the account of the journey to Damascus, the name mentioned in the inscription is ΠΑΛΕΟΓΡΑΦΟΝ. Belon, in his travels, speaks of this monument in these words : " Encore il y a un sepulchre a double edage, hors la ville, haut elevé en forme de pyramide quarrée, fabrique de fort ciment, qui est mesmé des lettres Greques d'un epitaphe de Caius Cæsar."

vain to get a ladder in order to copy the inscription. The governor sent for me to feel his pulse, and to give him my advice; for I was mentioned in the letter as a physician; but when I came I told him it was a mistake, which made him more suspicious; but I had no further need of him, and my present prevented my paying a kaphar of fourteen piaftres.

On the twenty-first we set forward on our journey; I observed, that they reap their corn in these parts, whereas about Damascus they pull it up by the roots. Crossing a fine plain, about twelve miles in length, we came to a high ground over the Orontes, on which the village of Restoun is situated, and near it are the ruins of a very large convent; there is a bridge here over the river. I saw in the road some pieces of pillars and capitals; and as this is half way between Hems and Hamah, which was the old Epiphania, I concluded it to have been Arethusa of the Itinerary and Tables, though the distances in neither of them well correspond: the Tables, by mistake, put these places west of the Orontes, whereas all of them, except Epiphania or Hamah, are on the east side.

We travelled about twelve miles over a sort of a desert, and arrived at Hamah, which has generally been thought to be Apamea; but the Itinerary makes Apamea sixty-four miles from Emesa, and the Tables sixty-six, whereas Hamah at most cannot be above twenty-four miles from Hems. Strabo says, Apamea is directly on the other side of the mountain from Laodicea in Seleucis, which is much to the north of Hamah; he also says, that about Apamea there was much marshy and meadow ground, and that the Orontes and a great lake made it a peninsula; and he adds, that Seleucus Nicator, and the other kings of Syria, kept there five hundred elephants, and a great part of their army, on account of the great convenience of forage. But Hamah is situated in a narrow valley, having high ground on each side of it: moreover, the eastern historians mention, that the earthquake in one thousand one hundred fifty-seven, destroyed Hems, Hamah, Latichea or Laodicea, and Apamea; so that in those times the city of Apamea still retained its name: Hamah therefore cannot be Apamea, but must have been Epiphania, placed in the Itinerary thirty-two miles, and in the Tables thirty-six from Emesa. It is probable this is the capital of the country of Hamath, the king of which, named Toi, sent presents to David, and made an alliance with him, on his conquering his enemy the king of Zobah, who probably was master of the country about Palmyra*. The store cities of Hamath also are mentioned with Tadmor, as built by Solomon†. On the whole, it is not certain where Apamea, at first called Pella by the Macedonians‡, was situated; but according to Antonine's Itinerary, it was in the road from Antioch to Epiphania and Emesa, sixty-nine miles from Antioch, thirty-two from Epiphania, and sixty-four from Emesa. The English gentlemen who have passed between Aleppo and Latichea, have conjectured that it was at Shogle, where they pass the Orontes on a bridge; but this seems to be too near to Antioch; and if there really is such a place as Apamia or Famyah on the Orontes, which, in the account of the journey from Aleppo to Damascus, is placed § about nine miles from the road, it seems very probable that it was really the ancient Apamea, and Shayfar, which in that map is south of it, may be old Larissa, sixteen miles both from Epiphania and Apamea, according to the Itinerary.

The situation of Hamah is very particular in a narrow valley on the Orontes, the plains ending on each side in high cliffs over the river; it is open to the east and west,

* 2 Sam. viii. 9, 10.

† 2 Chron. viii. 4.

‡ Strabo, xvi. p. 752.

§ Pag. 26.

which is the course the river takes here; and without the town there are pleasant gardens on each side of the river; the air of it is looked on as unwholesome. It is in a manner three towns; the principal town being on the south side of the river; and between it and the river there runs a narrow high hill, near a mile long, on which probably the ancient city stood, which might have its name on account of the conspicuousness of its situation; they now keep a horse guard in this part: the west end of the hill is separated by art from the rest, and was a strong fort with a deep fosse to the east, cut down in the rock; the end of the hill, which is very high, is something of an oblong hexagon figure, and is all faced with stone; but nothing remains on it at present, except a small part of the walls. At the west end of this there is another town or large suburb, as there is a third on the north side of the river, which extends up to many parts of the heights round it, so that the city and suburbs stand on a great compass of ground.

As many parts of the town are much higher than the Orontes, they have a method of raising the waters by a great number of wheels in the river made with boxes round them, by which the water is raised to several aqueducts, consisting of very high arches, which, if well built, might be compared to many of the Roman works; some of the wheels are near forty feet in diameter, and raise the water to within five or six feet of their height, which is conveyed along the side of the hills.

There are very little remains of antiquity here, except some ruins of an old gateway, and some few capitals and pillars. I saw several Gothic capitals about the town, and finding many medals of the Greek emperors here, and very few of great antiquity, made me conclude that the place was in a flourishing condition about the middle ages, and that it was but an inconsiderable town before the time of Ptolemy, who does not make any mention of Epiphania; the city is now in a very flourishing condition, it being the only town to which the Arabs of the eastern desert about Tadmor can come, in order to be supplied with what they want; which is a liberty they enjoy on a sort of tacit agreement, that they shall not plunder the caravans that come to this city. They are not under a pasha, but have a particular bey or governor, to whom the city and a territory about it belong.

The chiefs or sheiks of Hamah, for so those are called who are at the head of the Arab interest in every city, are very famous in these parts, as they are descended from Mahomet; they have the title of Emir, and they had a great influence and interest in the city and country, till they began to abuse it. Some English going to see the head of them, on making some compliments to him, with regard to the honour and dignity of his family; he had the modesty only to say, that the people esteemed him as a prophet. They have a very fine palace, delightfully situated on the river. I have been told, they have such a reverence for this family in some parts towards Persia, that if any one who has been guilty of a crime comes here, and obtains some sort of a patent from this emir, they return to their country, and no one can call them to an account.

In this city, as well as in Hems, there are a considerable number of Greeks. Abul'eda, the great Arabian historian and geographer, was prince of Hamah about the year one thousand three hundred forty-five, probably of the family of the sheiks of Hamah already mentioned. He had the title of sultan, king and prince of Hamah, and reigned three years, the sovereign power being in his family. He published two books, for which he is very famous; one an abridgement of universal history to his own time; the other of geography, with the places disposed in tables according to their longitude and latitude. I had letters to the aga here, which I would have delivered,

in order to have been excused from paying a great kaphar, if they had demanded it of me.

As we had performed two days journey in one, and part of the caravan stopped at Restoun, we staid here all the next day, and went out of the town in the evening to lay abroad with the caravan; and on the twenty-third we set out a little after midnight. Before we had gone far, we saw all of a sudden about fifty Arab horse coming towards us; immediately every one had his fire-arms ready, and it was curious to see the footmen picking up stones in a great hurry to throw with their slings, which they have always tied about their waists, and are very dexterous in the management of them; they proved to be some Arabs, who had been robbers, but having submitted to the government, were settled as honest men. Having travelled about four leagues from Hamah, we passed by a ruined village on a rising ground, called Ktabai; another also called Afriminerra was mentioned; about this place I saw a ruin like a church; and two miles to the left a village called Tifin; and a league further on the left is Trimeris; there are a great number of cisterns under ground about these places. At some distance to the west we saw a ridge of low hills that begin towards the lake of Ase. We arrived at Shehoun, which is about eight hours distant from Hamah. This place, and a territory about it, is under an independent aga; it might be Cappareas of the Itinerary. On the twenty-fourth we proceeded on our journey, travelling between low hills, and in an hour came to Eifel Cabad, which is a ruined place with cisterns under it. When I was about half way between Shehoun and Marrah, I was told by one of Asia Minor, who was in the caravan, that about a league and a half to the east there was an obelisk, some sepulchres, and other ruins, which he had seen when he formerly travelled that way. We went on and arrived at Marrah.

CHAP. XIV. — *Of Marrah, Kuph, El Barraw, Rouiah, Old Aleppo, or Chalcis, and other places in the way to Aleppo.*

MARRAH, without doubt is Arra, placed thirty miles from Epiphania in the Itinerary; it may be also Maronias of Ptolemy, and the people of this place may be the Mentocypeni, mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus*, who says, their city was destroyed by Valens on account of the devastations they committed throughout the whole country. Though this place is said to be thirty-nine miles from Epiphania, yet I do not take it to be above twenty-four, for the loaded beasts in the caravan went it in one day. I saw all along this road from Restoun a great number of cisterns dug down in the rock on each side of the way, to preserve the rain water, and about most of them some little ruins; so that wherever I observed many of them I concluded there had been some ancient village. Marrah is a very poor little town; there is a fine kane on the outside of it, but nothing else worthy of observation, except a beautiful square tower of hewn stone built to one of their mosques, and a little ruin of a very old church, which seemed to have belonged to a building adjoining of a much later date, and might be either an old convent, or a Mahometan hospital. Marrah belongs to an independent aga, and there is a large kaphar to be paid by Franks, which his people came to demand of me. I told them I had a letter for the aga, and that I would go and deliver it, which I found would not be agreeable to them; so they were glad to take a small sum; but were very desirous to have got my letter; and I was informed that they would have destroyed it, and then have obliged me to pay their full demand.

* Strabo, lib. xxviii. cap. 7.

On the twenty-fifth we set out, and in about six or seven hours arrived at Surmeen, where I went to sleep on the bulk of a shop. I had sent from Hamah to my friend at Aleppo, to let him know that I was with the caravan, as he had pressed me to do by letter; and he was so kind as to come as far as this place to meet me: he soon found me out, and conducted me to his tent. In the afternoon we went about three leagues to the north west to Reah, a large village situated at the northern foot of a ridge of hills, which extends from this place almost to Hamah. About this village, and most of the others in these parts, there are great plantations of olive-trees, and they make a considerable quantity of soap of the oil of olives, which is sent into Persia, as well as that which is made in Tripoli and Damascus. We ascended the hills to the south, passing by several grotts, on which there were some very imperfect remains of Greek inscriptions, which to me seemed to contain the names of the people buried there: I took notice also of a fine old arch over a fountain. About three quarters of the way up the hill we came to a level spot where there is a fountain, and every thing made very convenient for those who come here for their pleasure: we met the aga of Reah in this place, with whom we drank coffee: the tent being pitched, we staid here all night. The aga had a great entertainment at this place, and music; he sent us some of his provisions; and I was told they were so polite as not to begin their music until they found we were asleep, that we might not be disturbed by it.

On the twenty-sixth we went to see several fine ruins of antient towns or villages to the south; in about an hour we came to Ramy, and afterwards passed by Magefia and Ashy, in all which places we saw ruins of villages built of hewn stone: we at length came to Kuph, which is a ruined village of such extent that it looked like the remains of a large town. All the buildings in this, and the other places which I shall mention, are of a yellow hewn stone, which is easily worked; the walls are built of single stones, and are about eighteen inches thick: they are neither fastened with iron nor laid in mortar; and in this manner I saw several very beautiful walls at least thirty feet high, which stood true, and were not in the least ruined in such a course of time, being built on a firm rocky foundation; the stones are worked so smooth that they join very close, and are laid in such a manner as to bind one another. In Kuph the buildings appear like very magnificent palaces; some of them are built round several courts; I was astonished to see such buildings in a place so retired, and in the midst of rocky hills, where there is no view or prospect of any thing delightful; but on taking a nearer view of them, I concluded by whom and for what purpose they were built. By the manner of architecture, which is not bad, they must have been of the fourth or fifth century at the lowest. The crosses made over all the doors are a proof that they are Christian buildings; and as there are sepulchres built near every one of the large houses, these places must have been antiently used for retirement by Christians of distinction in those primitive times, to which they might come in order to separate themselves from the world, and to meditate on their mortality in sight of their tombs; and to these places they probably withdrew in order to end their days; and some persons who were inclined to spend their fortunes in a devout retirement might live in these solitudes, not without some grandeur, and maintain a religious hospitality. These sepulchres are very handsome square buildings; most of them are adorned with Corinthian pilasters at the corners, supporting rich entablatures, over which they are built in the form of a pyramid; there are generally four or five very large stone collins in them, and a sort of steps are made up the sides of the pyramids to go to the top of them. Adjoining to a large palace there are ruins of a church built after the Syrian manner; there are also several burial places, which seem to have been vaults under their houses; and likewise great numbers

of sepulchres cut into the rock, some of which have a portico before them of three or four pillars, cut also out of the rock.

North of this village is a place called Elbarraw, which is only separated from it by a little valley: here there is a ruinous well-built castle, and some decayed houses, which are of no mean structure; there is likewise a well cut down through the rock. From this place we returned partly by the same way, and went about two leagues to the north east to a village called Frihay, where there are remains of some very handsome palaces, one of which is almost entire; over the door of another there is an imperfect Greek inscription, which seemed to contain the name of the master of it; one sepulchral building is like those of Kaph, except that it is covered with a cupola; the others are all in a different manner, and seem to have made a circle on a hill, at a little distance from the houses; there are a great number of them; one is a grot cut into the rock, and before the entrance there is an arch about nine feet thick, built with single stones of that length, and finely turned; in the front of these arches there are some imperfect Greek inscriptions, which I saw were of a religious nature, most of them being doxologies. Under one of the arches near a house, (in which I could see no entrance into any grot,) there are two or three Greek inscriptions, which seemed to be Pagan, but in such barbarous unintelligible Greek, that they were hardly worth transcribing. In all the roads about these places, especially at the villages, we saw some ruins and decayed churches built with hewn stone, and in the same taste. We returned in the evening to our tent at Reah.

On the twenty-seventh in the afternoon we set out and went three hours east south east by a bad rocky road to Rouiah, called by the Franks Old Reah; after travelling about an hour we passed through Kapharlata, where there are some ruins and old columns, particularly a fountain covered with an arch supported by four Doric pillars, with a Greek inscription on it; we went through Montef, where we saw more ruins.

Rouiah is near the plain that leads from Marrah to Aleppo; this is a more magnificent place than the others; there are in it about six or seven fine palaces, some of which are almost entire, and there are almost as many churches: the houses are built round courts with porticos all round within, supporting a gallery, which communicates with the rooms above, there being a door from it to every room. The capitals of the pillars, which are no bad work, are of the Corinthian and Ionic orders: the churches seem to have been more magnificent than the houses, especially three or four, which are built with three naves, the arches of which are supported by pillars, and the largest has great pillars in it of an oblong square figure, and a portico before it; on one side there is an open building with a dome supported by columns, which seems to have been a baptistery; on the north side of the church there is a building like a small antient temple, with an angular pediment at each end; the corners are adorned with Corinthian pilasters, not of the best workmanship; the whole building is raised on a fine basement, and before it there is a portico, consisting only of two pillars, which are in the front between the side walls that support the pediment; this seemed to have been a family chapel, and under it is a vault with stone coffins, or graves, cut in the rock: there is another of the same kind near one of the palaces, with an unintelligible Greek inscription on the pediment. There are ruins of great buildings all round the large church, where probably many persons might live in a sort of community; and this possibly might be the first beginning of that sort of retirement in these parts, which was afterwards introduced and settled in public communities in the monastic life: one of the churches was dedicated to St. Peter and Paul, and has on it this inscription:

ΠΕΤΡΟΣ



ΠΑΥΛΟΣ

There is one sepulchre here of a very particular kind ; two arches are turned at proper distances, and about six or seven feet above the ground a very large stone coffin is placed on them, which is nine feet long, four feet ten inches wide, and five feet ten inches deep ; the part below, which is enclosed, has in it two graves cut down in the rock. We lay all night at Rouiah.

On the twenty-eighth we went to the north-east, and in two hours, at Elkane, came into the high road from Marrah to Aleppo, where there is a good old kane ; it is about half way between Marrah and Surmeen ; we soon left the road, and went to the north-east to old Aleppo, ascending the hill which is over it, where there is a mosque, and a sheik's burial place ; here we staid all day, and visited the antiquities about the place.

Old Aleppo is computed to be about twelve miles to the south of Aleppo, and near two leagues to the east of the high road ; I take this place to have been Chalcis, the antient capital of the district of Chalcidene, and not the antient Beroea, which, without doubt, stood where Aleppo now is. Chalcis is placed in the Itinerary twenty miles from Arra, and eight from Beroa, though it is not so much ; but the former agrees very well with the distance of these places ; in the Tables indeed it is twenty-nine from Berya, which may be a mistake for nineteen. The road in the Tables from Antioch to Berya, joins at Chalcis with the road of the Itinerary from Emesa to Beroa ; and now the common road from Hems is not far from it, and the road of the Arabs is close by it. The reason why the road has been changed is probably because it might not be so safe on account of robbers. Ptolemy places Chalcis twenty minutes south of Beroea, all which distances are too great, it being but sixteen miles from this place to Aleppo, round by Kan Touman. The true Arabian name of this town was Kemassierin, and it is so called at this time ; the Arab writers also call the northern part of Syria by this name, according to their division of the country, and the gate of Aleppo that goes out this way has the same name ; and it is probable, that the Arabs finding Chalcis a flourishing city, and a capital of a division of Syria among the antients, might make it the capital of the northern part of Syria, and call that district by the same name, which the natives originally gave to the city ; the Greeks probably giving it another name, used only by themselves ; it was no inconsiderable city in the time of the antients, being the strong hold of the extensive country called Marfyas. The remains of it are about a mile south of the river of Aleppo, which is called the Caiè, and runs at the foot of the hills which are between this place and that city. The course of this river seems formerly to have been on a lower ground nearer the old city, and to have been carried higher in order to water some lands : as this place was called Chalcis ad B. lem, it is not unlikely that Belus was the name of this river, unless it might be the name of the mountains near it, which are now called Sheik Aite : there are some remains of the foundations of the city walls, which are about ten feet thick ; they are not above a mile in circumference, and were built with square towers at equal distances. At the south-east side of the city is a raised ground, on which there are foundations of an antient castle, which was about half a mile in circumference, and they say, that there are three wells in it ; all now is a confused heap of ruins, except on the north-east side without the town, where on an advanced ground there are foundations of an oblong square building, which might be a temple. There is a high hill to the west of the city, on which the fortress probably stood, which was the great defence of all this country ; on the top of it there are three or four very fine large cisterns, like arched vaults, cut down in the rock, with a hole in the top to draw up the water, and steps down to them on one side ; there is likewise a mosque on a mount, which is the highest part of the hill, where

where I saw some fragments of Christian Greek inscriptions; and at the east end of the mosque are the foundations of a semicircular building, which convinced me that it had been a church. At the foot of this hill to the north there is cut over the door of a grotto a spread eagle in relief, which might be a work of the Romans, probably during the government of the Flavian family, who might be benefactors to the city, as the fame of it was changed in compliment to some of them, probably Trajan; for there is a medal of this city, with Trajan's head on it, and this reverse, $\Phi\Lambda\ \chi\alpha\alpha\kappa\iota\delta\epsilon\omega\Nu$. From the top of this hill I saw the minaret of the mosque in the castle of Aleppo, though there are high mountains between these places. We set out on the twenty-ninth, and went along by the river to the high road from Damascus, and came to Kan-Touman in that road, which is six miles from Aleppo. This kane, they say, was built by Touman Bey, the last mamaluke sultan of Egypt, but I do not know what authority they have for it; there are some small brass cannon on the walls of the kane. Passing over this hill we came into the open uneven country in which Aleppo stands. We encamped in a garden at Rambuta near a league from Aleppo. Several friends came out to dine with us, and in the evening the consul sent his chancellor, dragoman, and chous or messenger, with his compliments, and we all went together to Aleppo, paying the compliment of alighting at the consul's house, and when I had paid my respects to him I retired to the house of my friend.

CHAP. XV. — *Of Aleppo.*

THE country in which Aleppo stands is uneven in many parts, and yet, with regard to the mountains, it may be looked on as a plain. It is bounded to the north by mount Taurus, to the west by mount Amanus, and to the east by the Euphrates, stretching away to the south beyond the valley of salt, as far as the large barren deserts of Palmyra, and is partly bounded to the south by the hills which we passed over. The country about Aleppo is a rocky freestone, and the soil is shallow.

Aleppo itself is situated partly on the plain, and partly on two or three rising grounds; it is encompassed with walls of hewn stone, which are thought to be mostly of the mamaluke building; these walls are not above three miles in circumference, but there are great suburbs, especially to the north, so that the whole cannot be much less than five miles in compass. Aleppo is generally thought to be the old Berœa, and though there are very few marks of antiquity about it, yet they are sufficient to prove that there was an ancient town here. I was informed, that they frequently find marble pillars a considerable depth in the earth to the north-east of the castle, where the old town probably stood. One of the hills to the north of the town seems to be raised by art into a high mount, on which the castle of Aleppo stands; and the fosse is near half a mile in circumference. The streets and bazars, or shops, are laid out like those of Damascus; it is esteemed one of the best built cities throughout all the Turkish dominions; the houses being of hewn free stone, and there are some mosques and k.ans especially, which are very magnificent; several of the former having large domes to them. But the buildings are not high in proportion to the size, and the domes are raised so little above them, that they appear low and flat, though built with great expence.

The Jews and Christians of the country live in one of the suburbs, and the Franks in one quarter of the city: the houses being all terraced over, they can go from house to house on the top of them, where they do not think proper to make up any fence; and when they do, they frequently have doors through them; and the air of Aleppo

is so fine that the people lie on the tops of their houses during the summer season. On the north and west sides of the town, at some little distance, runs the river Caie, which, though a small dirty-stream, yet passing through the gardens makes them very pleasant; this river is lost in a morass about four miles to the east of old Aleppo. The gardens produce a great variety of fruit; there are small houses in them, to which company often retire for some weeks in the summer; and these gardens may be hired at any time for a party of pleasure. The water which they use for drinking is brought about four miles from the north by an aqueduct on the ground, and in some parts, where there are little hills, the water runs under ground, in the manner as described near Damascus; the water here has a certain quality, which makes strangers, who drink of it, break out in blotches, and they have generally three or four about their hands and arms, which continue half a year, or a year, and are very troublesome; some have not this disorder till after they have lived there many years; and it is observed, that the natives have it once, and that it commonly appears in their faces; nor is there any remedy found against it: among the English it goes by the name of the Mal of Aleppo. The Aleppines are reckoned a subtle people, and the Turks, both merchants and others, value themselves much on appearing and being esteemed as gentlemen, under the title of Cheleby. The pasha of the northern part of Syria resides here, and is called the pasha of Aleppo; it is a good pashalic, and the people submit quietly when their governor squeezes their purses; and their tyranny this way often falls very heavily on their Christian subjects.

Aleppo is the great mart for all Persian goods, especially for raw silks; a large caravan comes from Balfora or Bosra, on the Euphrates, which is usually a month on the road. This trade has however much decayed since the Persian war, on which the silk commonly brought from Asia Minor to this place began to be carried to Smyrna; and the business of silk and woollen carpets, which were made in the north part of Persia towards Tauris, almost entirely decayed; and the communication this way being cut off, the demand gradually lessened, till the art itself was almost lost. They send to Europe fine goats hair of Persia, in order to make hats. They manufacture also many burdets of the same kind as those of Damascus, but not in so great perfection, and send them all over Turkey, and to Europe: this place is also famous for pistachio nuts, of which they have great orchards of a better kind than those that grow wild, and they are sent to all parts: the import is chiefly Venetian and Leghorn wrought silks, tin, many small wares from Europe, and English and French cloths. The English factory was settled here about the time of queen Elizabeth; it is of late much decayed, which is owing to the perfection and cheapness of the French manufacture, so that there are not above six or seven English houses here at present. The Dutch have a consul, and two houses, but their trade is almost entirely lost. This is the most famous place in Turkey for making tents.

About half a mile north of Aleppo there is a convent of Dervises, pleasantly situated on a rising ground; there is in it a fine mosque covered with a dome; and many tall cypress trees growing about the convent, make it appear a more pleasant place at a distance than it really is; there being a great want of verdure in the country round about it: These dervises are not of the dancing sort, but there is another community of them at Aleppo, who exercise their devotion that way.

On the south-east side of the town are several magnificent sepulchres of the Mamluke times; they are indeed mosques, which the great persons, whilst they were alive, built to deposit their bodies in: the buildings generally consist of a portico built on three sides of a court with pillars, in a very costly and magnificent manner, with a grand

grand gateway in front; opposite to this is the mosque, which is generally covered with a dome; and the mihrab or niche, that directs them which way to pray, is very often made of the finest marbles, something in the manner of mosaic work. In one of the burial places, to the east of the walls of the city, they say the body of Campson Gaur is deposited, who was succeeded as sultan of Egypt by Touman Bey, the last prince of the Mamaluke race; he was defeated and killed near this place in a battle with sultan Selim. About a league also east of Aleppo, a remarkable battle was fought between Tamerlane and the sultan of Egypt, in which the former, according to his usual success, vanquished his enemy.

The Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, and Maronites, have each a church in Aleppo, which are all in the same quarter of the town. The Armenians and Greeks have a bishop in this city; the latter, excepting about a hundred families, are of the Roman Greek church.

The Jewish synagogue seems to have been an old church, and some part of the walls of it are remains of an ancient building that was adorned with very good Corinthian pilasters, and probably was built when Christianity was first established by the temporal power. There is a mosque with Corinthian pillars in it of a Gothic taste, which, they say, was a church; and adjoining to it are remains of a portico or cloister in a better style; it is near the great mosque, which, they say, was the cathedral church, and is built round a very large court; so that probably the other was some building belonging to it.

I saw in Aleppo a bronze statue of Minerva, about two feet and a half high, but the head has been broken off.

The English pass their time here very agreeably; and in the excursions which they make for pleasure they are commonly respected by the Arabs, Curdeens, and Turcomen, there being very few instances of their having been plundered by them. They live very sociably with one another, and pass two or three days in the week either in the gardens, or under a tent in the country, or else amuse themselves in the season with country diversions.

I had a very good prospect of going from Aleppo to Palmyra: having mentioned to the consul the desire I had to make this journey, he told me, that it was a very fortunate time for me; the sheik, or, as the Europeans call him, the king of Palmyra, being at Aleppo, and that he had a very good interest in him; he was accordingly applied to, and said, that if I would stay some time till the heat of the season was over, he would take care that I should see every thing without the least danger. It is probable he foresaw what was coming upon him; for soon afterwards I heard that he had been supplanted by another governor.

CHAP. XVI. — *Of Antab; and of Romkala, on the Euphrates.*

I SET out on the fourteenth of August northward for Antab, and went about a league by the aqueduct, in order to join the caravan at Hasan, where we lay all night. On the fifteenth we set forward, and soon came to the fountain that supplies the aqueduct, which rises in a round basin about thirty feet in diameter; the waters are raised by a wall built round it: there is another stream that rises further off, and here unites with this; in about an hour and a quarter we passed by Hassan-pacha. Having travelled above two hours further, I saw Arface at about the distance of six miles to the west, in the way from Aleppo to Corus. Arface is thought by some to be Minniza of the Itinerary, twenty-two miles from Beroa, and twenty from Cyrrhus. Khillis is another

another considerable town this way which I did not see ; it is computed to be thirty-six miles north of Aleppo, and about as many south west of Antab ; it is at the foot of mount Taurus, and is now a noted mart for cottons. At the distance of ten or fifteen miles from it, in the mountains to the north and north west, there are three or four passes defended by castles, conjectured, from the architecture, to have been built about the time of Justinian, probably to keep the robbers of the mountains in order. A few years ago the porte made a pasha of Khillis, in order to restrain the Curdeens, who entirely defeated him ; and it is now under the usual government of an aga ; there are no remains of antiquity about it, but as they find several medals there, it is probable, that it was an antient town, and it might be Chanuma in the Tables, though it may be objected that the Tables make it twenty miles from Cyrrho, whereas the place now called Corus, supposed to be the antient Cyrrhus, is but ten miles west and by north from Khillis. The Itinerary makes Cyrrho forty-four miles from Berœa, and places Minniza between them, twenty miles from the latter, which confirms the opinion that it was at Arface. Cyrrhus was the antient capital of the country called from it Cyrrhestica. Corus is computed to be about thirty-six miles north north west of Aleppo ; the rivers Sabon and Ephreen run near the town *. There are considerable remains of the antient city. About a league further we passed through Ahtareen where there is an old kane : the inhabitants had left the place on account of the ravages of the Curdeens ; some of them being gone to Aleppo, and others to Killis ; there is a little hill to the north of the town, round which there is a wall of large rough stones, which is fifteen feet high, and, without doubt, served as a fortress ; and I saw such hills near many of the villages, on which they doubtless fortified themselves against the incursions of robbers. In about an hour and a half we came to Zelehef, which is computed to be eight hours from Aleppo, ten from Antab, and three from Killis, which is under the hills to the north west. It was with great difficulty I got into a house ; for they apprehended that we were soldiers, whom they expected there, to levy some taxes on them ; but when they were undeceived, I was lodged with the chief man in the village.

On the sixteenth we went forward, travelling through the same sort of desert country, as it chiefly appeared to be in the way from Aleppo, though as the harvest was past, and they probably pull up the corn by the roots, the country might appear worse than it really is ; but there were very few trees to be seen in all this road. After three hours we entered in between low hills, and went an hour through a fine narrow valley of a good soil, and then going over the hills, we came into the plain of Sejour, through which there runs a river of the same name to the east ; the village of Sejour is beyond this stream at the foot of a little hill. We passed over three channels cut from this stream, in order to carry the water into the river of Aleppo, over which we passed about a mile further ; it is here a larger river than it is at Aleppo, many streams being carried out of it below to water the country ; as I was informed it rises about two hours south east of Antab ; some English gentlemen went to the place which is called Hajar-Yadereen or Gadjeia, where they saw the rise of it from about forty springs near one another ; another rivulet runs above it, which, they supposed, was the Sejour : there was an opinion in Golius's time that these springs came from the Eu-

* The Ephreen, or Afsin, I imagine, fell into the lake of Antioch, running under the bridge called Morat-Pasha ; but a gentleman, who has often travelled those roads, says, it falls into a lake near Herem to the east of that lake. It may be conjectured, that this was the Labotas of Strabo : I do not certainly know whether the Sabon runs into the Ephreen or not, though it is represented so ; if it falls into the lake of Antioch, it is probable that it runs under the bridge called Morat-Pasha.

phrates. We went over some low hills in the plain called Zaal-houn, and passed a river of that name, which rises about an hour to the west, and runs eastward; we came to the village of Zaal-houn, where we stayed all night, and on the seventeenth proceeded on our journey, and after travelling an hour, we went up the hills by a gentle ascent, and passed over two streams: in about an hour we descended the hills, passed a skirt of the valley, and left the village of Murravan on the right; near which is Orrour, a village of Armenians, who have a church there; we ascended the hill, and came down on Antab. The Arabic language is spoke very little north of Aleppo: about half way between that place and Antab we came to a village that talked Arabic, and soon after to another that spoke Turkish; but most of them understand both languages. I had a letter to an Armenian merchant at Antab, who came to see me, shewed me every thing about the town, and entertained me that evening in a very elegant manner at his house.

Antab is thought to be the antient Antiochia ad Taurum in Comagena, which was erected into a small kingdom by the Romans, when they made the rest of Syria a province. This town is situated on two hills, and the valley between them, and is about three miles in circumference; the small river Sejour runs by the town, and is conveyed to the higher parts of it by aqueducts carried round the hills, which branch out from the river above the town; there are many fine springs that rise about this place. The air of Antab is esteemed to be very good; the people live mostly on the hills, and have their shops in the valley; which being built at the foot of the hills, and having flat roofs, one insensibly descends upon them, and on the covered streets which are between them; so that it surprises any one when he imagines that he is walking on the ground, to look down through holes, which give light to the streets, and see people walking below.

There is a strong old castle on a round hill, with a deep fosse about it cut out of the rock; it is in one respect different from all these kind of castles I have seen; for within the fosse there is a covered way, the bottom of which is about the same height with the ground on the outside of the fosse; great part of it is cut out of the rock, the rest being built and arched with hewn stone; from this covered way the hill is cased all the way up with hewn stone, as described at Hems. They have here a considerable manufacture of coarse stamped callicoës. The Christians are all of the Armenian communion, as they are every where to the north of Aleppo; they have a church here, and speak Turkish, as they do in almost all the villages between Aleppo and Antab; and from this place northward the Arabic language is not spoken. As they find many medals here it is a proof of the antiquity of this city; they are chiefly of the Syrian kings, and some also of the kings of Cappadocia; this town is in the high road to Ezroun or Erzeron, which is towards the rise of the Euphrates, at the distance of ten days journey. It is supposed that Erzeron is the old Theodosiopolis, and that it changed its name, when the people of Artze near it retired to that place, after their town was destroyed. At a place called Serpent, among the Mountains, about six hours to the north, they find a sort of marble, that has been thought to resemble porphyry; I procured a piece of it; it is a marble of a very pale red colour, with some small spots in it of white, and a deeper red, and of a pale yellow.

On the seventeenth, about two hours before midnight, I set out towards the Euphrates, in company with two Turks, who were going that way, there being some danger in the road; we passed the river Sejour, travelled an hour between the hills, and as long through a plain; we afterwards ascended for about two hours between the hills, and descended into a narrow valley, in which we were under some apprehen-

sions, as it had usually been a harbour for rogues. In about an hour we came to the village of Aril, by which there runs a stream of the same name; we came to another valley, passed by Carrat, and having gone about an hour and a half further, came to Hyam, where we rested in a grove near a spring, until about four in the evening; this place is famous for a large sort of imperial pears called the Hyam pears. We ascended a steep hill, and having travelled on the top of the rocky mountains for about two hours, descended into a valley; on the further side of it is a village, which is mostly under ground, called The Village of Pistachio Nuts, because pistachio trees grow wild about it; we passed over mountains, and came into another valley, and going up the hills again arrived at Jobar, where we staid all night; and as there was a Turkish man and woman of this village in our company, we were received with much civility; and after supper, the whole village came and sat round the carpet, and one of them played on a tambour, and sung a Curdeen song.

On the nineteenth we travelled half an hour on the hill, and descended into a deep vale, in which the river Simeren runs; from this vale we ascended up to Romkala, which is about twelve leagues to the east north east of Antab. This road is mostly over mountains, which may be reckoned the foot of mount Taurus.

Romkala [The Greek castle] is situated on the Euphrates; the river Simeren, which comes from the west, and falls into the Euphrates at this place, seems to be the river Singas, which, according to Ptolemy, runs into the Euphrates in the same degree of latitude, in which Antiochia ad Taurum is situated, though indeed this place is more to the north than that city. Ptolemy says, that the river Singas rises at the mountain of Pieria; I was informed that this river rises about two hours from Antab, and it is probable Singa was at the rise of it. If this was the Singas, Samosata, the capital of Comagena, was sixteen minutes north of it, according to Ptolemy; but I could find no account of any ruins of that place, which is said to be forty miles to the south of the cataracts of the Euphrates, where it passes mount Taurus; I could get no account of these cataracts; they are probably only some small falls of water, occasioned by rocks that cross the bed of the river. Samosata is famous for having given birth to Lucian, and Paulus Samosatensis, the heretical bishop of Antioch; it was also the station of the seventh Roman legion. If the river at Romkala was the Singas, Zeugma, according to Ptolemy, was twenty minutes south of it, which agrees very well with the situation of that place. For after I had left Beer, I enquired if there was any place on the Euphrates of that name; and I was informed, that about twelve miles above Beer there was a place called Zima; and asking if there were any signs of a bridge there, I was assured, that, when the water is low, they see on each side of the river, the ruins of a pier, which may possibly be the remains of this bridge. It is probable, that there was no town at the mouth of the river Singas, because Ptolemy mentions none on the Euphrates in the same latitude, but puts down Urma as ten miles to the north, and Arudis as five miles south.

The castle of Romkala, though much ruined, is worthy of the curiosity of a traveller; it was probably the work of the Greek emperors, from whom it may have received its name. This castle was probably in the country called Cyrrhellenica, because Urma, ten miles north of it, was in that part of Syria; that is, on a supposition that the river which falls into the Euphrates here, was the river Singas. The castle is situated at the north end of a chain of mountains over the river; the mountain here is narrow, and the part on which the castle stands is separated from the mountains to the south, by a very extraordinary deep fosse cut in the rock; it is said, there was a design to have sunk it so low, that part of the river Simeren should have run that way, and made

the place an island, which seems not to be so difficult as what has been already done. The ascent is on the west side, where there are four terraces cut in the rock one over another, with a gateway to each of them, some of which are double, many of them are entirely cut out of the rock, and others only in part; the terraces are made with a gentle ascent, and steps from one terrace to another; there is also a great ascent within the castle walls. There are two churches in the castle; the lower one seems to be the more antient, and consists of three naves; the west end of the middle nave is adorned with an angular pediment, and the side ones with a half pediment, which from this appears to be the style of the Greeks; and it may be supposed that Palladio borrowed this kind of architecture from them. On the top of the hill there are some very magnificent old buildings, and a small church in a Gothic taste, though very grand. This church on some certain days is much resorted to by the neighbouring Christians, and is called Der Nasite, from which one would imagine, that there was antiently a convent here. This church is almost a square; and there are two chapels on each side of the high altar; the ascent to the church is by a flight of eight steps on each side to a landing place; at the bottom of these flights, there are two great octagon pillars with Gothic capitals.

Another curiosity in this castle, is a very large well, which is now partly filled up; they say, that the bottom of it was on a level with the bed of the Euphrates, from which it was supplied; and when the river is low, they see some stone work of the canal that conveyed the water to it, and there are private passages down to the river. The rock to the north east and south is cut down perpendicular, and the wall is built on it. The whole castle, which is about half a mile in compass, is entirely built of hewn stone rusticated. This castle has been made use of by the Turks as a place of banishment for great men in disgrace; and when I was there, it was the hard fate of Ionam Cogia to be confined in it, who had been captain basha or high admiral of the grand signor's forces, and was an old experienced officer of great abilities.

The Euphrates, called by the Turks Morad, and by the Arabs Fara, is here confined between hills, and is not above a furlong broad in this place; this river rises much after rains, and sometimes even to the height of fifteen feet perpendicular: there are high cliffs on each side, from which there is a descent to the river by sandy banks. The water is of a pale green colour, and the bed of a spangling sand. The ferry boats here are very deep: the stern of them is broad, and being left open for the cattle to go in, appear like a common boat with one end cut off.

CHAP. XVII. — *Of Mesopotamia in general; of Ourfa, the antient Edeffa; and of Beer.*

WE crossed the Euphrates at Romkala into Mesopotamia on the nineteenth. This country had the same name among the Hebrews as Syria, being called Aram, and also Padan Aram, though sometimes it is more plainly distinguished from Syria by being called Aram Naharaim, or Aram of the rivers*.

From the Euphrates we ascended the hills through plantations of pistachio nuts, and travelling about an hour and a half in a stony road, came to an Armenian village called Gibeen, where there is a very antient church well built of hewn stone; there is also an enclosure of high walls to the south of it, where there seem to have been lodgings for monks, for they have a tradition that it was a monastery; and without the village

* Gen. xxiv. 10. Deut. xxiii. 4.

there are ruins of another church near a large cemetery, where the graves are cut into the rock, and have stone covers over them. There are a great number of vineyards near the village, which bear excellent grapes. The priests here were very civil to us, and I hired a Christian that belonged to the church to go with us to Ourfa: we went about an hour to a small village called Arra, where a great Turk was building a large house out of the ruins of an old church and convent. We went on about two hours, and came to a summer village of country people, whose huts were made of loose stones covered with reeds and boughs; their winter village being on the side of a hill at some distance, consisting of very low houses. They chuse these places for the convenience of being with their cattle, and that they may be more out of the high road. At first they were afraid lest we were people belonging to the pasha, who had lately taken away two men by force out of their village to send them to the war; but when they knew who we were, they were very well satisfied; and I lay on my carpet near one of their houses.

On the twentieth we came in an hour to a village called Negrout, where there is an old well built church; in an hour more we passed by Kifelbourgè, and descending into a narrow valley, came in an hour to Bebé-bourg, where I saw the ruins of a church, and a little further those of another, and beyond this some ruins on a hill; we travelled an hour and came to Golousha, and in half an hour more to Dagouly, and afterwards to Zoumey at the same distance, and going half a league further we came to an encampment of Rushowins, a sort of herdsmen; these were Curdeens. Here we staid part of the day near one of their tents. We went about four hours along a plain, passing near several villages; we ascended a hill, and in half an hour came to some considerable ruins on a hill to the left, at the foot of which there is a ruined church. Travelling an hour further we came to another ruined place called Rulik, where there were two houses, one of which seemed to be built on a sepulchre, with an arched entrance, and near them is a church almost entire. Here some Curdeen Rushowins were taking care of their corn, and one of them shewed us the way to the tents, which were near a mile further, and very numerous; we were well received by them, and they brought us a sort of grout and four milk. They performed some ceremonies of beating pans, and praying, which they told me was on account of some change of the moon: I lay near some of their tents.

On the twenty-first we set out, and after travelling some time we came to the head of a rivulet called Burac; we went along a vale, and came to a causeway about ten feet high, made with hewn stone, which seemed to be an antient work; beyond it there is a wide arch turned over the rivulet, which serves both for a bridge and aqueduct to convey the water to Ourfa. This bridge is very near the city walls, and there are two more of the same kind further to the north, which convey the water to the higher parts of the town.

We arrived at Ourfa, where I was recommended to a Turk, and also to a Christian, who was secretary to the pasha; he pressed me to go home with him, where I was handsomely entertained on the terrace of his house, and took up my lodging with him.

This place is called Ourfa, by the Arabs, but the Turks give it the name of Roiha or Rouha. It is generally agreed to be the antient city of Edeffa; and many learned men, and the Jews universally are of opinion, that it is Ur of the Chaldees. The latter say, that this place is called in scripture Ourcaddin, that is, the fire of Chaldaea, out of which, they say God brought Abraham; and on this account the Talmudists affirm, that Abraham was here cast into the fire, and was miraculously delivered. This place

seems

seems to have retained its antient name, as many others have done; Edeffa being the name given it by the Greeks: however, the name of this city seems to have been changed in honour of one of the kings of Syria, of the name of Antiochus, and to have been called Antiochia. The famous fountain Callirrhoe being here, this city was distinguished from others by the name of Antiochia ad Callirrhoen, and there are medals which were struck with this name, though, if it had not been explained by Pliny *, it would be difficult to have known what place was meant. This city is remarkable on account of the death of the emperor Caracalla.

Ourfa is built on part of two hills, and in the valley between them, at the south west corner of a fine plain, which appears more beautiful, because all the other parts about it are rocky, or mountainous; the town is about three miles in circumference, encompassed with antient walls, defended by square towers. On the north side there is a very deep fosse, which seems to be the bed of a winter torrent coming from the west; on the east this fosse is not so deep, there being much morassy ground on that side: the hill on which the castle stands is to the south: some parts of the town are tolerably well-built, though it is not well laid out. The great beauty of it consists in some fine springs that rise very plentifully between two hills, and at the very walls of the city: one is confined so as to form a fine oblong square basin of water, is very clear, and full of fish, which swim about in shoals, the Mahometans not permitting any of them to be caught. There is a walk on the south side of it, and on the north a very beautiful mosque, and an open colonade between the court that belongs to it, and the water; they have some story, that Abraham came here after he would have sacrificed his son, and the spring rose on his coming to this place: one part of the mosque is esteemed very holy, and it would be exceedingly difficult for any Christian to obtain leave to go into it. At a small distance south of this, there is an irregular basin of water full of fish likewise; from each of them a stream runs eastward through the city, and serves for common uses, and to water their gardens; these waters are very foul when they have passed the city. These waters are now called Ariklan, and must be the famous Callirrhoe of the antients; and probably may be the river Scirto, mentioned by an author † of later date, as washing the walls of the town.

The castle is situated on the south side of the city, at the beginning of a chain of hills which run southward: the ascent is very steep, and there is a deep fosse cut into the rock on three sides of it; the castle is about half a mile in circumference, but there is nothing remarkable in it, except two very lofty Corinthian pillars with their bases, the capitals of which are fine; the columns consist of twenty-six stones, each about one foot six inches thick; they are probably the remains of a portico belonging to some large temple. There is a tradition that the throne of Nimrod stood on these pillars; it is certain, however, that Tamerlane erected some trophies on them. From this castle there is a very delightful prospect of the city, the water, the gardens, and the fine plain to the north, which make it in every respect a very charming place. Towards the east end of the city I saw some Corinthian pillars standing which might belong to a temple: to the south of the castle the hills are higher. There are a great number of sepulchral grots cut in them for a considerable way, which are a proof that this was a very populous city in antient times. Some ecclesiastical historians mention, that Abgarus, king of Edeffa, sent a letter to our Saviour; and there is a cistern near the town, concerning which they have a confused story, that the messenger who was

* Arabia supradicta habet oppida, Edeffam, quæ quondam Antiochia dicebatur, Callirrhoen a fonte nominatam; Carras clade Crassi nobiles. Plin. Nat. lib. v. 21.

† Procopius, ii. 7.

returning with an answer from our Saviour, being attacked by rogues, dropped the letter into this cistern; and, they say, the waters of it since that time have had an extraordinary virtue, especially in all foul and scrophulous disorders; but the truth of this whole story has been much questioned. There are several medals found here of the kings of Edeffa, of the name of Abgarus, whose crown or tiara, is of a very particular form.

This place is the residence of a pasha, who not only commands the greatest part, if not all Mesopotamia, but also a considerable tract of country to the west of it as far as Antab: there is a great trade in this place, as it is the only town in all these parts for a considerable distance, and as it is the great thoroughfare into Persia. They prepare Turkey leather here, especially the yellow sort, for which they were formerly famous. There are a considerable number of Armenian Christians in the city who have two churches, one large one in the city, the other at some distance from it; in the latter they shewed me the tomb of a great saint, whom they call Ibrahim. As Ephraim Syrus was a deacon of Edeffa, it may be concluded that is the tomb of that father of the church.

Ourfa is about three days journey from Diarbeck, which is situate on the Tigris, and probably is Dorbeta of Ptolemy, mentioned as the most northern place on the Tigris, and thirty minutes north of Edeffa; it gives the name of the Diarbeckier to all this country; the Tigris is navigable from Diarbeck to Mouful, said to be the antient Nineveh; from that city to Bagdat they carry on the navigation with floats of timber tied together on skins of sheep and goats filled with wind; the goods which they carry are mostly hemp, soap, coarse calicoes, which they weave and print there, and Turkey leather, especially the yellow sort, which they make in great perfection. The Capuchins have a small convent at Diarbeck; there are a great number of Armenians in that town, who call the place Keramit.

The Tables place Carræ twenty-six miles from Edeffa, which is, without doubt, the town now called Harran or Heren. This place is remarkable for the entire defeat of Crassus and the Roman army, by Surena the Parthian general*. The Jews say, that this Harran is Haran of the holy scripture†, to which Terah the father of Abraham went up with his family from Ur of the Chaldees, and died there‡. St. Jerom also is of the same opinion, and many other authors of great credit; and the present name seems to confirm it.

On the twenty-second of August we set out to the south west, and travelled through a country very thinly inhabited: we went half an hour in a fine paved road on the side of a hill over a narrow valley, and travelling along vales and over hills for about five hours, we passed by some cottages where they were fanning their corn; we then entered a narrow vale between the hills, and came into a plain, in which we dined near a well: we went on to Chermelick, which was formerly a large village, but now there remain in it only two or three cottages, a kane, and a handsome mosque; to the north of it there is a fine rivulet, and to the west of the village a hill, on which, they say, there was a fort held for some time by a rebel pasha. We went about an hour and a half to an encampment of Ruthowins, called Kolejoly; I lay near one of their tents. On the twenty-third we travelled over a plain, came in three hours to a descent, and travelled two hours more through an uneven country encompassed with hills, in which we passed the beds of several winter torrents. We came to the hill over Beer, where

* See note, p. 534.

† Gen. xi. 28. 31.

‡ Gen. xv. 7.

there is a fine spring which is conveyed down to the gardens of Beer, and to every part of the town.

Beer is computed to be about sixteen leagues west south west of Ourfa, and is situated on the side of the hills, over the eastern banks of the Euphrates. The great plenty of water, together with the fine country along that river, and the islands in it, make this very place agreeable. It is called Beerjick by the Turks, and may be Thiar of the Tables, and Barsampse of Ptolemy, which seems probable on comparing the latitude of that place with Edeffa *.

Beer is most remarkable for a strong antient castle, in which there is a collection of those arms and weapons, which were used before the invention of gunpowder; there are many bundles of arrows with iron points of different sizes; to some there is a sort of combustible matter of brimstone, and other things, made in a triangular form bound in a piece of cloth, and tied on the arrow near the point; this being lighted, and shot from the bows in order to set fire to the buildings of a town; they had another sort of long arrows, at the end of which iron bottles were fixed with wires, filled with the same combustible matter, which being set on fire were shot from their bows: the cross bows are about five feet long; the bow itself being almost strait. There are several large iron casques, and some coats of mail, made of small pieces of thick leather sewed together, so as to make a hoop; several of these hoops joined together formed the coat: there are also many slings, large enough to throw great balls of stone of a foot diameter, some of which stones I saw in the castle; there are cords tied to the slings, so that they must have been managed by some machine. Many have been of opinion that these were antient Roman weapons; and it is certain they very well agree with the description Ammianus Marcellinus gives of them; but as it may be supposed that the Romans brought these arms to the greatest perfection, and as one sees on the arrows many papers with Arabick and other eastern languages wrote on them, it may be reasonably concluded, that they are the arms which happened to be in the castle when fire arms were first invented †.

This place is the great passage over the Euphrates from Aleppo to Ourfa, Diarbeck, and Persia. There was formerly a trade carried on from Beer to Bagdat, by two or three great boats, that went loaded yearly with the same merchandizes that are carried from Diarbeck; but, for a year or two past, this trade has been intermitted.

I had a troublesome affair on my hands at this place, which I will relate particularly, as it will give an insight into the nature of these sort of people. I had a letter to the aga at Beer, to desire his leave that I might see the castle, which I sent to him; and he answered, if I would come to his house, he would send a man with me. I accordingly went, and he sent me word, that certain presents of cloth must be made to him, his hafnadar, the cadî, and aga of the castle. I sent word, that I had brought no cloth with me; on which he said I might go and see the castle; and the aga's secretary was going with me; but the aga's son being unwilling that he should have a fee, sent a message after me, that I must present the cadî an hafnadar, on which I returned to the kane. In about two hours after the aga sent a man to conduct me to the castle,

* Ptolemy places Barsampse in the degree of 36-15, though Mr. Maundrel says, Beer is in the degree of 37-10, but I do not know on what authority.

† Some gentlemen who saw these things in 1702, mention that there were Arabic inscriptions on some of the helmets to this purpose; "That they were made by order of king Dahr, and that they had on them the lion and tiger, which were his ensigns of war."

where every thing was shewn to me, except the arms; they pretended that the pasha had the key of them; but I found that was only a pretence, and that if I would present the aga of the castle about the value of a guinea, I might see them; which I complied with, and brought away some of the arrows according to custom. Soon after my return to the kane, a message came, that the aga desired to see me, for, without doubt, they had heard what I gave to the aga of the castle; but I was conducted to the mosolem, an officer under the aga, who asked me, if I knew that I ought not to have seen the castle without the aga's leave. I told him, that the aga had sent his servant to conduct me to the castle; he then said, I must make presents to the aga and to him; and if I had not cloth I might give it in money. I answered, that I had only money enough to bear the charges of my journey; on which he said, I should not leave the place. I went to the kane, prepared for my departure, and rode down to the Euphrates, where I saw the man of the mosolem hastening the boatmen to put off; but, contrary to their custom, I rode on horseback into the boat at the open end of it, the aga and his people, as they told me, looking from their windows with smiles of applause; for I was afterwards informed, that on hearing the mosolem had sent orders that they should not carry me over, the aga had sent word that the mosolem had no business to stop me, and that, though I gave nothing, I might go where I pleased; so I crossed the Euphrates, and came again into Syria.

That part which I saw of Mesopotamia, excepting the plain of Ourfa, is but a very indifferent country, especially between Ourfa and Beer; and I was informed, that the country towards Diarbeck is all mountainous or rocky, notwithstanding which it produces excellent grapes and wine, and a great number of pistachio trees, which grow wild; the country is not well watered, having in many places no other supply but rain water, which is preserved in cisterns. The northern parts are inhabited by Curdeens, who use no other weapons but pikes, not having fire arms. The southern parts are inhabited by a very bad generation of Arabs; and it is said they are punished with death, if any of them pass the Euphrates into Syria: many Curdeens live very honestly here as well as in Syria, and cultivate the land; in summer they remove to some place at a distance from their villages, and live under tents, generally in a place retired from the road, that they may be free from the injuries of the soldiery, and the people of the pasha, who often take away their children by force for the war: we always met with a kind reception from them, when they knew they had nothing to fear from us. All the Christians are Armenians; the architecture of their churches is very particular; they have oblong square windows, and over them square windows; the former are only open in the summer for coolness, and in winter filled up with hewn stone fitted to them, and I saw some of them open, and others shut up.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Of Jerabees the Old Gerrhæ; Bambouk, the antient Hierapolis; and of the Valley of Salt.*

THE bed of the Euphrates, as I conjectured, is about a quarter of a mile broad at Beer; the river is not above half that breadth when the water is low; the bed of it here is gravelly; there is an inner and an outer bank, but it rarely overflows the inner banks; when it does, they sow water melons and other fruits of that kind as soon as the water retires, and have a great produce; there are several beautiful islands below Beer, which produce a great quantity of hemp, which frequently grows near ten feet high. Some English gentlemen measured the bed of the river at Beer, and found it to be six hundred and thirty yards broad; but they found that the river in September

was only two hundred and fourteen yards over; they thought that it was about nine or ten feet deep in the middle, and were informed that the water sometimes rises twelve feet perpendicular. The poor people swim over the river on skins filled with wind.

On the twenty-third of August we crossed the Euphrates. It happened to be a very windy evening, so we took shelter within the walls of some cottages, but being advised that it was not safe to remain there, we retired into a ruined kane, and hired a man to watch with us all night; he shut the doors of the kane, and laid great stones against them, for this place is much infested with robbers, and the people are obliged to sleep all together on the top of their houses, to defend themselves against them. Accordingly in the night two or three men came and tied their horses near the kane, and began to roll away the stones by means of a small hole in the door; but the man went up on the walls and spoke to them, on which they went away, and came again; however, on his speaking to them a second time, they went off. As there was some danger in this journey from the Turcomen called Begdelees, I hired two of the most notorious of them at Beer for a safeguard, and on the twenty-fourth in the morning they came over to us. We went southward along the banks of the Euphrates, and having travelled a mile we passed by a village, opposite to which is Mezera, on the east side of the river, where there is a small mount, and the village is beautifully planted with wood: the English commonly encamp there, when they make any excursions this way; we then went at a little distance from the river, and passed by Kenaia, and over a stream called Nisib, which has a deep channel; a small branch is brought from it, which runs further to the north. On the south side of the Nisib is an uninhabited village called Ceurke, which is enclosed with a wall, and appears only like a large kane. On the east side of the Euphrates there is a place called Gibel: we were now about two hours from Beer, and travelling two hours more near the river, arrived at Jerabees, which must be *Gerrhæ* of Ptolemy, and probably had its name from the worship of the Syrian god *Jerabolus* *. This city is mentioned as on the Euphrates; by what remains it appears to have been of an oblong square figure; it is watered on the north by a small stream; the old town is about half a mile long from north to south, and a quarter of a mile broad; it has very high ramparts on every side, except towards the river; these are probably the remains of the ancient walls, for there are some signs of a wall on the top of them; there was an entrance on each side of these three sides, the two largest of which are to the west and south: I saw some remains of a basement of hewn stone on the west side, but to the south I saw only the foundation of the gateway. There is a long mount on the east side over the river, which is between forty and fifty feet high, extending southwards about two thirds of the length of the city, and is sixty-six paces wide; the ascent to it is opposite to the west gate. This was, without doubt, a castle, and it was encompassed with a wall about eight feet thick. On the south side of the town there are foundations of a building, which are a little to the north of some considerable heaps of ruins; they lie in such a manner, that it may be concluded there were great buildings in that quarter, divided from one another by short streets. These buildings probably belonged to a temple, which seems to have been to the west, though very little of the foundations could be discovered, as there is a ruined village

* Dr Halley, in his observations on the state of Palmyra takes notice that *Jeribolus* is the same deity that is mentioned in the inscriptions published by Gauthier and Spon, which according to the latter is written *ΑΓΑΘΩΑΝ*. By the figure of this idol, extant in Spon, it appears, that this deity was represented with the moon on his shoulders, and consequently was the same as the *Deus Lunus* of the Syrians, whose name in their language could not be better expressed than by *Jarchbol*, *Dominus Lunus*.

on that spot. To the north I saw a wall with pilasters on one side of it; this wall is about a hundred and seventy paces long. I took notice of four low walls to the south, which seemed to have been the basements of four colonades of a grand entrance or avenue; I saw also several bases and pillars which lay scattered about this place.

From these ruins of Gerrhæ we went an hour south south west to an encampment of Turcomen, where we stopped; they were in round tents, made of reeds, and covered with bundles of liquorice. In winter and rainy weather they cover their tents with a coarse sort of felt. A branch from the Euphrates comes from this place, and falls again into the river below, making a large fruitful island, chiefly cultivated with hemp.

We travelled an hour to the sepulchre of a sheik, called Ahperar, which is at the end of the plain on a rivulet; on the north side of which we travelled about an hour to the west, and crossed the river at a place where a caravan of Turcomen had stopped, who were carrying corn from Sarouch; that place is on the Euphrates, about a day's journey off, and three from Aleppo; it may be the country of Sura, mentioned by Ptolemy in the Palmyrene, as thirty-five minutes south of Gerrhæ, doubtless the same as Sura of Pliny*, and Sure of the Tables, placed one hundred and two miles from Palmyra.

We went about an hour and a half to the south south west over some low hills through a desert country, and came to the river Sejour; we travelled by the side of it westward for about half an hour to an encampment called Sumata, belonging to Arabs, who are relations of Mahomet, and, as they say, descended from Sultan Ahmed of Brusa; their sheik lives at an encampment to the east of Bambouch; there are in all about fifty tents of them. Here we staid all night, and on the twenty-fifth went about an hour and a half south east to the encampment of the sheik, which was on a stream that was carried to supply Bambouch with water. I was conducted to the tent of the great sheik Aiyptedeh, who by their accounts, amidst all his poverty, would have been the heir to this great empire, if the Ottoman government had not taken place; he came out to us in a ragged habit of green silk, lined with fur, appeared to be a handsome black man, of a good complexion, between thirty and forty, and had much the look of a gentleman; he pressed me to accept of a collation and coffee, but as I designed to see the ruins before the heat of the day came on, I begged to be excused, and he mounted his horse, and went with me about an hour to Bambouch, commonly called by the Franks Bambych, and by the antients Hierapolis, which was the Greek name that was given it by Seleucus; it was called also Bambyce, which seems to be the Syrian name still retained; and it is very remarkable, that Hierapolis in Asia Minor has much the same name, being called Pambouk Calasi [the cotton castle]. The Tables make it twenty-four miles distant from Zeuma on the Euphrates and from Ceciliana; they place it also seventy-two miles from Berya, though it is not above fifty from Aleppo. One of the Syrian names of this place was Magog†; it was a city of the Cyrrhestica, and is situated at the south end of a long vale, which is about a quarter of a mile broad, watered with a stream that is brought by the aqueducts of Bambych; and, to preserve the water from being wasted, it passes through this vale in an artificial channel or aqueduct, which is built with stone on a level with the ground. The form of the city was irregular; some parts of the walls which remain entire, are

* Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 26.

† Cale habet—Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris vero Magog. Ibi prodigiosa Atargatis, Græcis autem Deo dicta, colitur. Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 19.

nine feet thick, and above thirty feet high; they are cased with hewn stone both inside and out, and are about two miles in circumference; there was a walk all round on the top of the walls, to which there is an ascent by a flight of stairs, which are built on arches; the wall is defended by towers on five sides, at the distance of fifty paces from each other; and there is a low fosse without the walls. The four gates of the city are about fifteen feet wide, and defended by a semicircular tower on each side; the water that supplied the town, as I was informed, comes from a hill about twelve miles to the south, and the city being on an advanced ground, the water runs in a channel, which is near twenty feet below the surface of the earth, and in several parts of the city there are holes down to the water about five feet wide, and fifteen long, with two stones across, one about five feet, the other about ten feet from the top, in order, as may be supposed, to facilitate the descent to the water; it is probable they had some machines to draw up the water at these holes. In the side of one of them I saw a stone about four feet long, and three wide, on which there was a relief of two winged persons holding a sheet behind a woman a little over her head; they seem to carry her on their fishy tails which join together, and were probably designed to represent the Zephyrs, carrying Venus of the sea.

At the west part of the town there is a dry basin, which seemed to have been triangular; it is close to the town wall; at one corner of it there is a ruined building, which seems to have extended into the basin, and probably was designed in order to behold with greater conveniency some religious ceremonies or public sports. This may be the lake where they had sacred fishes that were tame*.

About two hundred paces within the east gate there is a raised ground, on which probably stood the temple of the Syrian goddess Atargatis, thought to be the same as Ashteroth of the Sidonians, and Cybele of the Romans, for whose worship this place was so famous. I conjectured it to be about two hundred feet in front. It is probable that this is the high ground from which they threw people headlong in their religious ceremonies, and sometimes even their own children, though they must inevitably perish. I observed a low wall running from it to the gate, so that probably it had such a grand avenue as the temple at Gernhæ; and the enclosure of the city is irregular in this part, as if some ground had been taken in after the building of the walls to make that grand entrance; it is probable that all the space north of the temple belonged to it. A court is mentioned to the north of the temple, and a tower likewise before the temple, which was built on a terrace twelve feet high. If this tower was on the high ground I mentioned, the temple must have been west of it, of which I could see no remains; it possibly might have been where there are now some ruins of a large building, which seems to have been a church with a tower; to the west of which there are some ruinous arches, which might be part of a portico. It is said, that not only Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, contributed to the support of this temple, but even Arabia, and the territories of Babylon; to the west of the town there is a high ground, and some burial places; and so there are also to the north east, where I saw inscriptions in the oriental languages, and several crosses. At a little distance from the north-east corner of the town there is a building like a church, but within it, there is some Gothic work, such as is seen in antient mosques; and there is a room on each side of the south end; the whole is ruinous, but very strongly built, and they call it the house of Phila.

* Plin. Hist. xxxii. 8.

The sheik invited us to go back and dine with him; but I took leave, and presented him with a piece of money, as I was told he expected it. We went on towards Aleppo, and travelled an hour and a half north-west to Shihiet, where there is a mosque, which seemed to have been an old church; a little beyond this place the Turcomen had an encampment, a rivulet running near it, which I conjecture might be the Sejour; here we dined, and went about an hour and a half west south west to a water called Samour, where I would have paid my two Turcomen; but they would not take the money I agreed for, and went on further, so I gave them something more, and then they left us. We went on an hour to the place where the road goes to the north-west to Khillis. Near two leagues farther on the road is Jelbegly under a hill, which is a village of robbers. We went about an hour farther to Aadench, a village of Turcomen, who had lately been robbed of every thing by the Arabs; it being a situation where they are liable to be plundered both by the Curdeens and roving Turcomen, as well as the Arabs; when we arrived four of the Begdelies went out, and four more came in; so that we were in no small danger of being robbed, either that night or the next day.

On the twenty-sixth we set out three hours before day; in two hours we came to a fine fertile plain; in an hour and a half more we passed near Bashe, and in half an hour came to a large village called Bab, situated under a hill, the west end of which is called Sheik Majar; under that part of the hill a large village, called Sur, is situated, which is three hours from Aleppo. I was informed that there is a very antient synagogue at Bab, called sheik Efsiah, to which there is a great resort at some certain time of the year, a few Jews only living there; about a league to the east of this hill there is a village called Derah. We went south-west by the rivulet Mazouty, and near a village called Bezouah, and in less than an hour more came to a most pleasant village called Tedif, which is computed to be twenty miles to the east of Aleppo; the country about it is finely improved with a young plantation of mulberry trees, which was made under the direction of a French merchant, who had an interest in the lands, and is very much like the country between Chantilly and Paris; there is a synagogue there which is had in great veneration, and, if I mistake not, they have some antient manuscript in it, on the account of which it is much frequented by the Jews. In the hill near this town there are many sepulchres and curious aqueducts cut in the rock; they have some tradition, that one of the minor prophets lived here. We dined in a garden at this place, and proceeded on our journey; I saw several bustards in this country. We travelled an hour to Beery, and an hour more by a stream called Ein Dahab [The golden spring,] and came to the deserts; and after travelling about a league we arrived at Shirbey, where we were very civilly received by the sheik, and had a grand supper served; for this sheik usually goes with the Europeans to the valley of salt, but not without a proper gratification.

On the twenty-seventh we travelled three hours southwards to the valley of salt, which is about twelve miles east south east of Aleppo, lying under that chain of mountains which are between Aleppo and Kemmafferin; this valley of salt is a lake in the winter, which I conjectured to be about five miles long, and a mile and a half broad in the narrowest part, and it may be near a league in the widest; it is said to be filled by rain as well as by springs, one of which is salt, and is called the mother of the salt; in the summer time the water evaporates, which being strongly impregnated with salt from the nitrous soil, the salt remains on the ground in cakes about half an inch thick; they beat it in order to separate it from the ground, and when they have collected the finest salt on the top, they take up the cake, which has some dirt mixed

with

with it towards the bottom, they separate it as well as they can, and when it is thoroughly dry, and crumbled to dust, they throw it up in the air, as they do the corn, and the wind carries away the dust, leaving the pure salt. There is a small village here called Gebouè, built on an eminence which has been raised by the refuse of the salt.

We went on towards Aleppo, to which city there are two roads; the great frequented road is to the north, and there is another in which we went to the south; in two hours and a half we passed by Trihanè, and in an hour more came to Elhafs; an hour beyond which we passed through Gibly, and in half an hour more came to Nerop, which is an hour from Aleppo*.

CHAP. XIX. — *Of St. Simon Stylites, Daina, and some other Places, in the way to Antioch.*

I TOOK leave of my friends at Aleppo, from whom I had received all manner of civilities, and proceeded on my journey to the west. On the nineteenth of September we travelled north-west and by west, and in an hour and a half passed by Beluremene, and half an hour further through Elarid, and then by Marah in a fine valley, which is about the same distance; in half an hour we ascended to a stony, uneven, desert country, and travelling an hour and a half came to a well of good water, having seen several ruined villages in the way; and in about two hours more we arrived at the ruined convent of St. Simon Stylites, computed to be about six hours from Aleppo; this convent was very famous in these parts in the sixth and seventh centuries, as well on account of the devotion that was paid to this saint, as for the spaciousness and magnificence of its buildings. Cardinal Baronius, in his annals makes mention of St. Simon Stylites; and Evagrius says, that he lived here on a pillar, which is the reason of his being distinguished by the name of Stylites, though another author gives an account that he lived on the top of the mountain for sixty-eight years. The whole convent appears to have been built of large hewn stone, and is above a quarter of a mile in length; the church especially is very magnificent, and is built in the form of a Greek cross; under the middle of an octagon dome are the remains of the famous pillar, on which they say St. Simon lived for so many years; what remains of it was hewn out of the rock, that is, the pedestal, which is eight feet square, and a very small part of the column; the part of the cross to the east of this was the choir, at the east end of which are three semicircles, where without doubt, there were, three altars, and the entrances

* Some English gentlemen in their excursions from Aleppo made the following observations, as to the situation of several places, and their distances: Rea, the village under the hill south west of Aleppo is twelve hours from that city; old Rea three hours south-east of that; Freka two hours south-west of Rea; Saint Simon Stylites six hours to the north-west of Aleppo; Killis nine hours north of Aleppo, and north-east of Sheik Baraquet; going two hours north from Killis, they came to a bridge of three arches over the Ephreen, and in ten minutes further north to a bridge of seven arches over the Safo, the same that is called the Sabon by Mr. Maundrel; they then went fifteen minutes west to the monument mentioned at Corus by Mr. Maundrel; they returned to Killis, and went to Hajar Yardecen, or Gadjeia, where the river of Aleppo rises. I have also been informed by an English gentleman, since I left Aleppo, who had been at the place, that about twelve miles west of Aleppo, there is a round or oval pit about a hundred yards in diameter, and forty deep, it being a solid rock all round, which for the first twenty feet is perpendicular; below which there is a steep descent to the bottom, where it terminates in a point; there is only one way down to it, which is not passable for beasts; about half way down there is a grotto worked into the rock about four feet high, and thirty feet long. Europeans call it the sunk village, from an opinion of some that there was formerly a village swallowed up there; or, if it is not natural, it might be a quarry for stone, which might be drawn up by proper engines, though the form of it seems to be an objection to it.

to them are adorned with reliefs; this convent was destroyed by a prince of Aleppo, at the latter end of the tenth century. I observed that there was a ruined village below the convent. We went on an hour and a half to Ertefy, which is a village under the hill called Sheik Baraket. As I went this way, I saw several ruined villages, at some distance, built of hewn stone. I observed some ancient reliefs at this village, particularly three victories, holding three festoons under three heads, on a marble coffin, with imperfect Greek inscriptions under them.

On the twentieth we went by a very difficult road up the high hill of Sheik Baraket, which is so called from a Turkish saint who is buried in a mosque on the top of the hill; a little way up the north side of this hill, in another road, there is an epitaph in Greek and Latin of a Roman soldier of the eighth legion; and at the foot of the hill to the north, there is a Greek inscription on a sepulchral grot, that has two stately pillars over it. The mosque or burial place on the hill adjoins to an enclosure about eighty paces square, which seems to be of great antiquity; the wall is built of hewn stone, and is about three feet thick; there was a portico all round, as appears by several pieces of pillars standing; there are three or four tiers of stone remaining, and I could see that it was adorned with pilasters on the outside. It is probable, that in the middle of this court there was either some temple or statue, probably of Bacchus, as I concluded from some Greek inscriptions, which I copied from the outside of the walls, two of which seemed to relate to the wall built round the court, and the third is sepulchral. It is possible this hill might be famous for good wine, the situation of it being very advantageous for vineyards, and on this account the god of wine might be particularly worshipped here.

To the east and south-east of this hill there are some magnificent buildings almost entire, which were probably built for places of retirement; from it we descended to the south into a fine plain; towards the north end of which the direct road passes from Aleppo to Scanderoon, and goes over the famous causeway and bridges that are built over the rivulets, which run into the lake of Antioch. The bridge consists of twenty-four arches, and is called Morat Païha; the causeway and bridges were built in six months by a grand vizier of that name, under sultan Achmet, for the convenience of marching the army, and carrying the baggage to Bagdat. This road is now disused, because it is much infested by the Curdeens; so we went further to the south, into the high road from Aleppo to Antioch. Gephyra, the first place in the Tables between Antioch and Cyro, was probably at this bridge, that word signifying a bridge in Greek. The western hills towards mount Amanus are called Almadaghy; about half an hour after we had left the hill we had Alaka to the left, from which this part of the plain has its name; to the north of it there are some ruins. On the hill to the east there is a magnificent ruin of the middle age called Kerayee; in an hour and a half we came into the high road from Aleppo to Antioch, at a village called Daina, which may be Emma in the Tables, the same as Imma of Ptolemy, placed in the road between Antioch and Chalcis, twenty-three miles distant from the former, and twenty from the latter; the antiquities that remain here show that it has been a place of some consideration, especially the great number of sepulchral grotts cut down into the rock, which is hollowed out into courts with several apartments round them; on some indeed I saw Christian Greek inscriptions; among these sepulchres there is a very beautiful fabric, which is a square canopy of stone with its entablature, supported by four Ionic pillars on a solid basement; the place where it stands might induce one to think that it was some sepulchral monument; but the manner of the building would rather incline one to conclude that it was designed to place some statue in, as the object of

of worship; possibly it might be older than the burial place here, which may be of the times of Christianity. In the skirts of the village there are remains of two houses; one of them is large, with a great enclosure, and a tower; the other, which is smaller, has an Ionic colonnade in front, both above and below; the cross over the doors, and two Greek inscriptions, show it to be a Christian building of the same nature as many others I have mentioned. This seems to be the plain in which Aurelian first conquered Zenobia, as it is said to be near Imma, in the neighbourhood of Antioch; and I have been informed, that a pillar or obelisk was seen at a distance towards the south end of the plains of Daina, which might be erected in memory of this action. When we came to Daina I saw a great number of horsemen, and we were apprehensive that they were Curdeens, but, on enquiry, we found they were the palna's people, who were in search of some cattle, which the Curdeens had stole. Between this place and Aleppo there are the remains of an old causeway about three hundred yards long, made with very large stones, which has obtained the name of Julian's causeway.

We went on towards Antioch; not far from Daina we passed by two or three magnificent ruined villages, and in half an hour came to some low hills; and having gone as much further arrived at a small plain, in which I saw several ruins, and in about an hour came to a ruined village, and a handsome church almost entire; an hour further we came to a village called Tefin, which is very finely situated on a rising ground over a large plain, through which the river Ase, or Orontes, runs; the lake of Antioch is in this plain, and it is bounded to the west by mount Amanus. In this village there are remains of the front of a church, adorned with sculpture; and over the door of it is a defaced Greek inscription; Tefin is famous for the best oil of olives in all the country. We passed over the plain in the night, and I observed the lightning shooting horizontally in the form it is represented in Jupiter's hand, and on the reverses of the medals of the Greek kings of Syria, which I took the more notice of, as I never saw it in that manner in any other country; and without doubt, from this they took the figure of it as it is seen on the medals.

We rested at Tefin till nine o'clock at night, when we set out for Antioch in company with an aga and his retinue; in an hour and a half we passed over a large rivulet called Angoulè; in about an hour more we came into a plain, and in two hours to the Orontes. I advanced some way before the aga, and when I approached the bridge called Gefer Hadid, [the iron bridge] a Curdeen rode away from it in full speed; this bridge consists of nine arches; there are two towers built to it, the gates of them are covered with iron plates, which, I suppose is the reason why it is called the iron bridge. The Curdeens never venture over this bridge, so that all the country to the south-west by the sea side, which is west of the hills, is perfectly safe as far as Acres, the Arabs not daring to pass the mountains to the west. I stopped at this gate until it was day.

On the twenty-first, having crossed the Orontes, we came into a plain, and went to the south south west; on the east side of the plain there is a low ridge of pleasant hills, covered with trees, and at the foot of them a village, which has a large plantation of wood about it, and, if I do not mistake, it is called Bidembole. In about an hour and a half we came to the end of these hills, which approach to the Orontes, that river running south south west from the bridge to this place; here there was a country guard to watch if any rogues attempted to pass that way. Beyond this place there is a tower, and I saw in two places some foundations of old walls, which probably are the remains of Antigonia, as I shall have occasion to observe; this is about an hour and a half from Antioch. As I approached that city, I observed that the rocky hills were high and steep, and there are some sepulchral grotts in them; there are also several fountains

at the foot of the hills. I went within the walls of the old town, and stopping at a garden sent a letter I had to a merchant under the protection of the English consul, who invited me to his house. I stayed a day at Antioch, then went into Cilicia, and came back again to that city, of which I chuse to give an account on my return.

CHAP. XX. — *Of the places between Antioch and Baias in Cilicia. Of the battle between Alexander and Darius, and of Scanderoun.*

ON the twenty-third we set out from Antioch to the north, crossing the Orontes on a bridge, and in half an hour passed over another bridge; in an hour and a half more I saw a village at some distance on the right, called Aiaouerazey, crossed another stream on a bridge, and saw the river two or three miles to the right, that comes from the lake of Antioch, the waters of which run about eight miles southwards, and fall into the Orontes, it is called The Crooked Passage; and they told me, that the camels in the caravans ford through it in the way to Alexandria, as this is a more secure passage than that which is to the north of the lake. We went northwards in the plain under the hills, and passed at no great distance from the lake of Antioch, called Bahr-Agoule [The White Lake], by reason of the colour of its waters; I was informed, that it is called also Bahr-al-Sowda. The lake extends in length from the south south-east to the north north west, and may be about ten miles long, and five broad. Having passed over two or three streams on bridges, we came in about three hours to the river Patrakene, over which there is a bridge of four arches, and two of them seemed to be antient. This may be the Oenoporasof Strabo, which he mentions a little before the hill Trapezon, and I suppose is that which is now called Benclesi, which I shall have occasion to mention. At this river Ptolemy Philomator, having conquered Alexander Bratas, died of a wound which he received in battle. In an hour more we came to a hill with a tower on it, at the entrance in between the hills; we travelled half an hour, and came again into the plain at Caramout, which is a walled inclosure, about a quarter of a mile in circumference, and has houses and shops in it, like a little town, being a place of defence against the Curdeens; a stream runs on the west side of it, near which we reposed for a short time, and joined a small caravan. We then turned to the west between the hills; on the left is a high mountain called Alailum; we saw also, about two miles to the north, the strong castle of Pagra on the hills; this was the antient name of it in the Itinerary, in which it is placed sixteen miles from Alexandria, and twenty-five from Antioch; which latter is a mistake, for the Jerusalem Journey (calling it Pangrios) puts it more justly sixteen miles from Antioch. As I have been informed a river called Sowda rises in the mountain to the west, and runs under this place, and is that river, over which the bridge is built, called Kefer Abead, and falls into the lake of Antioch; and, I suppose, that the lake is called Bahr-el-Sowda from this river, which seems to be the river Arceuthus mentioned by Strabo immediately after Pagra, as running through the plain of Antioch; and as none of the antients mention this lake, it is probable that it has been made since their time.

The road over the hills is very dangerous by reason of the Curdeen robbers. We went over two hills much frequented by them, but they do not usually go to the west of these hills; we went by a terrace on the side of the hill, and saw great ruins of thick walls on each side of the road, which might be a tower, or gateway; and approaching near Baylan, we went through a pass cut in the rock; the former probably were the gates of Syria, which might be so called from their being built like a gateway, and the latter might be a pass to them. Baylan is about ten miles from Caramout; it

is a large village, built on the side of the hills over the vale, and has formerly been much frequented by the Europeans, even from Aleppo, on account of the coolness of its situation, as it is at present by those of Scanderoon. This place is probably *Pictanus* of the Jerusalem Itinerary, placed nine miles from Alexandria and eight from Pangrios. This is one of the great passes into Cilicia; and as there were three * in all, it has caused some confusion in relation to them. The pass we now went through is either that which was called simply the gates, or the gates of Syria †, and perhaps sometimes the gates of Cilicia ‡. The second pass was near Issus, supposed to be Baïas, probably to the south of it; this was called the gates of Amanus §. Strabo does not seem to mention this pass, and it may be concluded from the degrees of latitude in Ptolemy, and the order it is in, that he speaks of the middle pass. The third I take to be the pass near *Ægea*, from one part of Cilicia into the other, which was also called The Gates of Amanus ¶, and the gates of Taurus; and I would distinguish it from the others by the name of the Gates of Taurus, or Cilicia ¶. We went along the side of the hills for about two or three miles to the west, and descending turned to the south, and having gone a mile, came into the plain, and travelling about six miles further we arrived at Scanderoon, as it is called by the natives; but the Europeans give it the name of Alexandretta. From this place we went to Baïas, which is generally agreed to be the antient Issus in Cilicia. The Jerusalem Itinerary calls it Baïas, and places it sixteen miles from Alexandria, and Ptolemy makes Issus sixteen minutes north of that place. The bay also had the name of Issicus from this town, which is situated towards the north-east corner of the gulph. There is a little bay to the north of the town, where there are ruins of an antient port, in which the ships might possibly lie secure in former times, but now it is a very bad harbour, being much exposed to the south-west winds, which are very dangerous; on the south side of it there is a mountain torrent, which comes from that opening, by which there is an ascent to the gates of Amanus; this is the middle way of the three mentioned into Cilicia; the bed of this torrent I suppose to have been the bounds between Cilicia and Syria with those who make all south of Issus to be in Syria. Cicero mentions, in one of his epistles, that he was here called *Imperator*, after he had gained a victory. It is to be observed, that there was a third pass from Cappadocia into Cilicia, called The Gates of Taurus, by which Alexander passed; the plain, to the west of the mountains in which Baïas stands, is not above a mile wide, but it is a fine spot: and the gardens about Baïas are the best in all these countries, insomuch that Aleppo is supplied with oranges and lemons from this place; they have a tolerable trade, by reason that the stream for importing rice and coffee from *Ægypt* is in the hands of some merchants here, and from this place it is distributed to Aleppo, and all the country round about **.

To

* *Asperi tres aditus, &c. peraguntur sunt, quorum uno Cilicia intranda est.* Q. Curtii, lib. iii. c. 4. and Polyb. v. 11. † Strabo, xiv. 676. ‡ Q. Curtii, lib. iii. 8. § Amianus, ii. 94. Polybii Fragmenta, vi. 5. Q. Curtii, lib. iii. c. 8. Ptol. v. 8. § Strabo, xiv. p. 676. ¶ Cicero ad Atticum, Epist. 20.

** *From Englishmen* I then went from Baïas to Tarsus; they travelled to the north west an hour and half, and then I was told, was called *Delichie*; it is thirty yards broad, but very shallow. In half an hour more they arrived at *Kurtenla*; in two hours and fifty minutes they came to the end of the bay of Scanderoon, and in thirty-five minutes more to the iron gate, which was probably the old gate of Cilicia, and in 1½ mile, that was, it is described by another person as a ruined gateway; here they saw on the left a large castle, which they thought might be an antient work. In an hour and twenty minutes they arrived at *Kurtenla*, or *Kurtenla*, as it is called by another person; this may be *Callabala* of Ptolemy, and the same as *Catavolans* of the Jerusalem Journey; at this place there is a large kane. In an hour and three quarters

To the north of Baias is the famous pass into Asia minor*. The plain in which Baias stands is about two miles long: at the south end of it there is a rising ground or low hill, over which there is a road for about a mile that leads into a plain three quarters of a mile wide, and about a mile and a half long, having the mountains to the east, and the sea to the west; at the south end of it are some low hills, which extend four miles

quarters they came to a bridge in the plain, probably over a winter torrent, and in less than an hour to the end of the plain, and to a causeway which led through a streight to another plain, and in two hours they came to Myfos; their course hitherto was north west; this is thought to be Mopsuestia, and may be the same as Mansifa of the Jerusalem Journey; a river runs through it called Tahan, or Gehun, which is thought to be the Pyramus. Another person travelling this way says, that the Pyramus at Amuafy is called the Quinda; that river ran into the sea to the west of Mallus according to Ptolemy, and Alexander passed over it before he came to Mallus, which seems to have been on the west side of that head of land, now called Cape Mallo, as *Ægeæ* doubtless was on the east side of it, at the place now called Aias Kala. There was a bridge here over the river of nine arches, and it was two hundred and thirty paces long; at one end of the bridge are two pillars, on one of which there is an antient Greek inscription; five of the arches of this bridge were carried away by a great flood after violent rains in 1737. The town appeared to be old, and there is a castle within the walls on an eminence at the north-west end of the town. From this place they went in a plain north to the north west, and in three hours and a quarter came to a high rock with a castle on it; in two hours and eight minutes to a running water; in three quarters of an hour to a bridge with two arches, and in a quarter more to a bridge with one arch, and in twenty minutes more to a third river; they lost their way, but arrived at night at Circe, or Sis. An English gentleman who was travelling in this road, when he was two hours and a half from Misus, in the way to Cortulla, saw Anawafy, or Amnasy, about three miles to the north, which seemed to be situated like Antioch on a high rocky hill; he thought it might be Cesarea at mount Anazarbus, the city of Dioscorides and Oppian; it was destroyed by an earthquake in the time of Justinian. The medals of this place have a river for the reverse, and the city is said to have stood on the Pyramus. The next day they came in four hours and a half to a water; in a quarter of an hour to more water, and in half an hour to a bridge; in twenty-three minutes they began to ascend the mountains, and in five hours thirty-two minutes arrived at a spring, and in two hours more came to Adana, which is situated in a plain country: to the east of it there is a river, which is the old Sarus; there is a bridge over it of twenty arches, and it is four hundred and fifty paces long; the river seemed to be paved at bottom with square stones. They went on, and in two hours and ten minutes came to a bridge of three arches, in three hours and ten minutes more to a well, and after travelling an hour and forty-five minutes they arrived at Tarsus; and before they entered the town passed over the Cydnus on two bridges, one a hundred paces long, the other two hundred, both which seemed to be very antient. This is the river on which Cleopatra met Mark Antony with so much pomp; it is divided into many streams, and runs to the south east. The walls of the town are very old, and about two miles in circumference; there is a castle to the north east of the present town, and to the north of the old city; and on an eminence to the south there was another which is now destroyed. It is at present a poor town, though antiently it was very famous, both on account of its trade and learning, which probably is the reason why St. Paul, who was a citizen of this place, was so great a master of human sciences.

* It is said, that mount Amanus ended at this pass, which does not seem to be fixed by any author so well as by Strabo, who mentions it immediately after *Ægeæ*, and the mountains of Pieria, which, he says, joined to Amanus and to Rhossus. The mountain, which is north west of Antioch, is certainly the mountain of Pieria, on which Selucia Pierie stood; but is possible, that this mountain might run east, and then north, as far, at least, as the gates of Amanus; and one thing must be observed in favour of this supposition, that Ptolemy says, the Singus, which fell into the Euphrates, rose out of the mountain of Pieria, which it could not do, if that mountain did not extend further north than the Syrian gates; for all the rivers that way, which are south of these passes, fall into the Orontes; but if mount Pieria extended so far, the Singus might rise in the middle of it, and run between Amanus and Taurus to the Euphrates: for in the plain the rivers run towards the Orontes. Another thing which favours this opinion, is, that Ptolemy places Pagra, and the Syrian gates in Pieria. Between the mountain of Pieria at the sea, and mount Rhossus was mount Coryphaeus.

All geographers seem to call the country to the west and north of these hills Cilicia, except Ptolemy, who seems to make some line from the gates of Amanus to be the bounds, which I take to be the bed of a winter torrent, that in a manner washes that south side of Baias, and comes out from the vale between the hills, by which one passes to these streights. Cicero mentions three two ways as passing into Cilicia, and the Jerusalem Journey places Pictanus in Cilicia, and Pangrios in Syria. The only conjecture that can be made in favour of Ptolemy is, that possibly in the division of the Roman provinces, so much of Cilicia might be added to the province of Syria; on the whole, difficulties arise on several accounts in considering the

miles to the south, almost as far as Scanderoon. The reason why I am thus particular is, because I take this to be the very plain in which Alexander vanquished Darius *. Two rivulets run through this plain from the hills; that to the south is smaller than the other, and is called Merkes, from a village of that name on the mountains; a wall five feet thick runs into the sea, a little to the north of it, at the end of which there is a round tower in the sea which is in ruins, and another within it, which might be the remains of the ancient port of Nicopolis, which I shall have occasion to mention. A little further are the ruins of an oblong square building of brick and stone; it is possible this might be the foundation of the altars which Alexander is said to have built near the river Pinarus; opposite to the middle of the plain there is a narrow vale between the mountains resembling a large cleft, in which the small river Mahersey runs; this, I am inclined to think, is the Pinarus, being the larger of the two rivers. Darius is said to have marched his army towards it from Issus. At the south-east corner of the plain there is a small single hill, the foot of which joins to the hills that are to the south; from this there has been a trench cut to the sea, and Alexander's army being encamped on those hills to the south, over which the road crosses from Scanderoon, a fitter place could not be found out for the tent of Alexander, nor a more proper situation to receive the unfortunate family of Darius. Alexander hearing of Darius's approach, sent Parmenio to guard the Syrian gates, and came and encamped his army at Myriandros, which was to the south of Alexandria; he wisely left the other way open for him to enter, it being his policy to draw him into narrow places, where a large army could not engage to advantage. When Darius crossed the mountains, he went a little to the north and took the city of Issus, imprudently leaving Alexander behind him to the south, who hearing that Darius had crossed the mountains, advanced to meet him, and encamped among the hills of Cilicia in a place only broad enough for two small armies to engage. Darius having taken Issus, advanced towards the river Pinarus, and Alexander having drawn him into the fittest place that he could desire, the battle ensued, which determined the empire of the world. It is to be observed, that these rivers being choaked up, the ground is become so morassy, that now two armies could not be drawn up in that place; the sea likewise seems to have gained on the plain; it is not probable that the battle was in the plain of Baias, because that is large enough for two great armies to draw up in; and Darius is said to have marched towards the river Pinarus the day after he took Issus, which implies that he marched some way from Issus, and did not engage in the plain at the walls of it. But what seems to determine that famous action to this place, is a very curious piece of antiquity, which nobody has taken any notice of as such; on the hills to the south, in the face of the plain, and rather inclining down to the sea, there is a ruin that appears like two pillars, which are commonly called Jonas's Pillars, on some tradition not well grounded, that the whale threw up that prophet somewhere about this place. It was

the geography of these parts; though the mountain, which is north west of Antioch, is commonly understood to be mount Pieria, yet it seems to have extended, first northward, and then to the east, near as far as Antab, if it be true, that the Singas rises out of this mountain; notwithstanding this, all these mountains, except that part which runs west of Seleucia Pieria, seem sometimes to have been called mount Amanus, and perhaps the western ridge of mountains near the sea was really mount Amanus, and the eastern part mount Pieria, as we may likewise suppose that mount Amanus was between mount Pieria and Taurus to the north of it, and yet Amanus is sometimes called Mount Taurus; for Antioch, where Antab now stands, was called Antioch at mount Taurus. Another difficulty arises from the different bounds that are given of Cilicia and Syria, as already observed; and a third from the three passes, which in their names are confounded with one another.

* See Quintus Curtius and Arrianus.

with the utmost difficulty that I got to this ruin, by reason that it is in the middle of a thick wood; when I came to it, I found it to be the remains of a very fine triumphal arch of grey polished marble; the top of it, and great part of the piers were fallen down; the corners of it were adorned with pilasters; the principal front was to the south, where there was a pillar on each side, the pedestals of which only remain. There seems to have been a passage in the eastern pier up to the top of it; the inner part is built of a kind of mouldering gravelly stone or earth, cut out like hewn stone, and appears almost like unburnt brick; and I should have thought that it was a composition, if I had not seen such a sort of stone in this part. In order to strengthen the building there is a tier of marble at every third or fourth layer; what remains of the architecture has in it so much beauty that one may judge it was built when that art flourished, and might be erected to the honour of Alexander by one of the kings of Syria. There are remains of a thick wall, which seem to have joined to the arch, and to have been thrown down; it was probably part of the walls of Nicopolis, which city was doubtless built in memory of Alexander's victory over Darius, and on this account received its name; and probably the road went this way, until they might have occasion to carry it further from the sea. If this wall of Nicopolis extended to the mountains, it might serve as a defence of the pass, which may be the reason why it was demolished.

We went from Scanderoon to Baias on the twenty-sixth; having travelled about a mile, we turned the corner of the bay, and went northward in a plain about half a quarter of a mile broad; we soon left the shore, and went by a gentle ascent up to the top of some low hills covered with wood; we soon after ascended a higher hill through woods, the road being a little to the east of the above-mentioned arch; we descended from this hill into the plain, where, I suppose the famous battle was fought, and went to Baias in the road already described. We took some refreshment in the kane, and set out again for Scanderoon; they told me, that to the east of the arch there was a village among the mountains, called Kaihib, and another south of it, called Oxlkey, which was a nest of rogues. At the river Merkes we overtook the aga of the independant bey of Baylane, with about sixty military men; they were going to Arsous, as they said, to take some robbers; but I was afterwards informed, that it was to raise money, or drive away the cattle of those who could not pay what they exacted; they called to me, and desired me to take coffee. The aga had a Venetian slave, who was taken so young that he could not talk Italian; he offered to sell him to me, though I apprehended he was not in earnest, and they desired I would not go on before them. I overtook them afterwards, reposing in another place, and they stopped us again, but I sent my man to him to desire him, as it was late, not to detain me; and on a promise not to say any thing that they were coming, they permitted us to go on, and we arrived at Scanderoon. This place is situated on the south side of the bay, and near the south east corner of it: it is a tolerable port, the ships lying not far from the shore. About half a mile from the town there rises a very plentiful spring of fine water, called Joseph's fountain; it makes a considerable stream, which winding in the plain, passes through the town, and falls into the sea; but the channel of it is so choked up in the plain, that it has made the country round about it a morass, which is one great reason of the unwholesomeness of the air in summer, at which time the Europeans live most in Baylan, and always sleep there; and if, by any accident, they are obliged to lie here, it is worse than if they had stayed in Scanderoon all the summer. During the time I was here I always slept on board a ship, which they do not judge dangerous. This air causes
— a fort

a sort of lingering disorder, often attended with a jaundice; and if they do not change the air, they commonly die; it also often throws persons, when they first come, into violent and mortal fevers. It is said the place was formerly ruined by the grand signor's constantly landing his army here for the Persian wars; and that before that time the country being drained and well improved, the air was not bad; though it is the port of Aleppo, yet it is now only a miserable poor town, that has rather the appearance of a small village. A factor for each European nation, that trades this way, resides here, and the trade is the only support of the place*. About half a mile to the south of the town there is an octagon castle well built of hewn stone, the walls of it are low, but each side is defended by a tower; it is called the castle of Scanderbeg or Alexander, and seems to have been built by the Mamalukes, who are the best architects in these parts, and probably the design of it was to hinder the landing of the Ottoman forces: to the north of it there is an old square tower, which is now inaccessible, by reason of the morafs.

CHAP. XXI. — *Of mount Rhoessus, and other places between Scanderoon and Kepsé, the ancient Seleucia.*

WE set out from Scanderoon to the southwards on the twenty-seventh, passed by Scanderbeg's castle, and went near the sea shore to the river of Baylan, which is about three miles from Scanderoon; I saw some walls near it, and a ruin of antient brick, in which the mortar was laid very thick; it had something of the appearance of a bagnio. We went on by the sea shore, and in about three hours from Scanderoon came to a stream called Shengan, and soon after to some high ground near the sea, and to another stream called Agalicpour. We went over the hills into a plain, and in half an hour came to a rivulet called Farfalic, where the aga was, whom we overtook in our return from Baias to Scanderoon; and afterwards we met some of his men driving off the people's cattle. One of them asked us to give him some bread; and meeting another company, one of the fellows opened our bags by force, and took out all our provisions; afterwards we met two more, and one of them taking a fancy to something that I had, asked me to give it him, and, on my refusal, levelled his piece at me; so I thought it the securest way to give such a trifle, without being obliged to do it by force. In order to avoid meeting any more of them, we went along the sea shore in a very bad road. Having travelled about an hour we turned to the east, and then crossed a rivulet to the south called Dulgehan, and reposed in a fine lawn, encompassed with plane-trees, and large alders.

Ptolemy makes the latitude of Myriandrus to be twenty minutes south of Alexandria,

* Alexandretta has been generally thought to be Alexandria ad Issum, called in the Jerusalem Itinerary Alexandria Scabiosa; but this place is but eight miles from Baias, which is the old Issus, whereas all the antients agree in placing it sixteen miles to the south of Issus. About three miles to the south of Scanderoon there is a stream which runs from Baylan, and has its name from that place, where there are some very small ruins of brick buildings. It is possible Alexandria might be here; but even this is too near, and I should rather think that it was about the first hills three leagues to the south of Scanderoon; for a little to the south of this height I saw ruins of a tower built of brick, with mortar laid very thick between, not to mention that the antients were generally fond of building on high places for strength. And to confirm that the before mentioned distance of this place is no mistake, the Pylæ are spoken of as five parastings, or eighteen miles and three quarters distant from Issus: these Pylæ seem to be those of Syria, and the distance agrees very well: for it being three miles from the pass to Baylan, and fourteen from that place to Baias; this agrees very well with the distance mentioned. Half a mile from this place we passed a stream called Shengan, which might be conveyed to the old town.

and I conjectured that this place might have been on the river Dulgehan. Strabo mentions it as one of the places on the bay of Issus; and Ptolemy puts it ten minutes north of Rhoffus, with which the site agrees very well, but it is at most not above twenty miles from Scanderoon. However, supposing Alexandria to have been further south than Scanderoon, we may rather conclude, that Ptolemy might be mistaken in the distance between these two places, than in that between two such remarkable towns as Alexandria and Issus, in which others also agree with him: to the south of this place indeed there are two or three rivulets, on one of which Myriandrus might be situated. The large plain of Arfous begins a league further to the south; it is about three miles wide, and ten long, extending to Jebel Totofe, the ancient mount Rhoffus, of which Arfous, the name of the plain, may be a corruption. This mountain, as observed before, is known to mariners by the name of Cape Hog, and is the south point or head of the bay of Issus, now called the bay of Scanderoon.

Arrian says, that Alexander having passed the streights, that is, the streights of mount Taurus, out of Cappadocia, encamped at the city Myriandrus, by which he seemed to be prepared to encounter Darius, if he should force the gates of Syria, where he had placed a guard; in which case, if he moved northward, he could march up to him, and give him battle in some of these narrow plains to the north; or if Darius came to meet him, he could advance towards him in the narrow valleys between the hills, and not permit him to come so far as the great plain of Rhoffus, or Arfous, in order to draw up his large army to advantage.

North of that plain, and to the west of the supposed Myriandros, there are some low hills, which run north and south, on which Alexander's army might be encamped near Myriandrus; and if Darius had come to meet him, he could have given him battle in the narrow plain between those hills and the mountains; for this is the way Darius would most probably have taken, the road by the sea side being for the most part hilly. How Alexander conducted his affairs on Darius's passing the other streights has been observed, and histories are full of the particulars of that memorable action.

Being come into the plain of Arfous*, I observed, that there was a narrow plain to the east between some low hills and the mountains; here it is possible Alexander might have designed to have drawn Darius to an engagement if he had forced the pass

* South of the plain of Arfous we came to mount Rhoffus, which joins the other mountains to the east and south. Strabo says, the mountains of Pieria join to Amanus and Rhoffus; I should have rather thought Rhoffus a part of the mountain of Pieria, and Coryphæus another part of it, that is the high mountain between it and the city of Seleucia Pierie. The exact division of the country, according to the old geography, seems to be confused: Pliny and Mela call it Seleucis Antiochene. The truth is, Seleucis seems to be divided into Pieria, Cassiotis, and Seleucis Proper: in the last Ptolemy places only Gephyra, Giadanas, and Inma, that is the plain to the north of the Orontes, extending from Inma in the Aleppo road to the country near Seleucia Pierie on the sea. He mentions the places of Pieria, but they seem only to be such as are inland, probably on the very mountain of Pieria, being Pinara, the gates of Syria, and Pagrai; the first is unknown, and the two others are on the mountains. In the very beginning of his account of Syria, without putting down the particular territory, he mentions Alexandria, Myriandrus, Rhoffus, the rock of Rhoffus, Seleucia Pierie, and the mouth of the Orontes; these I take to be the maritime towns of Pieria. The maritime places that follow from Pondium to Bala in a line five, are mentioned only under the general denomination of Syria, and seem to be the maritime places of Cassiotis, Pondium being a little to the south of mount Cassius. On mount Rhoffus there was a town of the same name; and I was assured, after I left those parts, that there are great ruins to be seen there; and the rock of Rhoffus is mentioned in the same degree of latitude: from Pondium I saw a rock in the sea, at some little distance from the point of the mountain; this is thought to resemble a bear's head, which might give occasion for calling this point of land Ros Canzir [The Bear's Head]; and it has the same signification in other languages.

of Syria. In three quarters of an hour we crossed a stream, and in half an hour more a second, and about half a league from it came to a village of Turcomen, in the middle of a fine plantation of mulberry and fig trees; the vines being planted so as to twine about the latter. The people led us to their village, where they formerly lived in great affluence, until they had of late been much oppressed by their governors. I saw here several broken pillars, especially about the Turkish burial place; as it rained, thundered, and lightened, we lay all night in one of their outhouses. On the twenty-eighth we went on, passed a rivulet called Boilu, and in an hour came to Alhope, an Arab village; there are many winter torrents about this place, that spread over the plain; in an hour we came to some hills that stretch westwards from the mountains, and arrived at a village on the foot of them, where the people were afraid of us, but sent a man to shew us the way: having passed these hills we ascended others to some huts that belonged to a village called Eimerakefy; we reposed here under the shade of a tree, and the people very civilly brought us bread and milk. Here I hired two men to go with me over mount Rhossus, now called Totofè; the men I had taken with me from Scanderoon returning from this place. We went to a village very pleasantly situated, the hills encompassing a vale below, which forms a sort of amphitheatre, and produces plenty of fruit, as oranges, lemons, peaches, and pomegranates. We had also, from this place, a fine prospect of the sea, of Aias-kala on the point of Mallo, of the bay of Tarsus, and mount Taurus; one of the men of whom I had hired horses being of this village, the people were very civil; I was conducted to a house, and a youth brought me a present of pomegranates; as the weather was bad we stayed here all day; the head of the village came to us, and we had an entertainment of boiled wheat with meat in it, and a dish of the pumpkin kind, dressed after their way. In the evening I moved to a tree, under which we reposed all night. On the twenty-ninth we ascended an hour through woods of pine trees to a spring of water, and afterwards as much further, by a very steep ascent to the highest part of the hill which we were to pass, the mountains being much higher to the west; we saw a deep valley below, and travelling on upon the mountains, we came to a fine green spot, where I saw laurel and yew, the only place in which I had seen the former grow wild; and I had not observed the latter out of England, except in gardens; there were also box trees and horn bean on this mountain in great abundance. We at length descended into another valley to the south, which seemed to divide the mountain; we went in it about two hours, and came to a large rivulet called the Oterjoyè. We went an hour further in this valley, and ascending, in three quarters of an hour we passed by two or three houses, where the people would not receive strangers; so we went an hour further, crossing to the other side of the vale, and came to a few houses, where we lay on the top of one of them; the houses are low, and usually built against the side of a hill, to save the expence of a wall. On the thirtieth I saw to the west ruins of a thick wall, and of some houses. We travelled three hours in a very bad road, and coming to the south side of the mountain, passed by a ruined church called Motias, and soon after saw to the left the first of the three Armenian villages in this country, which is called Alchaphah. We passed by a large ruined convent called Gebur, where there are remains of a lofty church. In another hour we arrived at the second Armenian village called Ionelac; these villages have each of them a church, and are governed by Christians, called caias, or deputies, appointed by the Turkish governors; but they are liable notwithstanding to the oppression of the Turkish officers, who are sent among them to collect their rents and taxes, and when they have made fine improvements, they often take them entirely out of their hands.

To the west, among the mountains, there was a small volcano, or eruption of fire, which may still continue. I had an account of it from an English gentleman, who went to see it not many years ago : when he was conducted to it, they were obliged to descend a hill with much difficulty, the surface of which they found very hot, and on the side of it came to the volcanoes, being two small holes, out of which there issued a smoke, and, as they were assured, sometimes a flame ; the people of those parts, who conducted them, were of that sect, who are said to be worshippers of the devil, of whom I shall give an account. They obliged them to buy a cock, and carry to the place, and would have then sacrificed it, but they excused themselves, and left the infidels to perform that superstition : they took up their lodgings with them ; but one of the gentlemen, who understood Arabic, finding they were to be plundered at least, they departed precipitately, and escaped the danger.

Travelling still on the side of the hills, we went westward, crossing several deep beds of mountain torrents, with steep hills on each side ; and ascending a hill a little to the north-west, came to the third Armenian village, called Kepsê.

CHAP. XXII. — *Of Kepsê, the antient Seleucia of Pieria.*

KEPSE is situated about a mile from the sea, and is remarkable, as it is on the spot where the antient Seleucia Pieriæ stood, a place of a most extraordinary situation, of great natural strength, and well fortified by art. Seleucus the first, king of Syria, built it soon after he had vanquished Antigonos, at a time when he was not settled in his kingdom, and probably fortified this city, with a political view to have it as a place for the last resort in case Antioch should be taken ; for there are many considerations that would otherwise have induced him to have built the city on the plain below ; and about the port there was actually a well fortified suburb, where, for convenience, they held their markets. Seleucia was situated on a rocky soil, on the south side of the mountain, very near to the south-west corner of it. The walls on the south side were built on high cliffs over the plain ; to the west, on the brow of a steep descent, over the bed of a mountain torrent, that runs southwards into the plain ; to the north, on cliffs over the bed of the same torrent, and towards the north-east part these cliffs are very high and perpendicular ; there is a descent within the walls from the north-east, north-west, and east ; and a steep descent on the east side without the walls, which cannot be less than fifty or sixty feet deep ; at the bottom of it there is a natural fosse ; but here the place being weakest, there was a double wall ; the outer one consisted of very large stones, and was ten feet thick ; the inner wall was well built of hewn stone, and defended by square turrets about fifty paces apart. On the east side of the city there is a very narrow bed of a winter torrent, which is a natural fosse ; there being a great descent from the wall down to the rivulet ; there is also a gentle descent within to the south-east corner, where the rock is low, and consequently the situation weak ; the walls are there very strongly built, and defended by a large square tower, and a strong enclosure made within them, as a sort of a castle for defence, in case the outer walls should be taken. From the north-east corner, is the greatest height of the hill, which may be looked on as the summit of it, continuing the whole length of the double wall ; and from the north and east sides there is a descent to all the other parts of the town. In such a situation it must have been difficult to have conveyed off the water ; but this they contrived by making drains arched over, which begin at some distance from the walls, and lessening as they approach to them end at the walls like pike holes. These drains are filled with large stones, so that the water

had an outlet, without any considerable openings that might weaken the city. In the plain, near the south-west corner of the city, there was a fine basin, which was walled round; the design of it was to receive the shipping; from it the passage, or channel leads to the sea. To the north of this channel there is a flat spot of ground, about half a mile square, to which there is a gentle ascent, where at the south-west point of the hill was a tower. On this spot also there is another strong tower, from which a wall was built over the sea cliffs to the north as far as the famous channel cut in the rock, which I shall have occasion to mention; this, together with the wall, enclosed the port, and joined it to the suburb below. This tower seems to have been designed as a defence to the port. On the south side also of the entrance there was another tower, built on the rock which beneath was hollowed into a room twenty-four feet long, and ten feet wide: near this there is a pier, which runs into the sea, and is eighteen paces wide, and about sixty-seven long; it is built of very large stones, some of which are twenty feet long, five deep, and six feet wide; the stones have been joined together by iron cramps, the marks of which are still to be seen. A little way to the north of this there is such another pier, fifteen paces wide, and a hundred and twenty long; and the bottom being kept clean and open between these piers, it is probable the shipping lay there in the summer, as in the winter they were doubtless laid up in the basin: the south side of this basin, and the entrance to it were built strong for defence, and a wall was carried from the basin, about half a furlong to the south, defended by towers, for greater security. From the east end of the basin the wall was built along near a rivulet, that comes from the east side of the town, and that wall was carried on to the cliff at the south east corner of the city.

On the south-east side of the city there was a strong gate, adorned with pilasters, and defended with round towers. This gate is still standing, almost entire, and is called the gate of Antioch.

The stream and mountain torrent, as I observed, ran on the west side of the town towards the south, and consequently must have gone where the basin now is, and, after heavy rains, must have overflowed all those parts, and done much damage; so that, I suppose, in order to carry the stream another way, that extraordinary work was executed, which Polybius takes notice of as the only communication the city had with the sea, which, he says, was cut out of the rock like stairs. It is a passage which is from fourteen to eighteen feet wide; the first part from the east, for two hundred and sixty paces in length, and about forty feet in height, is cut under the foot of the mountain; the rest which is about eight hundred and twenty paces in length, is sunk down from fifteen to about twenty feet in the solid rock, and is open at top; it ends at the sea, and the last part is cut down lower, and great pieces of rock are left across the passage to make the entrance difficult, there being a path left only on one side, which might be closed upon any occasion; they call this in Turkish, *Garice* [a channel for water]. It is not cut with steps, as Polybius describes it; along the sides of it are small channels to convey water from the higher parts to the ground, which is to the south of it, and is the south-west corner of the hill that is cut off by this channel, and is separated from the hill on which the city stands by the bed of the torrent, which goes to the port. This extraordinary channel ends a little way to the north of the northern pier. The water formerly run through it, but now it does not go that way, unless after great floods: it is said, that the Arabs coming into these parts, turned the water to the north-west, where I saw it run by a sort of subterraneous passage; the stream also in some parts takes its old course, though strong walls were built, which are still standing, to turn it another way; but it is to be questioned, if they had

not some contrivance to carry part of it to the suburb about the port, and to the bason, when it was necessary, in order to fill it; and part of it now runs into the bason, which is choaked up and become a morass; and the water at present goes in two small streams into the sea, one through the channel of the bason, and the other to the south-west of it. The top of the hill, on each side of the artificial passage through the rock, is cut into sepulchral grotts, especially on the south side; some of these are very grand, and have courts before them, with several apartments one within another, supported by pillars of the solid rock; some of them which are near the passage have epitaphs cut on them; there are likewise many imperfect inscriptions and several reliefs, which seem rather works of fancy than for any particular design; but the chief burial places were grotts, near the south-east corner of the town by the side of the road that leads to Antioch. To the north of the town there are some aqueducts cut through the mountains, by which the water is brought a considerable way, and might be made in order to secure a constant supply; though they have springs on the very height of the town; but without doubt they were not sufficient for so large a city, which was at least four miles in circumference. On the north side, under the walls which are opposite to this aqueduct, there is an oblong square open place cut in the cliff, about twenty-four feet above the ground; it is eight paces long, and three wide, the ascent to it is by a ladder; there are two niches also cut into the rock, which seem to have been designed for altars; over one of them there is a large cross in relief; they call it the convent of Codryllus, and it is probable that it was the hermitage of some Christian of that name. Above this, near a quarter of a mile to the east of the city walls, there is a sepulchral grotto, over the door of which is a relief, cut on the rock, representing a woman sitting in a chair, leaning her head on her right hand, and holding with her left the right arm of the chair, as in a melancholy posture; before her stands a child, which is probably designed for her daughter; on one side there is a relief, in which the woman is giving something to her child; this probably was a sepulchre made for a beloved daughter. There is another hermitage which they call Saint Drus, and a narrow ascent over it cut out of the rock up the side of a steep cliff, which leads to a spot that they call a castle, and might be designed for a place of retreat. I went along the side of the mountain towards the west, to the north of the stream that runs on the north side of the city, and soon passed by the ruins of a large convent with its church, from which I ascended northwards by a very difficult way to the east end of the summit of the mountain, which is very narrow, and on three sides there is a steep precipice. This summit of the hill, which is exceedingly strong by nature, is worked into a little fortress, and they call it the castle; but it is contrived in such a manner that nothing is seen on the outside; the rock is worked into a fence like a wall, and is supplied in some places with an artificial work; and under it the rock is hollowed into a large cistern. This place, which might be defended by a small number of people, seems to have been designed as a private retreat for a few persons in any danger, where they might secure things of the greatest value. Returning down to the convent, I went to the west till I came to that part of the mountain which is near the sea, and turning northwards walked about four miles in a level way over the sea, to view some ruins: this road goes all along to mount Rhossus, and so to the plain of Arsous; I was disappointed as to the ruins I went in search of, finding only the remains of a little convent and its church, and a few small chapels about the mountain, which probably belonged to hermitages, and some cisterns built to receive the water from the mountains.

Within the city there are very few ruins to be seen except of the walls: towards the south part there is a raised ground, in a regular form, where possibly there might be a temple; on the west side of the road that runs to the south-east through the town, are some remains of pillars standing; towards the gate of Antioch there is a large square, which is levelled by cutting away the rock, and it is shaped in some parts like a wall. This might be either the court to some large building, or the site of some public edifice, or possibly might serve as a reservoir for water. To the north of this road there is a hollow ground like the bed of a torrent, and over it to the east a height, where I concluded, from a regular piece of ground, that there might be another public building. This is all that is to be seen of those magnificent temples and buildings of which Polybius makes mention. The northern part of the town was well watered, but there is no prospect from it: I saw remains of aqueducts on the ground, that were carried from some of the highest springs.

The southern part of the city was very pleasant, commanding from most parts a view of the sea, mount Cassius, the port, the plain to the south, and of the Orontes running through it. The public buildings seem to have been in the parts already described, and it is probable that they were inhabited by people of distinction; and here the kings of Syria might have their palace. I observed one particularity in the building of the walls of the city, by which I afterwards distinguished the buildings of those ages; they set one tier of stones on the end length-ways, with the broadest side outermost, and the other tier flat with the ends outermost, and so alternately.

I observed a particular fashion among the women of Kepsé; they wear a sort of cap made of silver money, fastened round in rows by holes made in them: among these there are many ancient medals of the Syrian kings, and of the city itself, which are often found here; so that the head of a lady of Kepsé is often a very valuable piece of antiquity.

From this place I crossed over the plain southwards about four miles to the Orontes. From the mountains the country appears like a plain all the way to Antioch; but about a league to the east from the sea, there are low hills almost as far as that city, which have fruitful valleys between them. We saw on the east a pleasant village on a hill, which seems to have retained its ancient Greek name, being called Lyfias.

I went towards the mouth of the Orontes, to see if I could find any remains of the ancient port of Antioch, which I discovered before I arrived at the mouth of that river, at the distance of near two miles from the sea. There is a large basin so filled up, that I could not be certain whether it was of a multangular, or round figure, but I took it to be the latter; it was filled from above by the river, at a place where the river winds, so that the stream flowed directly into a canal that leads to the basin, by which the shipping entered into it. This canal had, without doubt, flood gates to hinder too great a quantity of water from running into it on any rising of the river. I observed from the north-east side of the basin two canals, winding round part of it in a circular form, one within the other, having no outlet, which seem to have been designed as places for laying up their vessels. Near a mile to the west of this basin there are ruins of several houses along the river, which do not seem to be of any very great antiquity, but probably were houses of merchants, and warehouses, when Antioch flourished in the middle ages, at which time it was called the port of St. Simon, probably from a monastery which is built on the north side of mount Cassius, and is very difficult of access; it is still seen facing the port, and was probably dedicated to St.

St. Simon, or it might have its name from the convent on the hill called *Beneclefy*, half way to Antioch, of which I shall give an account. To the west of this port there are ruins of a small church, and very near it a ruined inclosure, about eight paces square, the walls of which are twelve feet thick; this seems to have been a kind of fortress, and it might serve also for a kane, and for warehouses. The present port is a little further to the west, about half a mile from the mouth of the Orontes; the boats come to the banks of the river, and there are only a few huts built as warehouses for the salt that is brought to this place from Tripoli, and for the rice that is imported from Latichea, and is brought to that city from Damietta in Egypt. The Orontes here is deep, though not very wide, and the river as formerly might very well be made navigable to Antioch, which is computed to be about twenty miles from the sea; but, they say, the bed of the river is choked near that city. In all this plain they talk Arabic, though on the hills on each side they speak Turkish, and the Christians, who are not Greeks, talk Armenian.

Mount Cassus is now called *Jebel Ocrab* [the Bald Mountain]; it is about two miles south of the river; but a little above the old port the foot of the hills come to the Orontes; it is certainly a very high mountain; but Pliny seems to exceed when he says it is so high, that, at the fourth watch, they saw the sun rising in the east, and turning themselves to the west, they might see day and night at the same time; and he says, moreover, that it was four miles in perpendicular height. I know not what mountain *Anti-Cassius* could be, unless it was a summit of Mount Cassus to the south, which appears but in very few places, and, I think, I saw it only from one place near *Posidium*, all the other hills being very low with regard to mount Cassus.

All this country is much improved with mulberry trees for the silk worms; these parts producing great quantity of silk, and not a little tobacco, which is some of the best in Syria; I went eastward from this place to Antioch. About halfway there is a long high hill to the north of the river, which is called *Beneclefy* [the Thousand Churches], probably from a great number of churches formerly on it: at the top of it are the remains of a very noble convent, called *saint Simon Stylites*; the whole was encompassed with a wall built of large hewn stone, about ninety paces in front, and two hundred and thirty in length. The church seems within to have been a Greek cross, though the building without is square, and there were probably two chapels, a sacristy, and chapter-house, to make it a square; the middle part was an octogan, four sides of it being open to the church; and, as well as I could judge, there were four altars in the other four sides; in the middle of the octogan is the lower part of *Saint Simon's* pillar, cut out of the rock, with two steps to the pedestal; it is exactly on the model, and of the same dimensions, as that near Aleppo. This hill is a rich spot of ground, and a fine situation, commanding a view of the sea, of the plain, of the river winding between the hills of Antioch, and of the lake beyond it, not to mention the pleasant country which was the spot of the ancient *Daphne*. This may be the hill *Trapezon*, so called in Greek from its resemblance to a table; for *Strabo*, immediately after it, mentions *Seleucia* and *Rhossus*. The Greek patriarch, about thirty years ago, endeavoured to get this beautiful place into his hands, and was well guarded with firmans from Constantinople; but the mob rose at Antioch, and the people there, and of the country round about, came in great numbers, and destroyed not only the new building, but also what remained of the old. As I went down the hill I saw some few ruins, probably of hermitages and churches, and came a second time to Antioch.

CHAP. XXIII. — *Of Antioch.*

ANTIGONUS, who succeeded Alexander in the government of Syria, built a city near the place where Antioch now stands, and called it Antigonía. Enquiring for ruins of an old city near Antioch, I was informed there were some signs of an old town, about a league and a half to the east of Antioch; and when I came to Antioch from the east, as mentioned before, I observed, at a place where a point of the hills makes out nearest to the river, the foundations of very thick walls, and further west some others, which I concluded to be the walls of Antigonía, and may be the foundations of the two gateways; it is probable the walls were built to the river, and the low hills over it fortified. Seleucus vanquishing Antigonus, did not think this situation strong enough for the capital of his kingdom; so, destroying the town, he built, with the materials of it, the city which he called Antiochia, after the name of his father.

Antioch is remarkable for its extraordinary situation, as well as for having been one of the most considerable cities of the east. It was the residence of the Macedonian kings of Syria for several hundred years, and afterwards of the Roman Governors of that province, so that it was called the queen of the east. It is also remarkable in ecclesiastical history for being the see of the great patriarchate of the east, in which St. Peter first sat; it was here that Barnabas and Paul separated for the work of the gospel*, the latter embarking for Cyprus. This city is often mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and particularly that the disciples of Christ were here first named Christians†; so that it was called the eye of the eastern church. It was at this place the great unfortunate Germanicus sunk under the jealousy of Tiberius, who made use of Piso to poison him. Many emperors, when they came into the east, passed a considerable time in this city, and Lucius Verus, in particular, spent four summers at Daphne near this place, passing his winters in Antioch, and at Laodicea.

The exact situation of the city is still to be seen, because the old walls are standing, and some of them, which are built with the greatest strength, are perfectly entire, though a great part of them has been very much shattered by earthquakes, which have been very terrible and frequent at this place. Antioch was situated on the summit and the north side of the two hills, and on the plain which is to the north of them, which is between the hills and the river, and was about four miles in circumference. Pliny‡ says, that it was divided by the river Orontes, from which one would conclude that there was a suburb to the north of the river, of which there are now no signs. The hill to the south-west is high and very steep; that to the east is lower, and there is a small plain on the top of it.

The walls are built along the height of the hills, and to the south where there is no descent, the approach is rendered difficult by a deep fosse; these hills are divided by a very deep narrow bed of a mountain torrent, across which a wall is built, at least sixty feet high; it had an arch below to let the water pass, which is in part built up; so that a great body of water often lies against the wall; it is called the iron gate, which name it might have from some grates or fences of iron to the arch, by which the waters passed under it. About half way up on each side of the wall there is a walk from the road on the hills; the eastern passage seems to have served for an aqueduct; for on the other side I saw signs of a stone channel from it; and here the water of the lower aqueduct, which I shall mention, seems to have passed. This wall is a most extra-

* Acts, xv. 22, 39.

† Acts, xi. 26.

‡ Antiochia libera, Epidaphnes cognominata, Oronte amne dividitur. Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 18.

ordinary building, by which the two hills are joined for sixty feet at least above the bed of the torrent that divides them; and the city walls are carried from it, up the steep hills, in a most surprising manner; but, though they are built on a rock, and with the utmost art, yet they could not withstand the shocks of so many great earthquakes that have happened; however, on the west side of the western hill the wall is built up the steep ascent, in such a manner that it has resisted both time and earthquakes; it is exceedingly strong, and well built of stone, with beautiful square towers at equal distances, which consist of several stories; I am persuaded that this is the very wall built by Seleucus, and yet there is not the least breach in it, nor a sign of any; and from this one may judge how beautiful all the walls must have been. There were no battlements to the wall, but there was a walk on the top of it; and where there was any ascent, the top of the wall was made in steps, so that they could go all round the city on the walls with greatest ease; and it is probable there were such steps also on the walls which were built up the very steep precipices from the iron gate, where all is now in ruins, and by this wall of communication they, without doubt, went from one hill to the other. The steps on the walls were very convenient, for that hill is so steep that I rode four miles round to the south-east, in order to ascend the hill without difficulty. The south side of the western hill might be assaulted with the greatest ease, though defended by fosses, and I found that the walls there had been much repaired; those on the plain to the west are defended by a deep bed of a winter torrent. These walls must have been destroyed, and entirely rebuilt; for they are of stone and brick, and probably were a Roman work; the towers are very high, but the greatest part of the walls are fallen down, and lie in large pieces on the ground, which demonstrate, that the shock must have been great that overturned them; the wall to the north is at some little distance from the river; the towers are about seventy paces apart, and being near the river, and consequently not on so good a foundation as the others, one may see they have often been repaired; a part of them and some houses fell by an earthquake that happened whilst I was at Aleppo, which an English gentleman who had resided there fifty years, affirmed to be the greatest he had ever felt.

It is said that this city, which was about four miles in circumference, was built at four times, and consisted in a manner of four cities, divided from one another by walls; The first was built by Seleucus Nicator, and inhabited by the people brought from Antiochia; this probably was built on the high western hill, taking in the foot of it, so as that the wall might be so far above the plain as to receive some strength from that situation; and there are remains of the foundations of very thick walls by the road, which goes near the bottom of the hill. The second was built by those who came to dwell in this city after the building of the first, for the people must necessarily have flocked to this place when it became the residence of the kings of Syria; this probably was built between the hill and the river, being in all likelihood inhabited by merchants and tradesmen, to whom the neighbourhood of the river must be very convenient. The third city was built by king Seleucus Callinicus, possibly on the other hill. The fourth was the work of Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, which might be in the plain between that hill and the river. The present town, which is about a mile in circumference, stands on the plain at the north-west part of the old city, all the other parts of the plain within the walls being converted into gardens; so that I could see nothing of the walls that divided the cities on the plain. The old city being composed in a manner of four cities had the name of Tetrapolis.

There are very little remains within the city of any ancient buildings. The high hill has three summits, and is divided into three parts by shallow beds of winter torrents; the

the middle summit is the highest; to the east of that there is another summit, on which there are great remains of a castle; there are semicircular turrets in the front of it, which is to the west. At the north-east corner there are the remains of a bagnio, and the castle is built with vaults under it, which might serve as cisterns for the rain water; they had also another provision for water, which is a round bason, between the castle and the middle summit; it is fifty-three paces in diameter, and is now eight feet deep, though doubtless the ground has risen; it is built of stone and brick, like the walls; there is an entrance to it to the south-west, with a round tower on each side of it, from which entrance there must have been a descent with steps; they have a tradition, that the Roman emperors used to divert themselves here in boats. Near the foot of this hill, in the present town, are remains of the front of a large building of brick, which they call, Prince, and say it was the palace of the emperors; and they have a tradition, that a chain went to it from the castle, to give immediate notice of any thing that might happen; the architecture of it seems to be of the fourth or fifth century.

The aqueducts are the principal works of antiquity here; near the eastern part of the town there are indeed several springs, and particularly some within the east gate, called Bablous, which may be a corruption from Babylon, this being the gate that leads that way; but the higher parts of the town were to be supplied with water, and the whole plain also below, concerning which the antients were very provident, and spared no expence; the water of the aqueduct was derived from a place called Battelma, about four or five miles distant in the way to Latichea, which I take to be the very spot where Daphne stood; here the water flows out of the hill in great abundance, and turns several mills. I could see that art had been used to bring other springs to it, for I saw at that place channels of hewn stone, which, I suppose, served for that purpose; it was then carried towards Antioch in the same manner; I have reason to think that all the springs are at some little distance, and conveyed to that place in channels, for it falls down like a cascade from its own bed into a little narrow vale or bed that goes towards the Orontes; and from this place a sufficient quantity of it was carried by channels of hewn stone under ground along the side of the hill; it runs in this manner about a mile, and then going to a little valley, in which there is a small rivulet that comes from the mountains, the water was there conveyed on arches, which still remain; it is in the manner of the antient aqueduct called Pont du Garde, near Nîmes in France, but much inferior to it, for there is but one arch in each of the two lower stories; the uppermost arches of it are built of brick; the channel afterwards is carried along the side of the hill, and where any waters run, or there is any bed of a torrent, a single high arch is built over the narrow vale. I saw one between this and the stream called Zoiba, where there is a very lofty arch; I saw also two more aqueducts between that and the town, each consisting of a small arch; and at the bed of the torrent, under the western walls, there is one of five arches. The water then runs on the side of the hill under ground, and where there is an easy ascent at the foot of the south-west hill, there are several arches turned, which appear like small arched chapels, where there were conduits, from which they drew water for the convenience of several parts of the town. Further to the east, where the hill is steep, a channel is cut along through the rock about two feet wide, and four or five high, worked archwise at top; and one may walk in it, as in those at Fege near Damascus; it continues along in this manner towards the iron gate, and having passed on some arches, which I shall mention, the channel is cut in the same manner on the side of the other hill. It is to be observed, that there was a lower aqueduct, probably built by the kings of Syria, before the higher aqueduct was begun, and it is possible that the latter might be built

by the Romans. I saw remains of the lower aqueduct near the fountain of Zoiba, about two miles to the south-west of Antioch; the arches are low and ruinous; part of the lower aqueduct is seen over a hollow ground along the side of the hill. In all these places this lower aqueduct consists of one arch, and it probably went to the iron gate, which served as a conveyance for the water to the other hill; for below the iron gate to the north-west there are ruins of three arches, across the valley, which seem to have had other arches built on them, and it is probable there were three stories of arches, the uppermost joining the channels, which are on the opposite sides of the hills.

As to sepulchral grotts, I cannot say that I observed any to the east of the town; I saw indeed some grottos cut into the mountain, which might be for another use; and possibly it was the custom here to burn their dead after the Greek manner. It is probable, that in the antient city they had great works under ground to carry off the waters that came from the mountain after rain; and they might also have cisterns under their houses to preserve the water after the eastern manner; for now after rains, the water runs in the streets of the city like mountain torrents.

The present city of Antioch is ill built, the houses low, with only one story above ground; the roofs are almost flat, made of light rafters laid from one wall to another, and covered with thin tiles, which seem to be contrivances to make their houses above as light as possible, that as they are on a bad foundation they may not sink by the weight above; or if they chance to be thrown down by earthquakes, that the people in them may not be crushed by the weight of the roof. The governor here has the title of waiwode, and is under the pasha of Aleppo, but is appointed from Constantinople.

There are remains of only three or four churches in Antioch; that of saint Peter and Paul is about a quarter of the way up the eastern hill, but there are very little remains of it. I saw there some pieces of marble of a Mosaic pavement; it is probable that this was the patriarchal church, and they might be determined to build it in so inconvenient a place, from a tradition that Saint Peter or saint Paul either lived or preached the gospel there. It is very probable that the patriarchal palace was on the top of this hill, which is a fine level spot, and the whole hill might belong to the church; for on the side of it, towards the iron gate, is the church of saint John, which is hewn out of the rock, being a sort of grotto open to the west; there is no altar in it; but the Greeks, who have service there every Sunday and holiday, bring an altar to the church, and near it they bury their dead. About half way up the south-west hill, and almost opposite to the aqueduct that is below the iron gate, is the church of saint George; the ascent is very difficult; the Greeks say this church belongs to them, but they permit the Armenians to make use of it; there are about three hundred of the former, and fifty of the latter communion in Antioch. Until within fifty or sixty years past there had been no Christians here, since the city was destroyed in one thousand two hundred sixty-nine by Bibars, sultan of Egypt, who demolished their churches, which, it is said, were the finest in the world; and he likewise put most of the inhabitants to death; for at that time they were mostly Christians, insomuch that in the time of Justinian it was called Theopolis. This city was under the Christians concerned in the holy war from one thousand ninety-seven to the time that it was destroyed; when Aleppo began to flourish, and to be the great mart for eastern goods, as Antioch had been before. Another piece of antiquity, is what they call the house of saint John Chrysostom, and of his father and mother; I take this to have been a chapel; it is about twenty feet square, as I conjectured; for there is no entering it, by reason that a Mahometan family, with their women, live in it; it is built of

brick, much in the same style as the palace called Prince. They have a tradition, that this great man being chose patriarch of Constantinople, the people of Antioch would not consent he should accept of it, until the emperor made it his particular request to them.

The hills of Antioch are part of them of a crumbling stone, like verd antique, and if I had seen many pieces of that marble about the city, I should have concluded that there were quarries of it in this place.

CHAP. XXIV. — *Of Daphne, Heraclea, and Pessidium.*

ABOUT half a mile to the south-west of Antioch, there is a road to the south, up the mountains, which leads to the fountain of Zoiba, and to other fountains above it, near which there are remains of the two aqueducts; these places are commonly thought by Europeans to be Daphne; and it is possible the grove of Daphne might extend so far to the east, as it was ten miles in circuit. One of these waters might be the Castalian fountain, mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, which was stopped up by Adrian, and opened again by the emperor Julian. Seleucus, king of Syria, planted the grove of Daphne, and it was finely laid out in walks of cypress trees; it is said, that the nymph Daphne was here turned into the laurus or bay; of these trees there are none on this spot, or any where near Antioch, but they are in great abundance at some little distance; it is possible the zeal of the primitive Christians might destroy these trees about Antioch, for which the people had in this place a sort of religious veneration. It is said that, in the middle of this wood there was a temple to Daphne, Apollo, and Diana, that the whole was an asylum, and that they thought the waters came from the Castalian fountains in Greece, and uttered oracles. The place called Battelma, about five miles south of Antioch, must have been Daphne, about which there are several fountains; the palace of Daphne is placed in the Jerusalem Itinerary five miles from Antioch, in the way to Latichea; it is said Gallus built a church there, probably of the materials of the temple of Apollo, and there are remains of a church, with several Christian Greek inscriptions cut on the walls; in this church probably the bones of Babylas, bishop of Antioch, were placed, as well as several other martyrs. This must have been the very south part of the grove, for from this place southward there are mountains; so that probably the temple was not in the middle or center of the wood, but about the middle of the south side; to the north of the waters I thought I discovered some foundations of large buildings, where possibly the structures of the pagan superstition might have been; the ground here is much higher than near the river, and from this place there is a fine plain in a semicircular figure, towards the Orontes, which ends all round in a hanging ground, except on the part of the mountain; and this, I suppose, was the spot where the grove of Daphne stood, which commands a fine view of all the country round, and is in every respect a most delightful situation. It was probably bounded to the east by that current which runs under the first part of the aqueduct; but the people building country houses on the hills nearer Antioch, about the fountain of Zoiba, that part might also be called Daphne; and so Daphne might be reckoned as a suburb of Antioch; this being the place of resort for pleasure from that great city, it became the scene of all manner of debaucheries, and was looked on as a place of great licentiousness. I set out from Antioch for Latichea with the caravan on the seventh of October; we ascended to the south-west, and after having gone about a mile, we turned to the west, and crossed over the rivulet called Zoiba, which comes from a mountain of that name; a little further I saw some foundations,

that

that seemed to be the remains of an antient gateway, which might lead to the suburbs of the old city; we then travelled to the south-west, and came to Battelma already mentioned, where there are ruins of a very thick wall at the entrance in between the mountains, which might be built to defend the pass. I was informed that there was another road to Latichea directly from Kepîc, which goes over the eastern side of mount Cassius, and to the west of a village called Ordou, and soon after comes into this road.

Having travelled about four hours we came to a village called Sheik Cuic; it is inhabited by Turcomen, and may be Hyfdata of the Jerusalem Itinerary; here we lay in a passage to a mosque. On the eighth we crossed the hills for about three hours, and came to a valley; in an hour more we came to a rivulet, about which there are a great number of plane trees, and this might be Mansio Platanus in the same Itinerary. We went about an hour along the valley, and ascending the hills, we came in about an hour more to a large village of Greeks, called Ordou, which may be the antient Bachaias. We ascended to the top of the hills, which stretch from the south-east corner of mount Cassius, and had a view of the sea. I observed a high hill, which seemed to join mount Cassius on the south, and as I could see no other mountain so high in the neighbourhood of Cassius, I conjectured that this might be Anti Cassius. Descending the hills for about an hour, we stopped in a field, in which there was a spring towards the foot of the hill, where we overtook an oda-bashee, and four or five janizaries returning from the war to Grand Cairo. We lay in the open air, and set forwards on the ninth, descending into the valley, to the west of which the antient city Possidium was situated. This valley is about a mile wide, and six miles long. We often passed over a rivulet that runs along the valley, and saw in one place some ruins of a bridge; we went over the hills into the plain of Latichea, and arrived at that city.

I set out on the eleventh to the northward in search of two antient towns, Heraclea and Possidium; we went near the sea to the west of the road to Antioch, and in about two hours and a half came to Bourge-el-Cosib [the castle of the reeds]; near it are the remains of a small well built church. Heraclea was probably to the west of this, four miles to the north of Laodicea, and seems to have been situated on a small flat point, that makes out into the sea; to the north of which I found some remains of piers built into the sea, and foundations of walls of large hewn stone, and there are some signs of a strong building at the end of a pier, which might be a tower to defend the port, and has given to this place the name of Meinta-Bourge, which they told me signified the bay of the tower; on the point itself I saw several graves cut into the rock, some stone coffins, and several pieces of marble pillars. In an hour and a half we came to a village called Shamach, in which there are many Christians, and in an hour more to Shameleh; we crossed the hills in about three hours, and came to a village called Ros Canfir [Cape Hog], from a head of land near it. We descended a very steep hill into Ouad Candelet [the vale of the lamp], in which there is a river called Nar-Gebere [the great river]. We went near the sea, and crossing the river, came into that part of the vale which we passed through in the road from Antioch. We went almost to the north end of the vale, turned to the west, and in an hour and a half came to a village where there are remains of a church, very indifferently built, and did not seem to be antient; here we reposed a while, and went about three hours further to the sea. Passing by a Turcoman village, we came to a place where there was a warehouse for salt, which is brought from Larnica, to be sold to the neighbouring villages, and here we lay all night. We set out on the twelfth to find out the situation of Possidium. There is a

small bay here, and on the south side of it are remains of the antient city, now called Bosleda, which was upon an advanced ground on a small cape to the south of the bay. The town appears to have been of an oblong square figure, and might be about half a mile in circumference. There are some signs of a fosse, and of walls round the town about the north-east corner; on the sea side there are small remains of a round tower, and other ruins near it, particularly of two or three houses of hewn stone, in one of which I saw a cross cut on the walls; I observed also some stone coffins hewn out of the rock. We ascended the high hills over this place, on which there is a small square tower called Elcanamy*; descending near a little hill I saw a very small church on it, with some buildings adjoining, as if it had been an hermitage. We returned to Ros Canfir by the same way, where there are only two Mahometan families, the rest being of the sect called Nocires, of whom I shall speak in another place. On the thirteenth we went on to the supposed site of the antient Heraclea, from that place to a village of Nocires called Timpfacum, and returned to Latichea.

CHAP. XXV. — *Of Latichea, the old Laodicea; and of Jebilee, the ancient Gabala.*

LAODICEA, now called Latichea, was built by Seleucus the first, king of Syria, who was founder also of Antioch, Seleucia, and Apamea; he called this place after the name of Laodice, his mother; it is finely situated on the sea, and the plain in which it stands is remarkably fruitful, as it was antiently. This country was famous for wine, with which it supplied the people of Alexandria in Egypt; the hills to the east having been well cultivated with vineyards†. There is a race of sheep in this country with four horns, two of them turning upwards, and two downwards. To the south of the present town there are some low hills, on the top of which, without doubt, the city walls were built; for by the pieces of marble and brick, which are all over the fields and gardens as far as those hills, it may be concluded, that the principal part of the city was there, as well as from its being near the port. On the east side of the old town, towards the south-east corner, there is an opening to a hill which extends for a mile to the north; there was, without doubt, a castle on this hill.

The present town is at the east part of the old town, and the port is to the west; they are a considerable distance asunder, the nearest part of the town being near half a mile from the harbour. The chief remains of antiquity here are part of two sides of a portico of the Corinthian order, which probably was built round a temple; the entablature is very fine. Towards the south-east corner of the town there is a remarkable triumphal arch, which is almost entire; it is built with four entrances, like the Forum Jani in Rome: the pediment in the entablature is very extraordinary, and has not a good effect; over this there is a sort of attic story, the frieze of which is enriched with military ornaments. It is conjectured that this arch was built in honour of Lucius Verus, or Septimius Severus. In the way from it towards the port, there are several grey granite pillars standing in the gardens, which seem to have been in two rows leading from the arch to the port, and probably they are the remains of a portico on each side of a grand street, that might lead from the arch to the harbour.

To the east of the town there is a well of good water, from which the city is supplied by an aqueduct very slightly built. The present town is about a mile and a half in circumference; there are many gardens within the walls; this place was very incon-

* From this place I found Latichea lay south-west and by south; mount Cassius east-north-east; Kepse, or Seleucia, north-east; Cape Hog north east and by north, and the point that makes the great bay of Scanderoon directly north.

† Strabo xvi. p. 751.

siderable until within these fifty years past, when the tobacco trade to Damietta was established here, which brought also an import of rice and coffee; they have likewise a considerable export of cotton, and some raw silk. On this increase of trade the town was enlarged, and several good houses were built of the hewn stone, which they are continually digging out of the ruins; for the ground of the city is risen very much, having been often destroyed by earthquakes, which of late years have been greater here than at Antioch. It is but very lately that an English consul has been established here; this port being formerly dependent on Aleppo.

There is a monastery in the city, belonging to the Latin convent of the Holy Land. There are many Greeks here, and about thirty families of the Cypriots, who live in a particular quarter of the town. They have a Greek bishop resident in this city, and three or four churches; there is a cemetery belonging to one of them, where both the English, and those of the church of Rome bury. In the heart of the town there is a small church, which has the appearance of some antiquity, and is dedicated to St. George. To the north of the supposed ancient suburb of the town are ruins of a large church on an advanced ground; it is called Pharos, and seems to have been a very magnificent Gothic building, probably of the sixth century: the body of the church fell down many years ago; it had a portico before it, to which there was an ascent by many steps: there was a very lofty arch across the west end of the church, which was supported by two pillars built of hewn stone, ten feet in diameter, in which there were stairs up to the top. From these pillars the building seems to have extended thirty-five paces to the east, and it was about twenty-eight broad. Within the northern walls of the city is a large grotto, to which there is a descent by many steps; they say that it was an old church; it has a well in the middle; but by the manner in which it is cut with niches, as if designed to receive the bodies, one may see it was intended for a sepulchre; the Greeks perform divine service here. There are descents by stairs to many grots by the sea side: about the north-west corner of the city, the sea has washed away the very rock, and laid open some of them, and it appears that others have been entirely destroyed. There is a well on the shore, at the north-east corner of the bay, to which, I suppose, the wall of the suburbs came; the water of it is fresh, and there are several marble coffins round it, that served as cisterns.

On the fifteenth of October we set out southwards, and went near the sea side. About two miles from the town there is a river called Nahr Gibere [the great river]; it is a deep stream, but not wide: the bridge is about two miles from the sea, though the road seems formerly to have been nearer to it, and consequently the old bridge; the ruins of which I saw, with an imperfect inscription near it. They say this river rises in the mountains towards Shogle, and it is probable that the waters were brought to Latichea by an aqueduct from some part of this river towards its source; for it is said that there are in several places great remains of an aqueduct, which was probably made by Herod*. I saw at a distance a village in the Aleppo road, called Johan, from the ruins of a lofty church there dedicated to St. John. We came to a considerable stream called Nahr-Shobar [the river of pine trees]. The English gentlemen at Latichea accompanied me to this river, where we dined; and taking leave of them, we proceeded on our journey, and in half an hour we passed by a tower, and having gone as much further, we crossed a river on a bridge of three arches, and in half an hour more came to a stream, over which there is an old bridge, and half a league further arrived at Jebilee, the ancient Gabala, where we were received at the aga's house.

* Josephus De bello Jud. i. 21.

Gabala was a small city; there are some signs of the antient walls; it is at present a poor miserable town, thinly inhabited, without any trade; and though it was once a considerable sea port, yet they have not now above four or five boats belonging to the town; there are very little signs of the antient harbour, and the chief remains that way are several sepulchral grots cut in the cliffs on the sea shore: the town is supplied with water by a channel on the ground, which winds round to the north, and, if I mistake not, comes from the river of Jebilee, half a league south of the town. To the north of Jebilee there is a large mosque built with three naves, much like a church, and probably it formerly was one; it is famous among the Turks for being the place where the body of sultan Ibrahim is deposited. His tomb, in the south part of the mosque, is separated from it by a partition; the tomb of his vizier is in a chapel near it, and on the south side there is a tomb of some other person belonging to him: in the court before the mosque there is an orange grove, on one side of which there is a place to lodge Dervishes in, and on the other a bagnio: to the south of the mosque there is a kane for poor travellers, who lodge there without paying any thing. It is said this sultan Ibrahim lived in one of these grots by the sea side for many years. They talked as if he was a Persian, but could give no satisfactory account of him, though it is probable that he was Ibrahim Ben-Valid, the sixteenth kalif of the Omniades, who lived in the year seven hundred forty-three; but being vanquished by Marvan, and taken by him in Damascus, was deposed, and afterwards passed the rest of life in retirement*. There is nothing worth seeing here but the remains of a very antient theatre. This piece of antiquity is the more curious, because there is nothing of this kind remaining in any part of the east, all the theatres and amphitheatres being built against the sides of hills.

CHAP. XXVI. — *Of the ancient Balanea, of the castle of Merkab, of Tortosa, and the island of Aradus.*

WE set out from Jebilee on the seventeenth, and passed the river of that name. We soon after crossed another stream, and in half an hour more came to a third called Kaniereck. Near this there is a high ground by the sea, on which probably some small town may have been situated. About two hours from Jebilee we came to a small river called Sin; there is a large mill on it by the road, called Tahaun-el-Melec [the mill of the prince], which probably may have its name from the river. On the other side I saw some ruins, and conjectured that Paltos might be situated here. I have since been informed, that the site of Paltos is now called Boldo, and that the old city is entirely destroyed, that there is only a mill near the old ruins, so that probably it is the same place I have mentioned. Seleucia ad Belum is exactly in the same latitude, and consequently must have been east of it. A very few miles to the east of the river Sin, a chain of mountains begins, which runs eastward for some way, and then turns to the south; on the west end of these mountains, where they approach the nearest to the sea, is a village called Sarr; I saw some high buildings there, but could not learn there were any ruins about that place, so as to conclude that it was Seleucia; but I was well informed that an English drogerman found the remains of a temple, and a Greek inscription on these mountains, about two days journey from Tripoli, which agrees with this distance, and probably it might be the spot, on which the antient Seleucia ad Belum stood.

* Bibliothéque Orientale d'Herbelot. v. Ibrahim Ben Valid.

We came in an hour to the river Henshoun, in half an hour more to the river Joba, and in an hour to Baneas, which is doubtless the ancient Balanea, now entirely deserted; it was called Valania in the middle ages, and it is situated on a high ground at the foot of the mountain, which extends towards the sea; it is bounded to the north and south by a valley, and to the east there are signs of a fosse, by which it was separated from the hill; it was encompassed by a slight wall, only three feet thick, some part of which is still standing on three sides over the hanging ground; it seems to have been but an inconsiderable town. Towards the east side of it there are ruins of a small church, which possibly might be the cathedral of the bishop who resided here. At the bottom of the hill, to the south, is a small bay and a castle, where they receive the customs of goods imported. In the vale, to the south of the old town, there runs a fine stream, called the river of Baneas, which must be the same as the river called Valania in the middle ages: to the east of the town, and a little higher up the hill, are ruins of a castle, the walls of which are very strong. They told me that the governors of these countries resided here, before they took up their residence at the castle of Merkab, to which we went by a steep ascent of an hour and a half to the south-east of Baneas.

The castle of Merkab is about half a mile in circumference, taking up the whole summit of this mountain; it is of a triangular figure, and exceedingly strong, the inner walls are fifteen feet thick, and there is another wall on the outside, which encompasses it almost all round; for in one part, where its natural situation is very strong, there is only a single wall. At the east and west end there are two very large round towers, each of which encompasses a small court. They have a tradition, that this castle was a work of the Franks, and it was certainly held by the knights of Jerusalem. The governor said to us, "This fabric was raised by your fathers, and we took it by the sword." To which answer was made, "It is true, and you suffer so fine a building to run to ruin." The truth is, the whole or part of it was built under the Greek emperors, and the bishops of Balanea were obliged to translate their see to this place, to secure themselves against the Saracens. The church, which is towards the east end of the castle, is well built, mostly of a black stone; it is adorned with semicircular pilasters of the Corinthian order, which are tolerably well executed. Adjoining to the church, on the east, are some large rooms, and a private oratory, or chapel: to the west of it there is a large saloon arched over, and supported by pillars in a very magnificent manner, which might be a refectory for the priests. Under the buildings there are great vaults, or cisterns, cut out of the rock to preserve the rain water, and out of these that black stone was hewn, with which the greatest part of the castle is built.

Descending from Merkab, we pursued our journey, and having travelled about seven or eight miles came to a rivulet called Merkeia; there is a raised ground close to it, called Telehiat [the bank of serpents]: about this place it is probable Mutatio Maraceas was situated, mentioned in the Jerusalem Itinerary as ten miles from Balaneas. Among the hills there is a large village called Merakea; it is probable that this was the name of the hills, and that the castle had the name of Merkab from them; there are several Maronites in these mountains. We saw a village called Bezac, and afterwards an old tower near the sea shore, called Bourgè Natib. An hour further we crossed the river Hasleim, and came into the high road near the sea, and in an hour more arrived at Tortosa. Some have thought this to be Orthosia, but there are great difficulties in fixing the situation of that city.

Tortosa appears to have been built about the fifth or sixth century; it is situated on the sea, and may be about three quarters of a mile in circumference. The ancient walls

walls are of large hewn stone, with a fosse round them; and in one part I saw there had been a low wall on the outside of it. At the north-west corner there are great remains of the castle, and the present town is within the walls of it, which are strong, and beautifully built, of very large hewn stone rusticated. They are of a surprising height, being at least fifty feet high, and without them there are other lower walls; the whole is near half a mile in circuit: within the castle there is a church almost entire, consisting of one nave arched over. Towards the east corner of the city there is also a very beautiful large church, which is entire; it is built of hewn stone inside and out, and consists of three naves; it does not seem to have been finished, and probably is a building of the sixth century; it is of the Corinthian order, and the arches, which are executed with the plain olive leaf, are built on square pillars, covered on the four sides with semicircular pilasters. The pulpit was fixed to one of the pillars, and over it there is an inscription in the Syriac language.

The place, to which the boats come from the isle of Ruad, is about half a mile to the north of Tortosa. There are some signs there of a pier and walls in the sea, where small boats might put in and be laid up securely; but the port for shipping was doubtless where it is now, between the island and the continent. However, this without doubt is Caranus, the port of Aradus on the continent*.

From this place I went over to Ruad, the antient Aradus, which is a very rocky island. Strabo says, it is in the middle between Marathus and the port of Caranus; it is near two miles to the south of the latter, and is reckoned to be about two miles from the continent; it was computed to be seven stadia in circumference†. This city is said to have been built by some Sidonians, who were banished from their country. At first they were governed by their own kings, but afterwards they followed the fate of Syria. However, in some dissensions between the princes of Syria, they obtained the privilege of protecting all persons that fled to them, which added greatly to the number of their people, and to their strength; and the isle was so crowded that they built their houses several stories high, and extended their territory on the continent from Gabala, to Orthosia and the river Eleutherus. I was informed that in the last century the Maltese had possession of this island, but that it was taken from them by surprize at night. It is thought to have been first built by Arvad, or Arphad‡, the son of Canaan, and grandson of Noah; and it is mentioned in several places in scripture by the name of Arpad, or Arphad§. There is a very safe road for the shipping to the east of the island, where they can fix their anchors on the shore. The ships, without doubt, formerly came up close to the east side of it, for there are two piers, built out to defend them against the weather; and a small cape of the island is a natural shelter from the south wind. There seems to have been a double wall to the north and west side of the island, but on the south I only saw the signs of one wall; these walls were fifty paces apart; and there are still great remains of the outer wall, which on the north side is very high, and about fifteen feet thick, being built of large stones, some of which are fifteen feet long; it is possible that some of the smaller shipping, and the boats, might be laid up between these walls; the rock to the west is worked out like a wall; and there are reliefs on it of a cross and crossier. In every part of this island there were cisterns hewn out of the rock, like cellars under

* Strabo, xvi. 753.

† Strabo, *ibid.* Oppida, Simyra, Marathus, contraque Aradus, septem stadiorum oppidum, & insula, ducentos passus a continente distans. Plin. Hist. v. 17. It is probable Pliny ought to be corrected as to the distance, by making two thousand two hundred paces, as Strabo says, that it was twenty stadia from the continent.

‡ Gen. x. 18.

§ 2 Kings, xix. 13. Isa. xxxvii. 13. Isa. x. 9. Jer. xlix. 23. Ezek. xxvii. 11. their

their houses, with holes in the top of them, in order to draw up the water. Strabo makes mention of these, and of some basins or lakes of water near the wall; on the north there are remains of two sides of a rusticated building, the walls of which are three feet thick; it seems to have been built about the same time as Tortosa; there are very few houses on the island, except in the two castles, which are defended by some cannon against the corsairs; the shipping that come here take in tobacco, of which there is a great quantity growing on the continent; they carry it to Egypt, and, when there is not a supply, they load with wood for that country.

CHAP. XXVII. — *Of Antaradus, Marathus, and other places in the way to Tripoli.*

WE set out from Tortosa, and about a mile south of it came to a broad bed of a torrent, which was then dry; there is a large ruined bridge of three or four arches over it, which is a furlong to the west of the road; on the south side of it is a raised ground, on which I thought I saw some signs of foundations of walls, and therefore imagined it to be the old Antaradus, though it is rather more to the north than the island; but the conveniency of the river, and a small harbour for boats, makes it probable that it was situated in that place. A little further, to the west of a wood, and directly opposite to Aradus, there is a low sandy hill near the shore, which extends to a very narrow vale between rocky ground; where the road crosses it there is a channel of a small stream, in which was no water; but below it the water comes out as from a spring, and runs into a large channel which has a wall on each side; and there is a door-case made of three stones over the fountain; this is called Ein-el-Hye, [The Serpent Fountain]. It is not unlikely that this should be Enydra, mentioned by Strabo as north of Marathus, and probably it was the watering-place on the continent for the isle of Aradus; for it seems as if they had great plenty of water here: below it there is a mill; the stream, which continually turns it, seems to have come from the north, but there was then no water in the channel; to the south of this vale there is a court cut into the rock, with a throne in the middle of it, in which there is a seat on each side. The court is enclosed by the solid rock on every side, except to the north, where are signs of two entrances, and doubtless they were joined by a wall on each side; the throne consists of four stones, besides the plain pedestal, which is cut out of the rock; one forms the back of it, another the covering, and there is one stone on each side. The canopy has that ancient cornice round it which is so common in Upper Egypt. At the two inner corners of the court, there seems to have been a small room; the sides of the entrances cut out of the rock still remain; these might relate to the superstition of this place, the throne being probably built for an idol, worshipped in this court or open temple; and it is probably one of the greatest and most extraordinary pieces of antiquity that is to be seen. On the other side of the vale, a little more to the east, there is a sort of fosse cut down in the rock, with seven steps on each side, extending near a furlong in length; the steps do not go to the bottom, and the east end seems to have terminated in a semicircle; at the west end, the rock is cut away in such a manner, that one may suppose there were formerly some apartments there; one part is cut into a square area, from which there is a way into the valley directly opposite to the court or temple before mentioned. This place might serve for some sports to divert the people of Aradus and Antaradus, or of the ancient Marathus, if that was near, and probably it was a circus. Directly south of the court or temple, the rocks, which rise higher in that part, have been worked like quarries, and sunk down in many places, possibly for reservoirs of water. There are also in

different parts many walls cut out of the rock, and particularly in one place almost an entire house, and the rock is cut away from it all round; there are many niches, windows, and doors in it, and a wall of division along the middle, with a door through it. Half a mile to the south are the sepulchral towers mentioned by Mr. Maundrel, whose plans of them are very exact. A little to the east of this, the rock is cut out in form of a pedestal, about twenty-eight feet square, and nine feet high; on the east side of it, there is a hole, cut about five feet from the ground, by which there is an ascent to the top by three or four steps. This seems to have been designed as a basement for some building over a sepulchral grotto; all these sepulchral monuments were erected over the grotts in which they deposited the bodies, and this might be the burial-place of Aradus, though it is a little to the south of that island, the people of which probably brought all their dead over to the continent, as those of the isle of Delos carried theirs to another island near, which was allotted for that purpose.

We entered into a large plain, called by the Franks, the Plains of Junia; it extends to the river called the Cold Stream near Tripoli. To the east of the plain there are mountains which seem to be mount Bargylus, mentioned by Pliny*, as beginning near the place where Mount Libanus ends, there being, as he says, some plains between them; and I observed that from this place I could see the country to the north of Libanus, all the way towards the lake of Asê near Hems, and likewise that which extends to Palmyra. At the north end of this plain I was told that it is called Sapheta, as well as the hills to the east, which may only be the name of that particular part of the plain. At the first entrance into this plain I saw to the east near the hills a large building, and going on, came to a raised ground, on which there are ruins, and further on are the remains of a tower; this might possibly be Marathus, being about seven miles from Tortosa, for it could not be Mutatio Spiclin, in the Jerusalem Itinerary placed twelve miles from Antaradus. About a league further we came to the bed of a stream, in which there was very little water; it is probable that Spiclin was situated here. Near two leagues more to the south we arrived at Nar Abath, which was then only a very small stream; I was told that there is a bridge a little lower; to the east of this place the low hills end, and a higher chain of mountains appear farther to the east, extending southwards almost to Libanon. We went on about an hour, and leaving the road, we came in an hour more to an encampment of Arabs called Simohea, where they live in tents made chiefly of reeds.

On the twentieth we went to Nar-Gibere [The Great River]: I take this to be the Eleutherus†, which was the bounds between Phœnicia and Cassiotis of Se-

* In ora maritima—subjecta Libano—Regio in qua supradicti desinunt montes, et inter jacentibus campis Bargylus mons incipit. Plin. Hist. v. 17.

† There are difficulties in determining the situation of the river Eleutherus, which was the northern bounds of Phœnicia. For the Jerusalem Itinerary after Baneas, mentions the bounds of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, before Marraccas and Antaradus; so that one would from thence imagine, that the river Eleutherus was north of Cananus. But Ptolemy, contrary to this, puts Antaradus in Cassiotis of Seleucis, and between Antaradus and Tripoli he mentions Simyra and Orthosia, with false latitudes. In the Tables Orthosia is only twelve miles from Tripoli, which is the distance the Jerusalem Itinerary places Bruttus. Strabo going from north to south places Eleutherus even after Orthosia, and the Itinerary makes Phœnicia to begin south of Arcas; but Ptolemy places Orthosia and Simyra, which is north of Orthosia, in Phœnicia; so that there is only the Jerusalem Itinerary against three other authors. And both the Itinerary and Strabo placing Eleutherus south of Arcas and Orthosia, would make one imagine it was the cold stream river, if Ptolemy's great authority did not contradict it; so that Nar-Gebere, or the great river, seems to be the ancient Eleutherus, which is a deep river, and might well serve for a boundary between two countries. Mr. Maundrel differing in this account I have given of the rivers between Tortosa and Tripoli, I was the more exact in enquiring about the names and situations of them.

leucia*. About a league to the south is the river Accar, on which Orthosia might be situated, which was a maritime town of Phœnicia. I was informed that they have a name something like Orthosia in the books of the grand signior's revenues among the places of this country, but where it was situated I could not learn. Half a league further is the river Arka, where Arcas must have been; this was only a mansio, and not that Arca, which was an inland city of Phœnicia, situated amongst the mountains, between which this river passes; the Itinerary makes Phœnicia to begin after Arcas, or between it and Tripoli. About two leagues further at the corner of the bay one passes a small stream that comes through a fine vale between the mountains, beautifully improved with mulberry trees; Brutus might be either here, or at the cold stream river half a mile further to the north, though neither agree with the distances mentioned by antient authors†. About two miles before I arrived at Tripoli I saw the fountain of fishes, which is a fine square basin, where some springs rise; no one is allowed to take the fish, which are there in great abundance, and bread being thrown in, they come in shoals, and even leap up, and take it out of the hand.

CHAP. XXVIII. — *Of the Natural History, Government, and People of Syria.*

THERE is a chain of mountains which runs almost through all Syria; it begins at mount Cassius, extends to the east by Antioch, and then turns to the south; the whole tract by the sea side called Phœnicia, is a very fine country; Libanon and Antilibanon are part of these mountains; Cœlefyria Proper is between them, in which Baalbeck is situated; this, as well as most of the plains of Damascus northwards, are a poor sort, the latter by some are reckoned to be part of Cœlefyria. These plains have very little water in them except about Damascus; the Afè or Orontes waters a great tract of ground to the north of Syria; the river Jordan and the Lycus are the only considerable rivers in this country.

I have already mentioned the chrysalizations on mount Carmel; at the foot of that part of Libanon, called the Castravan Mountains, between the river Kelp and Elbele, there is a white stone, on which they frequently find the impressions of fish.

There are a great number of salt lakes in Syria, especially towards Tadmor and Aleppo; the ground, which is impregnated with nitre, is hollow in many parts, and being filled in winter with rain waters, when they dry away, the salt is left in cakes on the ground, which they purify, and carry it to Damascus, Aleppo, and to all parts at a distance from the sea.

There are a great variety of trees in Syria, very few of which are known in Europe. The platanus or plane-tree grows on the river Jordan, and other places in the northern parts, especially about Antioch; they have several sorts of oaks, but I saw the greatest variety of trees on mount Rhossus, near Antioch, where there are several kinds rarely seen in these parts, as the laurel, the yew, the bay, which is the antient laurus, and the box; the two latter are much about Antioch, though the former does not grow on the spot where Daphne stood; the myrtle is common in all parts. The

* Not regarding the latitudes of Ptolemy, which are false in these parts. I conjecture that Simyra was on this river to the south, probably about the mouth of it, and Samonia near it, may be the same name; of the name it is supposed to be Tacenna of Strabo, who does not take me from a hill. Orlanin and Eleutherus, it being common his method to go from north to south; but Ptolemy's authority is to be preferred. Mutatio Bosileum in the Jerusalem Itinerary might be on this river. Orally in the road.

† The Jerusalem Itinerary mentions Brutus at four miles from Arcas, and twelve from Tripoli.

plains, from the rise of the river Jordan to Aleppo, abound with liquorice as ours do with fern; squills are also very common in many parts.

Wild beasts are not in so great abundance in this country as formerly; the lion is never seen, and only a very few tigers on some of the mountains; the hyæna, jackall, the mountain antelope, the antelope of the plain, and wild boar, are common. They had a fine breed of horses in this country, but most of them having been bought up for the Persian war, the breed of them is almost lost. They have two sorts of camels; the Arab breed, which is common in all parts, and another sort used by the Turcomen, which are stronger, though of a more ugly make than the others. I saw between Aleppo and the Euphrates the bustard, which is a very shy bird; I was informed by one who had his experience in Europe, that in the spring, when they perch on the trees, and sing in their manner, they are inattentive, and easily shot. They have also about Aleppo a beautiful grey bird of the crane kind, called by Europeans the Dancing Bird: these birds soon become domestic, and are so called from their dancing round in a ring one after another in a very pretty manner, and clapping their wings; they have likewise pelicans on some waters near Aleppo.

There are great variety of people in Syria, especially in the northern parts of it. This country having been in the hands of the successors of Mahomet, the Arabic is the language generally spoken, except to the north of Aleppo, where the Turcomen and Curdeens prevailing, the Turkish language prevails, which the Curdeens speak, though they have a particular language of their own. To the north of Aleppo there are no Arabs, but the country is in the possession of the Curdeens, who come originally from Curdistan on the Caspian sea. They are worse than the Arabs, have not much courage, but rob when no resistance can be made. They are in possession of a great part of mount Taurus, which belongs to the Valadea, or sultaness mother, who found her account so much in protecting them, that the country near those mountains was entirely at their command, and she refused to accept of Cyprus in exchange for it.

The Turcomen are of the same race as the present Ottoman family; they were originally of Turkistan, which is likewise near the Caspian sea; they are of two sorts, one of which live in tents or villages, who till the land and breed cattle; their tents are commonly round, and made of reeds, having only a slight covering in the summer, and in winter a thick sort of felt fitted to them, so as to keep out the rain; they employ themselves chiefly in making several sorts of coarse carpets. The other sort of Turcomen are called Begdelees; they mount on horseback, live in tents, and neither till the land, nor graze cattle; and though they have some sort of alliances, yet they are professed robbers; sometimes there are above a thousand of them together, and they raise contributions on villages under pretence of protecting them; but where they receive their dues, they do not rob openly. Wherever these people are in possession of the country, the safest way of travelling is under the guard of some of the greatest rogues among them, because they are in league with their brethren of the same profession; for in all these countries the right of protection, when once you are entitled to it, is a very sacred thing. Another sort of people are Rushowans, who in the winter begin to move with their cattle from Ezeroun towards the rise of the Euphrates, in the ancient Cappadocia, and go southwards as far as Damascus, and in the summer return at their convenience with the caravan to Aleppo; I travelled with some of them, and they seemed to be a good sort of people. The Chingani, who are spread almost all over the world, are in great abundance in the north of Syria, and pass for Mahometans; they live under tents, and sometimes in grots under ground; they make a coarse sort of tapestry or carpet work for housings of saddles, and other uses, and

when they are not far from towns, deal much in milch cattle, and have a much better character than their relations in Hungary, or the gypsies in England, who are thought by some to have been originally of the same tribe. These and the Turcomen, with regard to offences, are under the pashi and cadi, though they have a sheik to every encampment, and several great ones over them; but with regard to taxes, they are immediately under the grand signior, whose tribute is collected yearly by an officer over each of these people, one being called the Turcoman-Agafi, an office of great credit, and the other the Chingani-Agafi, who go round the Turkish dominions to collect the taxes from these people. There are also different sects of religion among the Mahometans, if those I am going to mention may be esteemed such. The Noceres, who live north east of Latichea, are spoken of by many; their religion seems to be some remains of Paganism; they are much despised by the Turks, and these people seem rather fond of the Christians. I could not learn any thing particular concerning their religion, only that once a year they hold a sort of feast by night, which very much resembles the antient Bacchanals; it is possible they may be the descendants of the people called Nazerini, mentioned by Pliny*, as divided from the country of Apamea by the river Marfya. Another sort of people are called Jafades; all that can be said of them is, they seem to be worshippers of the devil; it is said to be a great affront to them to mention his name lightly, and I was assured they were pleased with a Frank, who, to gain some end, said something that they thought was to the honour of this evil being. They are in different parts in the north of Syria, have a particular aversion to the Mahometans, and are subjects very worthy of the being whom they worship, for most of them are very bad people. The generality of Christians in Syria are Greeks, subject to their great patriarch of Antioch, whose see is now removed to Damascus; but miserable is the state of their church, which proceeds very much from their own conduct. The priests, who are of some trade or other, endeavour to live as easily as they can by screwing out of the people as much money as possible; the people who have any influence tyrannize with great pride and insolence over their inferiors; they are guilty of all the vices of the Turks, but privately; and it may be concluded how strong a root their faith has in many of them, when, to avoid only a drubbing, and often to satisfy their revenge, they turn Mahometans. The Maronites who are on the mountains of Libanon, and in most sea port towns, and some few other parts, are more esteemed. There are few Armenians to the south of Aleppo, but to the north of it all the Christians are of that church; these are mostly engaged in trade, and there are many servants of that religion who came out from Armenia; they have courage, are diligent, politic, and civil to every body; but no Easterns are proof against money, or are to be depended on with regard to veracity; there are very few of the Syrians or Jacobites. Many in the summer leave their villages, and live in tents, and some make a sort of open sofa, with boughs raised from the ground in order to lie on it, and in some parts, like the Indians, raise them very high before their houses to sleep in during the summer, in order to be free from vermin; and in many towns and villages they sleep on the top of their houses, which are all flat roofed, on which they make little closets of wicker work, or boughs, and retire there for coolness, as soon as the sun is set.

Syria is divided into five pashalicks; Aleppo, Tripoli, that of Saphet, or Sidon, Baalbeck, and the pashalick of Damascus, which is the greatest of them all, to which the pashalick of Jerusalem and Napla have been added, the latter stretching

* Cæle habet Apamiam, Marfya æque divisam a Nazerinorum tetrarchia Plin. Hist. v. 23.

away to Ramah and Gaza; these territories seem to have been added to Damascus in lieu of the great expence which that pasha is at every year in conducting the hadjees or pilgrims to Mecca.

On the twenty-fourth of October, about ten o'clock in the evening, we set sail from Tripoli for Cyprus, on board an English ship, which was obliged to touch at Bayreut in the way. On the twenty-fifth we had little wind all day, and only came up with a small bay called Cabouch, about twenty miles to the north of Tripoli. On the twenty-sixth we came up with Ebele, and sailed close along the shore under the Castravan mountains; I saw almost all the places we had visited on those hills, and in the evening we arrived in the road of Bayreut, where the supercargo went ashore; and on his return, we immediately set sail again. On the twenty-eighth we came up with Cyprus, anchored in the evening in the road of Limesol; and on the twenty-ninth went ashore at that town.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE EAST, &c.

BY RICHARD POCOCKE, LL.D. F.R.S.

Book the Third. Of the Island of Cyprus.

CHAP. I. — *Of Cyprus in general. Of Limesol, Amathus, Larnica, and the antient Citium.*

THE north part of the island of Cyprus is fifty miles from the Cilician shore, which agrees with the account of the antients, who making a computation by measuring round the bays of the island, say, that it is about four hundred twenty-eight miles * in circumference; but those † who computed, probably by travelling round the island by land, make it only three hundred seventy-five miles. Some say, that it was a hundred and seventy-five miles long, others ‡ two hundred; but the modern sea charts make it only one hundred and thirty-five in length, and sixty-two miles broad in the widest part.

Cyprus was antiently divided into many small kingdoms, and was conquered successively by the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Cyrus king of Persia, and Alexander the great; it fell to the lot of the successors the kings of Egypt, afterwards was subdued by the Romans, became subject to the Greek emperors, and, whilst it was under them, was laid waste by the Arabs. In one thousand one hundred ninety one, Richard the first, king of England, conquered it, and gave it to Guy Lusignam, king of Jerusalem; and his family continued to govern it until the year fourteen hundred twenty-three, when it was taken by a sultan of Egypt, who permitted their own king to reign over them, on his paying him a certain tribute. In one thousand four hundred seventy-three, one of the kings lent this island to the republick of Venice, who enjoyed it, paying the

* Plin. Hist. v. 35. Strabo xiv. 682.

† Plin. ibid.

‡ Strabo.

tribute to Egypt, until it was taken from them in one thousand five hundred and seventy under sultan Selim; and it has ever since remained in subjection to the Ottoman Port.

There are two chains of mountains that run along the island, one of which begins at the eastern point of it, and extends about three quarters of the length of the island, to the bay which is west of Gerines. The other chain of mountains begins at cape Pyla, which is to the east of Larnica, and stretches away to the north-west corner of the island. Pliny mentions fifteen cities in this island, and probably in antient times there were as many kingdoms; but at the time of Alexander it was under nine kings, and it is not difficult to discover what cities with their territories, composed these kingdoms, as I shall have occasion to observe in the journey which I made round the island.

Limefol, where we landed, is a small town, built of unburnt brick; there are a great number of mulberry gardens about it, with houses in them, which makes the place appear very beautiful at a distance; the country also abounds in vineyards, and the rich Cyprus wine is made only about this place; the ordinary wine of the country being exceedingly bad. It is one of the cheapest places in the island, which is the reason why ships bound to Egypt and other parts put in here to victual. I was told that a small heifer sells sometimes for two dollars, or five shillings; they have built a castle and platform here, to defend themselves against the Maltese. The Greeks have two churches, one of which is a very handsome new built fabric.

We were entertained in a house of the English vice-consul who was a Greek, and on the same day that we landed we hired mules, and set out to the east. We travelled through a narrow plain on the sea side, and going about two miles came to the river Char, where they keep a guard against the corsairs. When rivers are mentioned in Cyprus, they must be understood only as beds of winter torrents; for I could find but one in all the island that has always water in it. At the end of the plain there are ruins on a low hill, which are called old Limefol; it is about two leagues from the town. This is generally agreed to be Amathus, which is said to have had its name from Amathus, who built a temple here to Venus*, called on this account, Venus Amathusia; it is said to have been sacred both to Venus and Adonis. This was probably the capital of one of the nine kingdoms of Cyprus. It is said, that Richard the first of England, being hindered by the inhabitants from taking in water on the island, when he was going to the holy war, came to this place in his return, and took Isaac king of Cyprus prisoner, and sent him in silver chains to Tripoli in Syria. There are remains of the town walls, which are fifteen feet thick, and cased with hewn stone. On the west side there is a building like an old castle, probably on the site of the antient city, which might extend to the east as far as that part, where there are great heaps of ruins, and among them a handsome ruinous church, which may be on the spot where the temple was built to Venus and Adonis, in which the feasts of the latter were annually celebrated†. There seems also to have been a suburb to the east, extending to the river Antigonia.

About seven leagues to the east-north-east of this place, is a mountain called by the Greeks Oros Staveros, and by Europeans Monte Croce; it was called by the antients Mount Olympus‡, and was compared by them to the human breast§; it has the Greek name from a convent on the top of it, dedicated to the holy cross. We went about an hour and a half further, and lay at a Christian village called Menie. On the

* Virgil makes Venus speak to Jupiter in these words:

“Eit Amathus, eit Cella mihi Paphos, atque Cythera.

“Idaliæque domus. *Æneid.* x. 51.

† Strabo xiv. 682.

‡ Strabo xiv. 683.

§ Strabo, loc.

thirtieth we crossed the hills that make the point which is to the east of Limesol, and having travelled some time we came to cape Malzoto; to the west of it there is a narrow vale, which is a morassy ground; there are many trees and very high reeds growing in it, and I saw some ruins here. Soon after we passed about half a mile to the south of the village Malzoto, which is computed to be nine hours from Limesol, and is directly south of the summit of mount Croce. Palæa which is mentioned * as between Amathus and Citium, might be about this place. We came in an hour to the river Bouzy, where there was a small stream, and in about an hour more to cape Chedè; there are several hamlets about it that go by that name; a rivulet rises out of mount Croce, which is called Creig Simeone, and falls into the sea near this head; it is probably the river Tetius, mentioned between Citium and Amathus. I saw to the north a village called Der Stephanè; in about an hour we came to a large village called Bromlaka, and in half an hour passed over the bed of a torrent, and came to the large lakes, from which they collect every year great quantities of salt; they are filled by rain water, and the soil being full of nitre, produces the salt, when the water is evaporated in summer; but in case there is too much water, occasioned by extraordinary rains, it is not salt enough to harden into cakes, and for this reason the Venetians had drains to carry off the water, which are now neglected. To the west of these lakes there is a small Turkish convent, in which there is only one Dervish; they have a sepulchre there, which is held in great veneration by the Mahometans, it being, as they say, the place where the foster sister of Fatimah, the sister of Mahomet, was buried; these salt lakes extend almost to Larnica, and make it the most unhealthy place in the island. When we arrived at Larnica, where the Franks reside, I went to the house of the English consul, to whom I was recommended.

Larnica is situated a small mile from the sea; at the port which belongs to it there is a little town called the Marine; the harbour is naturally well sheltered, but the ships lie off at some distance, and the boats come ashore on an open beach, and are drawn up to land. Though this place is very unhealthy, yet the Franks are settled here, as it is very convenient on account of its situation with regard to Nicosia, where the government resides, it being only six leagues from it. There is a large antient church at the port, dedicated to saint Lazarus, where they shew his sepulchre; it is a small grot cut out of the rock; they say, that this saint being put into a boat at Joppa, and committed to the mercy of the sea, he was drove to this place, and became bishop of it, and that his body was stolen away by the French, and carried to Marseilles; but the French say that he was drove on their coasts. The ruins of the antient city of Citium are between the town of Larnica and the Marine, which was a capital of a second kingdom in Cyprus. It was famous for the birth of the great philosopher Zeno, and for the death of the renowned Athenian general Cimon, who expired at the siege of it. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, destroyed this city, and removed its inhabitants to new Paphos; it was about three miles in circumference; there is reason to think that in very antient times the sea washed the south walls of it, though it is now a quarter of a mile distant. To the east of the old town there was a large basin, now almost filled up; it served for the security of the shipping, and was defended by a strong castle, as appears by the foundations of it; this must be the inclosed port mentioned by the antients †; the walls seem to have been very strong, and in the foundations there have been found many stones, with inscriptions on them, in an unintelligible character, which I suppose, is the antient Phœnician; and if the city was ever rebuilt, after it was destroyed by Ptolemy, these stones might be put into the walls when they were repaired. They have discovered

* Strabo, 683.

† Strabo xiv. p. 682.

a great number of antient sepulchres in and about the city of Larnica; I saw some built of hewn stone; in one of them I observed the stones were laid along at top like large beams, and others laid over them like a floor; there is another which ends at top in an angle, and both are of excellent workmanship, and finished in the most perfect manner. The fathers of the Terra Santa have a large convent in this town; the capuchins also have a monastery here; and the Greeks four or five very good churches. The republick of Ragusa have a consul residing in this place, as well as the French and English.

CHAP. II. — *Of Famagusta, and the antient Salamis.*

ON the tenth of November we set out from Larnica on mules, under the protection of the consul's janizary, in order to make the tour round the island. We travelled eastward, and came to the bed of a torrent, called Camborounula, which had water in it; I saw mounds near it, which might be the remains of some antient work. In three quarters of an hour we came to the hills that stretch to cape Pyla; that head of land must be the antient promontory of Dades*; I observed an old tower on it. We came to the vale of Ormilia, where there are several houses and silk gardens belonging to the people of Larnica. We afterwards had a sight of cape Grega, probably the same as that which the writers of the Turkish history call cape Græcia, and was probably cape Throni of the antients, where there was a city of the same name†. Going on I was told that we passed within four miles of Trapeza, which, if I mistake not, is to the right, though Blaeu's map puts a place of that name near Famagusta; this probably is a village near the high hill, that was compared by the antients to a table, and was sacred to Venus; I had a view of it on this head of land. This hill was over cape Pedalium‡, which may be the same as Ammochostus§, and I suppose it to be the northern point of that broad head of land, which is now called cape Grega. Pedalium is thought to be a corruption of the antient name Idalium, there having been a town of that name in Cyprus, which was sacred to Venus; the Idalian wood was near it, in which, according to antient fables, Adonis, a favourite of Venus, was killed by a boar, and they feign that she turned him into a flower. There are two ports mentioned between this and Salamis, which are Leucola and Arfinoe; a city also is mentioned with the latter, which might be where Famagusta is at present situated.

We came to a village called Merash, which is half a mile south of Famagusta, where the Christians live who are not permitted to dwell within the city. I was here recommended to a Christian, who assigned me a room, which he had built in his garden, where I was entirely alone, and sent to the town for whatever I wanted. The next day I went with the janizary to see the city; for though I had a letter to the governor, yet I was advised not to send it, as I had no present for him. I went with all freedom wherever I pleased about the town; the governor, however, was afterwards informed, that I had viewed the town very exactly, and wrote every thing down, though I had only copied a short Greek inscription; upon this he sent orders to the mu'etecr not to go any further with me, and that they should not permit any Franks to come into the city, on which I sent the janizary with the letter to the governor, who was then very well satisfied, and said he should be glad to see me.

The city of Famagusta is about two miles in circumference, and was well fortified by the Venetians; it is of an oblong square figure; the bastions are all semicircular; on

* Ptol. v. 14.

† Ptol. ib. d.

‡ Strabo, xiv. 682.

§ Ptol. v. 14.

the west side of the town, a rising ground runs along from north to south, on which they took the advantage to build the rampart, which makes it exceedingly strong this way, a fosse being cut into the rock on the three sides to the land; and in that to the west there are covered ways to fall out; this high ground, which is the strength of the west side, exposes the south part of the town to the enemy, for it was from this part that the Tarkish general battered the south gate, which is the only entrance from the land; and it is probable, that from the high ground on the north side they planted their batteries against the north-east corner to the sea, where there is a strong castle also fortified within. There is a gate from the city to the port, which is well sheltered by several rocks, and the entrance to it, which is at the north-east corner, is defended by a chain drawn across to the castle; it was here that the stuffed skin of the brave unfortunate Bragadine was hung up at the yard of a galley, after he had been most inhumanly flayed alive by the treacherous Turks, against whom he had bravely defended the city. I observed on the ramparts the names of several of the Venetian governors of Cyprus; and near the gate there are two statues of lions, one of which is very large, they were probably set up on some pillars in the principal parts of the city, after the Venetian manner. The antient piazza seems to have been very beautiful; the house of the governor, with a portico before it, is on one side, and the western front of the church of Saint Sophia on the other; it is a most beautiful Gothic building, now converted into a mosque, but about three years ago two thirds of it was thrown down by an earthquake, together with the greatest part of the city. Before it there is a Greek inscription on a black stone, which might be part of a pedestal for a statue; near the north-west corner of the church there are two pillars, which probably had on them the Venetian ensigns; near these there is a coffin of white marble, adorned with lions heads, and festoons held by Cupids. It is surprising to see what a great number of churches there are in this city; St. George's, one of the most magnificent, was thrown down by the earthquake; another large one, which, if I mistake not, was dedicated to saint Catherine, is now the principal mosque.

There is very little trade at this place, which is the reason why all provisions are cheap here, the price of a fat sheep being only half a crown; no Christian is suffered to live within the walls, unless it be in confinement, in which condition I saw a Greek patriarch of Constantinople, who being deposed, and intriguing in order to supplant his successor, was banished to this place a few months before; I saw him afterwards in one of the Princes Islands near Constantinople, returned from banishment. They will not suffer a Christian to go in or out of the city, otherwise than on foot; and an European having obtained a firman from the grand signior to enter the city in his chaise, when he sent it to the governor, received this answer in a very cool manner; "That in obedience to the firman he might enter in his carriage, but that he would not permit him to go out of the city in it." The present buildings do not take up above half the space within the walls, and a great part even of those are not inhabited. They have very good water brought three or four miles by an aqueduct, which is carried for the most part in a channel on the ground.

Between the two chains of mountains that stretch along the island, there is a large plain seven or eight miles wide, and between thirty and forty long, beginning about Famagusta; as it is one of the best parts of Cyprus, and most secure from the privateers, so it is chiefly inhabited by Turks, the Christians living more upon the mountains, and near the sea, as they are exempted from that slavery which falls to the lot of the Turks when they come into the hands of these privateers; this plain seems to have been the
antient

antient kingdom of Salamis, founded by Teucer; the capital of it, which bore the same name, was at the east end of the plain on the sea.

The Jews destroyed the old city of Salamis in the time of Trajan; it was afterwards called Constantia, probably from the emperor Constantius; it was again destroyed by the Saracens under Heraclius, and probably it was not afterwards rebuilt. We set out to see the old city on the twelfth, and in half an hour came to a large basin, which is filled by rain water, and in half an hour more to a stream, over which there is a bridge; this must be the antient Pedius. On the north side of it are the remains of Salamis. There are still large heaps of ruins on the spot of the antient city, and great remains of the foundations of the walls, which seem to have been between three and four miles in circumference. The port is to the south; it seems to have been made by art, and is almost filled up; the small river Pedius, empties itself into the sea at this place. Antient geographers mention two islands of Salamis, which are not now seen. On examining the ground I imagined the sea might have left these islands, and I saw near the port some rising grounds, with channels round them, which might formerly be filled by the sea. There appears to have been a more modern city here than that antient one built by Teucer, and there are great remains of the foundations of the walls of the new town, which was about half as big as the old city. The inner walls are supposed to be those of the new town, and the outer ones those of the old city. On that side of the town which is next to the port, there are ruins of a large church, and also of a small one; and to the north of the town there are some very thick walls, which are also probably the ruins of a church. There is likewise a square plain spot, which might be either a piazza, or a basin for water. On the north of the new town, just within the gate, there are several grey granite pillars lying on the ground, and two or three Corinthian capitals of grey marble cut in a very beautiful and particular manner. These pillars seem to have belonged to a temple. This place is now called Old Famagusta, and is about four miles distant from the modern town; there are remains of an aqueduct to this city; all the arches which I saw of it were Gothic, and there is an inscription on it in Greek, which makes mention of an archbishop, the antient aqueduct being probably repaired when the new city was built, after the establishment of Christianity in these parts. I saw the arches all along the plain, extending towards the mountains to the north-west; on the side of which mountains the water was conveyed from a plentiful source which I saw at Cherkes, thought by some to have had its name from the old Cythera, though that place must have been farther to the south. The Tables place Citari in the road from Salamis to Tremitus, now called Nicosia. Cherkes is six or seven leagues to the west north-west in a valley between the hills; it is beautifully improved with mulberry gardens for the silk worms; the plentiful sources of water which supplied this aqueduct, are a considerable way in between the hills.

To the west of Salamis there is a small ruined church, and near it a very little church, built and arched over with very large stones, half of it is now under ground; it is dedicated to St. Catherine, who, as they say, was daughter of king Cotha, the founder of the present Famagusta, and that the city had its name from him. In this church there is a well, and on one side a chapel built of three stones, the four sides consisting only of two stones, and it is covered with a third, which is angular at top. If I mistake not, they say, this saint was buried in this chapel, and there seems to have been a tomb in it. A mile to the west there is a monastery and a large church dedicated to St. Barnabas, which seems to have been a fine building; the church has been ruined and rebuilt; the foundations of the east end of the old church remain in three

femicircles. About half a furlong east of this church there is a descent by several steps to a sepulchral grot cut in the rock, with niches for bodies on three sides of it: here, they say, the body of St. Barnabas was deposited, who was a native of this island, and suffered martyrdom at Salamis in the time of Nero. At the entrance of the grot there is a well of water that is a little salt, and a small chapel is built over the grotto, which does not seem to be of any great antiquity.

CHAP. III. — *Of Carpasfy, and some other places in the eastern part of Cyprus.*

FROM Salamis we went on northward, and having travelled about five miles came to the river Deraie, over which there is a long bridge like a causeway, and a high ground to the south of it, which might be the situation of some antient town; in half an hour we came to the river Chour; we then turned to the east, passed over some hills of Chaulebernau, and crossing a river, we approached the high hills, on which there is a castle called the hundred and one chambers. These mountains take up almost all that narrow tract, which seems to have been called the Olympian promontory, and probably this highest part of the mountains was called mount Olympus, on which there was a temple to Venus, probably Venus Urania, or the chaste Venus; for there was a city in this part called Urania, which was destroyed by Diogenes Poliorcetes, and it was not lawful for any woman to enter this temple, or so much as look on it; all this promontory seems to have been the kingdom of Carpasia. I observed in this part a great quantity of talc in the hills. We arrived at a village called Patrick, where we were well received by the Greek priest. On the thirteenth we proceeded on our journey, and began to cross the hills towards the north side of the island, and came to a village called Galadia, finely situated on a high ground. We travelled on through a very fine country abounding in wood, and passed through Ai-Androniko, where there is a small stream, the sources of which never fail; this village on the south side is inhabited by Turks, and on the north by Christians. All these places are much infested by the Maltese corsairs. We lay in the house of the priest of Yaloufee or Jaloufa on the north side of the island, where there is an antient Greek church; we saw the coast of Cilicia very plainly from this place. On the fourteenth we came to a ruined village, called Mashargona, where they have a tradition that some king antiently resided; soon after we came to a small cape, on which there are ruins of a church dedicated to St. Marina; it is built of fine hewn stone, and the place is called Selenia. Having travelled about four hours, we went to the left of the antient convent of Jaloufa; there is also a bay here of the same name, and as there is a place so called near Scanderoon, which is the bay that had the antient name of Sinus Issicus in Cilicia; this, without doubt, must be Sinus Issicus of Cyprus, which was in this part of the island; this is probably the shore of the Achæans where Teucer first landed. We arrived at Carpas, and went about two miles northwards to the plain and to old Carpas, called by the antients Carpasia, the capital city of the kingdom of that name, which is now given to all the country; the island here is only three miles and three quarters broad*. There are some ruins at old Carpas, especially the remains of a wall near half a mile in circumference, with a pier from it into the sea, at the end of which there are some signs of a tower. The whole seems to have been only a castle for the defence of the port; to the east of it there is a very good church in the Greek style, which belonged to a monastery near called Ainsphilosè; they call this place also Salamina, and I was told that this name was given it by some

* Strabo, xiv. p. 682.

religious persons, who began to improve the place not a great many years ago, but were obliged to leave it on account of the Maltese privateers. About the village of Carpaß there are a great number of small ruined churches or chapels, which might formerly be built for the use of wealthy families, who might retire to this place. It was on the Carpathian shores that Diogenes Poliorcetes landed his army.

On the fifteenth we travelled eastward to the village of Asphronify, where there are ruins of four churches, and it seems to have been some antient town; for I saw on both sides of it ruins of a wall extending towards the sea. We came to the most eastern point of the island, called by the antients the ox's tail*, probably from some imaginary resemblance; it is now called the cape of St. Andrew, from a monastery which is cut out of the rock, and dedicated to that saint. Opposite to the north-east corner are the isles called Clides by the antients†; the largest of which is not a mile in circumference; authors differ about the number of them; those who name but two, probably took notice only of the two largest; there are two more that appear only as rocks, the furthest of which is not a mile from the land; there is another which has some herbage on it, and may be the second as to its dimensions; it is so very near to the land that it may have been separated from it since those authors wrote. At the north-east corner there is a grot cut out of the rock, which seems to have been a sepulchre; there are some signs of a large enclosure round it, and higher are several forts of oblong square buildings of hewn stone, which appear but very little above the ground, and seem to have had covers over them; I conjecture that they were sepulchres of very great antiquity; one, which is built in a more magnificent manner than the rest, made me conclude that they might be the sepulchres of the antient kings of this part of Cyprus; it consists of three enclosures; there are but two tiers of stone above ground; the outermost building is one and thirty feet square, and the walls are one foot nine inches thick; within it, at the distance of two feet six inches, there is a second; and, at the same distance within that, a third; the top of which is cut with a ledge within to receive a cover. It is possible the two outer walls might be built up higher, and there might have been entrances through them to the sepulchre; the whole is a very particular sort of work, and of such kind as I never saw in any other place. There are signs of foundations of a building on a little mount, which is a rock of marble of different colours stretching into the sea, and it is a very good situation for a light house, though there are some remains on a little point very near it, that have more the appearance of such a building. All this country to the east of Carpaß, for about twelve miles, is almost uninhabited, except that there are a few Turkish herdsmen on the south-side, where there is a fine narrow plain. The desolate condition of this part of the island is occasioned by the constant depredations of the Maltese privateers, who land more frequently here than in any other part. From this eastern point I saw very plainly mount Cassius near Antioch, and the mountain of Rhossus, now called cape Hog, which is between Kephè and Scanderoon.

We travelled on southward from this point, and in less than an hour arrived at the uninhabited convent of saint Andrea, in which there formerly lived two or three monks. We went to the south side of the island, crossed the hills, and came to a very large village which is called Mairou, which is about half a mile broad; at the west end of it we began to cross the hills to the north, and saw a cape to the south called Peda. We arrived again at Carpaß on the sixteenth, and went to the convent of Jaloufa; we passed by Selenia, where I saw remains of pillars four feet in diameter, and came to Jaloufa. On the seventeenth we went about two leagues to the south-east of Jaloufa,

* Ptol. v. 14. † Plin. Hist. v. 35. Strabo xvi. p. 682.

near a place called Aimama, and came to a large grot cut into the mountain, being very difficult of access; and there is another grot of the same kind two leagues to the east of it, near a village called Galliporno; it is a gallery with four apartments on each side, in most of which there are holes cut down like sepulchres, which are now filled up; on the hills above it, are some small ruins of an antient place, which might be Urania, taken by Diogenes Poliorcetes, and I saw near the grot a great number of sepulchres cut into the rock, many of them being in the manner of graves, which seem to have had stone covers over them; towards the west end of this promontory the mountains are very high, and the foot of them stretches out in such a manner towards the north-sea, that there is no passage on the north side of them; and, I suppose that these hills were the bounds of the kingdom of Carpasia on the north-west side; those to the south-west being probably the low mountains, by which there is a narrow pass to the sea. Aphroditium was situated near the west part of the promontory, and probably on the shore to the north; it was about nine miles from the territory of Salamis. From this grotto we returned again to Jaloufa. On the eighteenth we travelled to the north-west and came to Androniga, where part of the village are Turks, who are sometimes under such apprehensions of the Corsairs, that for security they go and lie on the mountains, and they told me, that some of them have even perished with cold in those retreats; we afterwards came to a village of Turks, where one of them holds his lands on the condition of entertaining strangers, and his people came and drew water for our mules; this was in the road from the northern part to Famagusta. From this place we went out of the road northwards, near an hour to the mountains called Elhberve; on the highest summit of which is the strong castle of the hundred chambers before mentioned, which is almost entire. We lay at a Christian village on the north side of this hill.

CHAP. IV.—Of *Nicosia, Gerines, Lapta, and Soli.*

ON the nineteenth we travelled westward on the north side of the island, and came to a very pleasant village called Agathon, situated at the beginning of the plain on the sea; there are a great number of cypress and orange trees about it, and it is probable that Macaria was situated near this place. The plain is a very narrow strip of land, not above a mile broad, but extends westward for about thirty miles, almost to the bay where these mountains end; I take this to have been the kingdom of Lapithia, and shall have occasion to make some observations on the supposed capital of it. On the twentieth we pursued our journey, and ascending the hills to the south, visited two small convents, and afterwards the monastery of Antiphonesè; it is famous for the Lignum Cyprinum, of which there are seven trees, there being no others of that kind in the island; it is the oriental plane tree, and is engraved among the plants which I brought from the east. We crossed over the hill to the south, and came into the great plain between Famagusta and Nicosia, and lay at a Christian village called Marashoulou. On the twenty-first we travelled north-west to a village called Chytorea by the Franks, of which I have already given an account, and of the river there, which supplied the aqueduct at Salamis.

From this place we travelled to the south-west to Nicosia. I went to the house of the consul's broker, and was also recommended to the dragoman of the mosque; both of them assisted me in seeing that city, which is towards the west end of the plain, and is supposed to be the old Tremitus; it is the capital of Cyprus, where the mosque or governor resides; it is fortified with very large ramparts, but has no fosse, and consequently is a very indifferent fortification; the ramparts are faced with the hewn stone
of

of the old walls; the circumference of them is about two miles. The walls of the ancient city, which were built with semicircular towers, may be traced all round, and they seem not to have been much less than four miles in compass. There are still remaining in the city several very magnificent houses, which are of the times of the kings of Cyprus; some of them have been repaired by the Venetians, according to the rules of modern architecture; and there is a most beautiful Corinthian door-case of a house which, they say, belonged to the Venetian general. The cathedral church, now a mosque, is a large building, and exceeds that of Famagusta in the front as much as it falls short of it in other respects; there was also a church here dedicated to the holy cross, and another of the Augustinians, which are now mosques. The Greeks have several new built churches in the city, and the Latin fathers of the convent of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem have a small convent. Though there are very few Armenians, yet they have possession of an ancient church here. There is a great manufacture of cotton stuffs, particularly of very fine dimities, and also half satins of a coarse sort; they have here the best water in Cyprus, brought by an aqueduct from the mountains.

Two leagues to the north-east of Nicosia, on the side of the mountain, is the rich convent of Saint Chrysostom, to which we went on the twenty-third; it belongs to the Greek convent of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem; over it, towards the top of the mountain, there is a place called the Hundred and one chambers, which consists of several buildings, one over another; the highest is very difficult of access; they have a tradition, that a queen of Cyprus, who had the leprosy, chose to live here for the benefit of the air, and that Saint John Chrysostom advising her to build the convent below, she followed his counsel, and was cured of her leprosy; others add, that she bathed in a water there, which is still resorted to by persons in that distemper, who find benefit by it. This monastery has been a very large building, though great part of it is ruined; there are two churches, one of which, called Saint Helena, is ruinous; the other is covered with a dome, and painted all over within; it is dedicated to Saint John Chrysostom; before it is a handsome portico, from which there are three doors with fine marble door-cases, that do not seem to be very ancient; two scepters were formerly deposited behind the folding doors, the figures of which are painted on the wall, and at the bottom there is a place where the crown was kept. All the account they can give is, that they belonged to some queen, and that they were taken away by a pasha of Cyprus. It is probable that the regalia of Cyprus were kept here. This convent is near the road which leads to Gerines.

We crossed the hills again to the north, and lay at a village called Chilta. On the twenty-fourth we went to a most magnificent uninhabited convent, which is almost entire, called Telabaisè; it consists of a very beautiful cloister; on one side of it there is a magnificent refectory, on the other a fine room up one flight of stairs, which might be a library, and under it there are two very handsome apartments, one of which might be a common refectory, and the other probably served to receive strangers; on a third side is a church of a more ancient and heavy building; all the rest is of a very fine Gothic architecture, and in the cloister they have made a cistern of a beautiful coffin of white marble, adorned with bulls heads, Cupids, and festoons of exquisite workmanship.

We went about three miles to a ruined port called Gerines, which is the ancient Cerynia; the ruined walls are about half a mile in circumference, and seem to be on the foundation of the ancient walls; for I observed on the west side, a large fosse cut out of the rock, and the old town might extend further east beyond the present square fort, which is about a quarter of a mile in circumference. Though this place is

esteemed to be very strong, yet the Venetian governor, when the Turks were marching towards it, (after they had taken Nicosia), shamefully surrendered the fort before the enemy laid siege to it. To the west of the town there are a great number of sepulchral grots, and I saw some pillars standing, and remains of the foundations of an antient building. There is one church in the town, which is entire, and two or three in ruins; the priest resides in a convent of Solea, there being not above five or six Christian families in the place; the chief trade here is with Selefkî in Caramania, which is the antient Seleucia in Cilicia; the commerce is carried on by two small French vessels, which export rice and coffee to that part, which is brought to Cyprus from Egypt; and they bring back storax, and a great number of passengers: they also sometimes go over to Satalia, the antient Attalia in Pamphylia; but Selefkî is the nearest place to this part of the island, being only thirty leagues off.

We set forward towards the west, and travelled about two leagues to the ruins of the antient Lapithos*, which I suppose to be the capital of another kingdom. Here I saw several walls that were cut out of the rock, and one entire room over the sea; there are also remains of some towers and walls, but the old name is translated to a village near called Lapta, where there are some sources of very fine water, which seem to be those of the antient river Lapithos†. I lay here at the rich convent called Acropedè.

On the twenty-fifth we went on to a bay, and saw a cape beyond it called in Blaeu's map Cormachiti, which seems to be the old cape Crommuon. We crossed the hills to the south, and came into the western part of the plain in which Nicosia stands; for this plain is bounded to the west by some low hills, which stretch from the end of the northern mountains to the southern ones; on the north side is the bay where I suppose the antient city of Soli stood.

When we had crossed the hills, having travelled about six hours, we came to Morpho; they told me this place was eight leagues from Nicosia; probably the city Limenia might be situated here. We went to the magnificent convent of Saint Mamma at this place, which appears to have been built on a very grand design; it consists of two courts, the buildings of which are unfinished; they are separated by a very magnificent church, built of hewn stone, and dedicated to Saint Mamma, whose sepulchre they shew in it. She is had in great veneration in Cyprus, and they have some legend concerning her riding on a lion, in which manner they always paint her. Though the building is not of modern architecture, yet it does not appear to be very antient; I conclude, that it might be built a little before the Venetians had possession of the island; being founded by some noble family of Cyprus; they have a water here, which they say is miraculous.

On the twenty-sixth we went four hours to the north-west to a large bay, where, I suppose, the kingdom of Ægea begins, in which the famous Solon took refuge when he was banished out of Greece. It is said, that he advised the king of this country to leave the city of Ægea, which was situated between the mountains, and to inhabit a plainer country. I was told that there is a place now called Ege, situated on the hills. At the north-west corner of the before-mentioned bay, where the southern hills come to the sea, there are ruins of a very considerable city, which I suppose to be Soli; on the west and south sides it was bounded by those hills; and to the north and east by the sea, a wall being drawn from the hills to the sea, some remains of which are still seen, as well as of a basin, for the shipping to lie in. The most remarkable ruins of this place are a little way up the side of the hills to the west, where I saw the ruins of a

* Strabo, xiv. p. 682.

† Ptol. v. 14.

femicircular wall, but could not judge whether it was the remains of a church, or of an ancient temple or theatre; lower on the plain are three piers remaining, which are ten feet wide, eight thick, and fifteen feet apart; I could discern that arches had been turned on them; they were adorned on the outside with Corinthian pilasters, the capitals of which were very well executed; it seems to have been a portico to some very grand building. The front is to the north, and on every pier within there is a niche about eight feet high and four feet broad; these niches, doubtless, were designed for statues; probably this was the temple of Venus and Isis that was in the city*, which had its name from that wise lawgiver Solon; the place is now called Aligora, that is, the sea mart. There is a river falls into the sea at this place, and as the channel of it is not kept open, it makes a morass. This, doubtless, is the river mentioned by the ancients at this place. Some modern writers have placed Soli at Lefca, a village about a league north of this place. The ancient cape Calinusa seems to be that point which is to the west of this bay.

Returning southwards to the road, we pursued our journey to the west, and in about an hour and a half came to Lefca; it is a long village built up the side of those hills, which we crossed into the delightful country of Solea, which is a vale about a mile wide, and winds between the hills for seven or eight miles; it is much improved with gardens and buildings, and is very well watered with springs and rivulets. We went to a convent where the bishop of Gerines commonly resides; it is situated on the side of the hills, where there are very rich iron mines, which are not now worked.

On the twenty-seventh we went along the vale, and crossing the hills came to the small convent of St. Nicholas, situated between the hills, where there is such an agreeable variety of fields, wood, water, and cascades, that it is one of the most delightful solitudes I ever saw; two streams come rushing down the hills, and are carried all through the country of Solea in many rivulets. The Asbestos of Cyprus is found in the hills about two leagues to the south-east of that place.

We travelled in a very difficult road along the sides of the hills to the convent of St. John. I observed a great number of pine trees, which they destroy by cutting them at the bottom, in order to extract tar. On the twenty-eighth we travelled over several hills, and ascended the highest of them, where it is very cold, to the convent called Panaia Cheque, or the Madonna of Cheque, where they have a miraculous picture of the blessed Virgin and our Saviour, painted, as they say, by St. Luke, and brought from Constantinople by a king of Cyprus, whom they call Ifage. This place is as much resorted to by the Greeks, as Loretto is by the Latins, and the people come to it even from Muscovy. The convent belongs to the archbishop of Nicosia, and has about seventy monks in it. I was received here with great civility by the superior, who met us without the gate, conducted me to the church, and then to their apartments, where I was served with marmalade, a dram, and coffee, and about an hour after with a light collation, and in the evening with a grand entertainment at supper.

CHAP.V. — *Of Arsinæ, Paphos, and Curium.*

ON the twenty-ninth we travelled over the mountains, and passed by some old iron works; they shewed us a village called Saraim to the east, where they said a part of the mountain had been thrown down by an earthquake: we arrived the same evening at the convent of Diamone. I had a view of the bay of St. Nicholas to the north-west, in

* Strabo. xvi. 683.

which Arfinoe seems to have been situated, where there was a grove sacred to Jupiter *. They talk much of the fountain of lovers, but they informed me that there are no ruins about it. They mention also the port of Agama in this part, and some ruins near it, which probably are the remains of the ancient Arfinoe, and the present name of it may be derived from cape Acamas †, which was the most western point of the island. Opposite to the bay is a small island called St. Nicholas, from which the bay has its name. I was told by the monks, if I do not mistake, that the old name of this island (probably that of the middle ages) was Stiria. Towards the sea, to the north, there is a village called Bole, where I was informed there were iron mines and hot mineral waters.

On the thirtieth we passed the hills which are on the west side of the island, and went to the south-west into a plain, which is about fifteen miles long and three wide; the city of new Paphos, and the port of old Paphos were on this plain. This country probably made another kingdom, of which Paphos might be the capital. We arrived at Baffa, which is situated near the place where new Paphos stood; it is on a rocky eminence in a narrow plain on the sea, which is separated from the great plain by some low rocky cliffs, which might antiently be washed by the sea before new Paphos was built. These cliffs are now full of sepulchral grotts, which, doubtless, were made for the use of the city. To the west of the town there is a point of land, and the old port was to the south-east of it, in an angle made by a small promontory, and was sheltered by piers built out into the sea, some remains of which are still to be seen. The city seems to have been to the east and north of the port; and I observed a very large fosse cut out of the rock to the north of the old town, where probably they dug their stones for building. There are several lofty rooms hewn out of the rock, and many small apartments; one of them seems to have served for a large cistern, there being a hole in the top to draw up the water, and stairs down to it cut out of the rock; it is probable this was filled in winter by an aqueduct from the mountains, of which there are some remains near the town; by this means the city might be supplied with good water in the summer time, of which there is a great scarcity in the island. To the north of the port there are some signs of an antient temple on a ground raised by art; from the manner in which the grey granite pillars lie, and by the disposition of the ground, I judged there was a colonnade round it, and a portico to the west with a double colonnade; the pillars are about two feet in diameter. Half a furlong to the east of this there are foundations of a smaller building of hewn stone near the corner of the port, which might be either a temple or some other public building. Farther to the east are the remains of a large church, which probably was the cathedral, and seems to have been built on the foundations of a great temple, for there are some very large pillars of grey granite now standing near it; they are about three feet in diameter, and finely polished; it is needless to mention, that both these temples were without doubt dedicated to Venus, for whose worship this city was famous. This place probably began to be considerable when Ptolemy the son of Lagos demolished Citium, and removed the inhabitants to this city; it was almost entirely destroyed by an earthquake, but was rebuilt by Augustus, and called Augusta, in honour of him. Near the cistern before-mentioned there is a church under ground cut out of the rock, dedicated to the seven sleepers; and in the town there are ruins of several churches, and houses, most of which are uninhabited. This city is famous in sacred history for being honoured with the presence of Saint Paul, and on account of his having here converted Sergius, the governor of the island, to Christianity ‡. About a mile to the north there is a rocky ground near the sea shore,

* Strabo, xiv. p. 683.

† Ptol. v. 14.

‡ Acts, xiii. 17.

cut out into sepulchral grotts; many of them seem to have been designed for rooms, and some of them are very large; I saw five or six, which probably were inhabited by families of a superior rank, having a court in the middle, and a colonnade of two Doric pillars in front, and three on each side, with an entablature over them, all cut in the rock, and some of the pillars are fluted; one side of these courts is open in front; in each of the other three sides there is a room cut out of the rock, and the door-cases are executed in a beautiful manner.

Half a mile to the east of this place is the new town of Bassa, where the governor resides, new Paphos being now called old Bassa, and is inhabited only by a few Christians, and by a small garrison in a castle at the port. There was antiently at new Paphos a celebrated meeting once a year for the worship of Venus, from which place they went sixty stadia in procession to the temple of Venus, at the port of old Paphos, where, according to the fables of the antients, that goddess, who is said to have been born of the froth of the sea, came ashore on a shell. The ruins of the city, called by the antients new Paphos, are now known by the name of old Bassa, where there is a small village of the same name about a mile to the south of Bassa. There is an aga and some janizaries who live at the fort in this place. I was recommended to a brother of the bishop of Bassa, who at that time was imprisoned by the Turks at Famagusta, by the instigation of the archbishop of Nicosia, with whom he had some difference; and I afterwards saw him at Rosetto, when he fled from this place into Egypt. When I was in my lodgings some janizaries came to me, and afterwards the poor aga of the fort, who were very inquisitive about me, on which I took occasion to talk of my design to wait on the great aga at Bassa, with a letter I had to him. On the first of December I waited on the aga with my letter, and a small present of sugar, which I found was necessary, and could be of no ill consequence, as it was the only present I should have occasion to make on the island. He entertained me with coffee, and sent his falconer along with me, who attended me with his hawk wherever I had an inclination to go.

When I had seen every thing there, we proceeded on our journey; going at some distance from the sea along the plain, in an hour we came to a running water, and saw some ruins of the aqueduct to the right, which here crosses the river on an arch: in half an hour more we came to Borgo Ashedieh, where there are remains of a high Gothic aqueduct. Opposite to this place is the first small cape to the south-east of Bassa, which might be the old promontory Zephyrium*. In half an hour we passed by Ideme, and about the same distance we were opposite to another cape, which might be that of Arsinoe; the port of Arsinoe might be on one side of it, and the port of old Paphos on the other, which was a mile and a quarter from that city; for though I went in search of it, at the cape opposite to Coucleh, where old Paphos stood, and observed the ruins of several aqueducts that way, yet I could see no signs of the port. We ascended to the village of Coucleh, which is situated on a narrow hill extending to the south into the plain. Old Paphos was doubtless here, and there are great heaps of ruins about the place, and remains of the foundations of thick walls; the ruins extend about a quarter of a mile in breadth, and half a mile in length. Some say that this city was built by Paphus, son of Pigmalion, others that it was founded by Cynarus, king of Crete, and father of Adonis.

These hills extend quite across the island, and are much lower in this part than they are towards the north; they end here in high white cliffs; and where they make

* Strabo, *ibid.* Ptol. v. 14.

a great head of land to the south, they are known to mariners by the name of cape Bianco, part of which might be the promontory called Drepanum by the antients *. We travelled over these hills to the east, and in about two hours from Coucleh came to a Turkish village called Alefcora, where we got a place to lodge in with great difficulty.

On the second we went near a large Turkish village called Afdim, which is the same as Audino or Aitimo. We went on to the other side of cape Bianco, and came to two delightful villages which are contiguous; they are called Episcopi and Colossè. These villages are finely watered, and most beautifully improved with mulberry trees for the silk worms, and also with a great number of orange and lemon gardens. At the south end of Colossè there is an antient preceptory of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, which is now in ruins; there are likewise the remains of a very high aqueduct that conveyed water to it, and I saw an epitaph of one of the priors of this place, who died in one thousand four hundred and fifty-three. It is the opinion of some that the antient city of Curium was here, but I could not see the least sign of any ruins; but on the hill to the west I observed the foundations of a thick wall, which seemed to have encompassed some antient town, which probably was the city of Curium; and it is not unlikely that the grove, sacred to Apollo near Curium, was where the village of Episcopi now stands, which is a place abounding in water. They think also that the low promontory called cape Gatto was the promontory Curias, from which they threw any one into the sea, who presumed to touch the altar of Apollo; but as this is very low land, it is probable that it was from some point to the west of Curium, where there are high cliffs, and might possibly be a part of what is now called cape Bianco. To the east of Episcopi there is a small river, which I should have thought to have been the Lycus of the antients, if that river had not been mentioned †, as between the town and the promontory. Cape Phrurium is mentioned ‡ near Curium, which might be the south-east part of this great head of land, as Drepanum was probably that to the north-west. The head of land called cape Gatto is to the south of Episcopi; it is a low land, the north and west part of it is a morass, and there is a large salt lake on the east side, which is filled by the winter rains, and is almost dry in summer: the south part of this promontory is a barren rocky soil, and there is a ruinous uninhabited convent on it, called St. Nicholas. They have a ridiculous story, that the monks of this convent kept cats in order to hunt and kill the serpents, of which there are great numbers here; this they say gave rise to the name of the cape; and they add withal, that on ringing a bell the cats used to leave off their diversion, and return home.

To the east of this cape there is a bay, and at the west corner of it Limefol is situated, where I first landed in the island. As I did not meet with any ship there bound to Egypt, I returned to Larnica, where I found a French ship sailing for Damietta, on which I embarked on the eighth of December. We were obliged by contrary winds to put in at Limefol, where we were detained six days, and I landed a second time in Egypt at Damietta, on the twenty-fifth of December one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the natural history, natives, custom, trade, and government of Cyprus.*

THE climate of Cyprus is not so temperate as that of many other parts in the same latitude; the winds, which blow from the high mountains of Cilicia in the winter, make the island very cold, especially the northern parts; and some of the high hills of

* Ptol. v. 14.

† Ptol. v. 14.

‡ Ptol. ibid.

the island being covered with snow all the winter, make fires very necessary during the cold season, though they are seldom used in any other parts of the Levant; the clouds also breaking on these hills, often fall down in heavy rains for many days together, insomuch that I was informed it had sometimes rained there for forty days almost incessantly. These mountains and the shallow soil, which is mostly on a white freestone, make it excessively hot in summer, and the island is very unhealthy, especially to strangers, who often get fevers here, which either carry them off, or at least continue for a considerable time, the disorder lurking in the blood, and occasioning frequent relapses.

The soil of Cyprus is for the most part rocky; there are in it many entire hills of talc or gypse, some running in plates, and another sort in floots, like crystal; the latter is used in many parts, especially at Larnica, as stone for building; they have also in the mountains near that city a very thin marble paving stone, that cuts like chalk with a common saw, and much of it seems to have been laid in the walls, in order to bind the stones. Near Nicosia they have a yellowish marble, which, they say, when burnt produces a small quantity of sulphur. At a mountain towards Solia, the Albestus or Amiantus, called by some the cotton stone, is found in great plenty; it is of a blackish green colour, but runs in veins in such a manner, that the staple of it is not above half an inch long; it is much to be questioned whether they could ever spin it to a thread, but by some experiments tried with it, I have reason to think that an incombustible paper might easily be made of it, like that which they make of the Albestus of Muscovy. Near Bafia there is a hill that produces a stone called the Bafia diamond; it is very hard, and seems rather to exceed the Bristol and Kerry stones. Cyprus has also been very famous for its minerals, and for many sorts of precious stones, which were probably found in the mines. In going round the island I saw only two iron mines, which are not now worked, because in Cyprus they want hands to cultivate the ground; nor is it agreeable to the inclination of the people to be employed in these mines, because they would not be well paid by the officers of the grand treasury; one of those iron mines is about half a day's journey east-north-east of Bafia; the other is at Solia, where there is a large hill that seems entirely to consist of this ore, which is very fine and light, being porous and crumbling, and of a red colour. They have here also the several sorts of earth used by painters, called Terra Umrâ, Verde, Rôu, and Jalla; and I was assured, that not long ago a traveller found a very fine azure earth, which is uncommon, and either is not much known, or is found in small quantities; otherwise it would without doubt be exported.

The antients mention three rivers in Cyprus, the Lycus, Tetius, and Pedius, though at the best they deserve only the name of rivulets, and I suppose the water seldom fails in these, though it is generally said that there are no rivers in Cyprus; it is certain they have no fresh water fish, except small crabs, which are in most of the rivers in Asia. All round the island there are beds of winter torrents, which run from the mountains after rains, but during the summer months, when it never rains in these southern parts, they are entirely dry, excepting some few springs which have been rarely known to fail. The water, which is drawn out of wells, is almost all brackish, occasioned by the great quantity of nitre in the soil, which produces the salt in the lakes before-mentioned; at Larnica they send above a league for all the good water they drink. The water of the island seems to depend almost entirely on the rain; and when clouds have been wanting either to fall down in rain, or to feed the springs, by lying on the mountains, a great drought has always ensued; and historians relate, that there having been no rain for thirty-six years, the island was abandoned in the time of Constantine, for want of water.

It is said that this island received its name from the cypress trees, which it is certain grew on it in very great abundance, especially on the eastern promontory, and in the northern parts of the island. There is a sort of tree which grows in most parts of Cyprus, which is called by some the cedar, and much resembles it in every thing but its seed, which is like the juniper; it is called in Greek Avorados, and I have been since informed that it is a sort of juniper, and is much like the tree that they call cedar, which is brought from the West Indies, and possibly may be the same, but here it grows rather like a large shrub than a tree. They have also the common juniper on the mountains, and pine trees in great numbers, with which they make tar; they have likewise the caroub, called in Greek, Keraka, which is supposed to be the locust tree, the fruit of which in this island exceeds that of any other country, growing like a flat bean, and is exported both to Syria and Egypt. Most of the trees in this island are ever green, but it is most famous for the tree called by the natives, Xylon Effendi [the wood of our Lord], and by naturalists Lignum Cyprinum, and Lignum Rhodium, because it grows in these two islands; it is called also the rose wood, by reason of its smell; some say it is in other parts of the Levant, and also in the isle of Martinico. It grows like the platanus or plane-tree, and bears a seed or mast like that, only the leaf and fruit are rather smaller; the botanists call it the oriental plane-tree; the leaves being rubbed have a fine balsamic smell, with an orange flavour; it produces an excellent white turpentine, especially when any incisions are made in the bark. I suppose it is from this that they extract a very fine perfumed oil, which, they say, as well as the wood, has the virtue of fortifying the heart and brain. The common people here cut off the bark and wood together, toast it in the fire, and suck it, which they esteem a specific remedy in a fever, and seem to think that it has a miraculous operation. They make here Labdanum or Ladanum of a very small balsamic aromatic shrub called Ladany, and by botanists Cistus Ledon, or Cistus Ladanifera; it is said that the goats feeding on it in the month of May, a juice sticks to their beards, and makes a sort of a cake, which, being taken off, they purify it, and make the Labdanum; this is in some measure true; but that sort requires much labour in order to clean it, and it is never perfectly sweet, so that in Cyprus they use the same method as in the other islands, and make an instrument which they call Staveros, because it is like a cross; it exactly resembles a cross bow, and they tie pieces of yarn to it about three feet long. In the month of May they draw this yarn over the leaves, and the balmy substance sticking to the yarn, they lay it in the sun, and when it is hot, draw it off from the yarn. The common people mix it up with sand, in order to make it weigh the heavier, which is what the druggists call Labdanum in tortis, and in this manner it is commonly sold; but being purified from the sand, it is of the nature of soft bees wax, which is what they call Liquid Labdanum. It is esteemed as a great remedy against many disorders, taken either inwardly or outwardly, and the smoke of it is good for the eyes, but it is mostly used against the infection of the plague, by carrying it in the hand and smelling to it. The island produces also cotton and coloquintida, and a root called Fuy, which is a sort of Madder; it abounds also in vineyards, but the common wine is very bad. The rich Cyprus wine, which is so much esteemed in all parts, is very dear, and produced only about Limesol; in some few places indeed they make good red wine.

They plough with their cows, which, as I was informed, they do not milk, looking on it as cruel to milk and work the same beast; but perhaps they may rather have regard to the young that are to be nourished by them. This loss is made up by their goats, which are spotted in a more beautiful manner than any I have ever seen; indeed a great part of the soil of Cyprus is more fit for goats than for large cattle; they make

cheese of their milk, which is famous all over the Levant, and is the only good cheese to be met with in these parts; they are small and thick, much in the shape of the ancient weights, and are kept in oil, otherwise when they are new they would breed a worm, and when old soon grow dry. The Turks have such an aversion to swine, that the Christians dare not keep them where they have less power than they have in Cyprus; but from this place the Christians in all parts are supplied with excellent hams, which they cure in a particular manner by salting them, pouring the rich wine on them, and when they have pressed them very dry they hang them up. They have very few horses in Cyprus; they use mules both for burthen and the saddle, of which they have a good breed; the poorer sort of people make use of asses. They have few wild beasts or game, except foxes, hares, and wild goats; and among their birds the chief are a very beautiful partridge, which I believe is the same as the red partridge in France, and a beautiful bird called in Italian *Francolino*, and in Greek *Astokinara*, which I have mentioned before. There are a surprising number of snakes here, but few of them venomous, except a small kind; a species, which is generally thought to be the asp, supplies the place of the viper, and is said to have the same virtues; it is called *Kouphi* [Blind]. The largest of them are near two inches thick, and are bigger in proportion than snakes, the head being rather small with regard to their bodies, and it is positively affirmed, that they have been known to swallow a hare whole, which, if true, must be understood of a young one; their bite is exceedingly venomous, but it has been cured by medicines, and by the serpent stone. I have been informed that there is an asp in Italy which is not deaf; it is possible the Psalmist might mean this reptile, when he made mention of the deaf adder, which refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer. They have an exceeding large broad spider, somewhat resembling a small crab; the Franks call it the *Tarantula*, but I believe it is not the same which is found in Apulia. There is here a brown house lizard called a *Taranta*, and if it walks over any part of the body, it causes a very great itching, which continues for some time with much pain. I do not find that they have scorpions, which are so common in Syria; but the locusts, when they come, ravage the country in a most terrible manner, destroy whole fields of corn where they alight, and eat the leaves of the mulberry trees, on which their silk depends.

The Cypriotes are the most subtle and artful people in all the Levant, nor have they more veracity than their neighbours, so that their words are not to be depended upon, as they make use of all means that way to deceive. The women are little superior to their ancestors with regard to their virtue; and as they go unveiled, so they expose themselves in a manner that in these parts is looked on as very indecent. They go every Whitsunday in procession to the sea side, which seems to be some remains of the heathen custom of going annually in procession to the sea, in remembrance of Venus's coming out of it, which was antiently attended with some other circumstances. They retain here the barbarous custom of the other eastern nations of treating their wives as servants; they wait on them at table, and never sit down with them, unless in such families as are civilized by much conversation with the Franks; for having been under the Greek emperors, and the Venetians, they have come very much into the European customs. They make use of chairs and tables, and lie on oblong square tables, probably to be more free from the noxious animals in the summer, and from the damps occasioned by the great rains in the winter; they make use of carriages with two wheels, drawn by oxen. The common people here dress much in the same manner as they do in the other islands of the Levant; but those who value themselves on being somewhat above the vulgar, dress like the Turks, but were a red

cap turned up with fur, which is the proper Greek dress, and used by those of the islands in whatever parts of the Levant they live.

CYPRUS, on account of its situation, and the cheapness of all sorts of provisions in the island, is the place where almost all ships touch on their voyages in these parts; and by this way a correspondence is carried on between all the places of the Levant and Christendom; so that furnishing ships with provisions is one of the principal branches of the trade of this island, and they sometimes export corn to Christendom, though it is contrary to their laws. They send their cottons to Holland, England, Venice, and Lethorn, and wool to Italy and France. They have a root of an herb called in Arabic Bush, in Greek Lizaré, and in Latin Rubia Tinctorum, which they send to Sanderoun, and by Aleppo to Diarbeck and Persia, with which they dye red, but it serves only for cottons, for which it is also used here; it is called by the English Madder, but it is doubted whether it is the Madder so well known in Holland; they export a red dye for woollen stuffs, which is falsely called by the English vermilion, though that it is known to be made of Cinnabar; whereas this is the produce of the seed of Alkermes, called by botanists *Ilex coccifer*; there is a small hole in the seed, out of which there comes a very fine powder, called the powder of Alkermes, of which the Syrup of Alkermes is made, and the seeds afterwards serve for dying, and both are exported to Venice and Marseilles. Coloquintida is cultivated here, and esteemed better than that of Egypt, which being larger does not dry so well; it grows like the calabash. The seed is sent into England, and to Germany, being much used in the latter for embalming bodies; in Egypt they fill the shell with milk, and let it stand some time, and take it as an emetic. They prepare a great quantity of yellow, red, and black Turkey leather, which they send to Constantinople; and they export yearly near a hundred thousand pound weight of raw silk to London and Marseilles; for as it is a hard weighty silk, it is much used in making gold and silver laces, and also for sewing. At Nicosia they make fine plain cotton dimities. In a word, it is a surprizing thing to see Cyprus maintain its own people in such great plenty, and export so many things abroad, when one considers the extent of the island, and that half of it at least is mountainous, and much of it near the sea lies uncultivated, by reason of the Corsairs; nor is the island well peopled, eighty thousand souls being the most that are computed in it; whereas historians say, than in Trajan's time the Jews massacred here in one day two hundred and forty thousand persons, and since that time they have never permitted any Jews to live in the island; so that when this island was well inhabited and cultivated, the produce of it must have been very great.

Two thirds of the inhabitants are Christians, and there are twelve thousand that pay the tribute as such, exclusive of the women and children; they are mostly Greeks; there are indeed near Nicosia some few villages of Maronites, and in the city of Nicosia a small number of Armenians, who are very poor, though they have an archbishop, and a convent in the country; the Mahometan men very often marry with the Christian women, and keep the faith with their wives. Many of them are thought to be not averse to Christianity; nevertheless the Turks are so jealous of the power of the Christians here, that they will not suffer them to buy any black slaves or others, that are Mahometans, which former are frequently brought to Egypt, and sold to the Turks. The Greeks have an archbishop of Nicosia, and three bishops of Larnica, Gerines, and Bassa; the Greeks are every where in possession of their churches, but cannot repair any that are ruined without a licence; they are built in the style of the Syrian churches, but are generally covered with cupolas; they had formerly a custom here, as they have in many other parts, of hanging out flags at the west end of their churches on

Sundays and holidays, and I saw some of the stones which had holes in them for that purpose. There are a great number of monasteries in the island; they are to be looked on as religious societies, who go out to labour on the lands that belong to them, with their superior to oversee them; this is their employment all day, and half the night is spent in performing their services: they may be also looked on as places of education, where the youth who labour by day learn to read and chant their offices at night: the lay servants, who are distinguished only by a cap, answer to the lay brothers in the Roman church; but they never take the vow, and may leave the convent and marry; in these respects the eastern churches pretty much agree. There is no nunnery in Cyprus, and I saw only one of the Greek church throughout all Syria, nunneries being very uncommon in these parts, except among the Maronites of mount Libanon. They take only the vow of chastity and obedience, and every monk generally buys his own cloaths, and pays his tribute to the Grand Signior out of his own purse, which chiefly depends on the charity of those who come to the convents, either for devotion, retirement, or diversion. Where a convent is well situated, the Turks often come and stay in it, and put the convent to some expence, and never make any return; they also serve as inns to which all people resort; but the Christians always leave something at their departure. What a monk is worth when he dies, goes to the bishop of the diocese. The priests here are very ignorant, as most of them are in the eastern churches; and though Greek is their mother tongue, they do not so much as understand the antient Greek of the New Testament, though the modern Greek differs very little from it; but in Cyprus the Greek is more corrupted than in many other islands, as they have taken some words from the Venetians whilst they were among them; it is notwithstanding a sweet language, but they speak it very fast.

Till within thirty years past Cyprus was governed by a pasha, but now it is under a more inferior officer, called a mosolem. The late Grand Signior gave this island as a dowry to his daughter, who was married to the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, and since that time the island has belonged to the Grand Vizier: he legally makes of it about seventy-five purses a year, each purse being about seventy pounds sterling, but then he has only a share of the harach, and of a tax called the nozoul; and I have been informed that the whole island brings in five hundred purses a year. There are also fees for offences, and upon account of any unnatural death; in the latter case the village pays one purse. The original property of all the lands is in the Grand Signior, who sells them to the inhabitants and their male heirs, and in default of male heirs, the lands revert to the Grand Signior, who disposes of them in like manner: the tythe of the land, which doubtless belonged to the church, is granted to two sorts of military bodies; one of them are called zains, of which there are eighteen chiefs, who have the tythes of the lands of a certain district, and are obliged to send a number of men to the war; the others are called timariotes; under the name of Timars lands are granted all over the Turkish empire on the same condition: there is also a poll tax called the nozoul; it is about six dollars a-year paid by all those who are not obliged to go to war, both Christians and Turks; and the Christians pay a tribute called the harach, which is universal over the Turkish empire; it is from ten to fifteen dollars a head; there is also a small duty of twenty-two timeens or forty-four medeens a head, which is about three shillings English, paid yearly to the village where every one is born: the salt and customs belong to the janizaries, who are about a thousand, and have generally an aga sent to govern them once a year from Constantinople. The Cypriotes having their lands at so easy a rate, any one would imagine that they must live very happily; but the mosolem is almost continually harassing the Christians, who often leave

the island, and go to the coast of Cilicia, and very frequently return again, out of that natural love which every one has for his own country : many of them, notwithstanding, settle in the sea port towns of Syria, which dispeoples the island very much. Cyprus is now divided into sixteen cadeliks, each having its aga or governor, and cadi or minister of justice ; they consist of sixteen towns * ; and it is probable that among them may be found the capitals of the fifteen kingdoms, into which, some say, the island of Cyprus was at first divided.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE EAST, &c.

BY RICHARD POCOCKE, LL.D. F.R.S.

Book the Fourth. Of the Island of Candia.

CHAP. I. — *From Alexandria in Egypt, to Rhodes and Candia.*

ON the second of July one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine I embarked at Alexandria, on board a Scotch vessel bound to Tunis, Algiers, and some other places on the coast of Africa, freighted with Moors on their return from Mecca ; I was to be landed at Canea in Candia, if the wind would permit. On the eighth we saw that part of the coast of Caramania, which by the antients was called Pamphylia, and were almost opposite to Satalia, which was the antient Attalia, and was south of Perga in Pamphylia. Here the apostles Barnabas and Paul embarked for Antioch, after the persecutions they had met with at Iconium †. In the evening we came up with the island called Castello Rosso : this was without doubt, one of the Chelidonian islands, which Strabo ‡ mentions as opposite to the sacred promontory where mount Taurus was supposed to begin ; and it may be that island which he says, had a road for ships, and probably it is the island Rhoge of Pliny §, and the present name may be a corruption from it, as I could see no reason for their calling it the red island ; it is high and rocky, and about two miles in length. There is a town and castle on the highest part of it, and the south side of this island seemed to be covered with vineyards ; there is a secure harbour to the north, and they told me that it was not above half a mile from the continent, and that they have plenty of good water ; it is inhabited by Greeks, and is a great resort for the Maltese, as there is no strong place to oppose them. Proceeding on our voyage I saw two small islands at a considerable distance, which, if I mistake not, are called Polietì, and seem to be those rocks which are marked in the sea chart, and in the map of Asia Minor. We were now opposite to Lycia ; a little to the north-west of these islands the river Lymira probably falls into the sea ; near it was the city Myra of Lycia, to which St. Paul came in his voyage from Cæsarea to Italy, and em-

* The names of these towns are Cherkes, Nicosia, Gerines, Morfo, Lefca, Solea, Bassa, Arsinoe, Aitimo or Aftim, Chrusosou, Limesol, Episcopi, Larnica, Messaria, Famagusta, and Carpafs.

† Acts, xxv. 26.

‡ Strabo, xiv. p. 666.

§ Plin. Hist. viii. 35.

barked on board a ship of Alexandria bound to that country *. Further to the west the river Xanthus falls into the sea; Patara was situated to the east of it, where St. Paul embarked on board a ship bound for Phœnicia, in his voyage from Miletus to Tyre †. On the eleventh we were opposite to cape Sardeni; to the north of it is the bay of Mecari, which extends a considerable way to the east; they told me there were three or four islands in this bay, which must be very small, being marked in the sea charts only as rocks. On the thirteenth we came near the east end of the isle of Rhodes, where there was so great a current coming from the north-east between the island and the continent, that the sea broke in at the cabin windows, even in calm weather. As the plague was at the capital town of Rhodes we did not think proper to go to it, though the wind was contrary; so we sailed along to the south of the island, and came in sight of Scarpanto but were drove back again to the island of Rhodes; and on the seventeenth, came to anchor in a bay to the west of Lendege and of cape Tranquillo; we went ashore to water at a stream about two miles to the south of a village called La Hania.

There is nothing in this island worthy of the curiosity of a stranger. The city of Rhodes was famous of old for the colossal statue of the sun, which was cast in brass by Chares, of the city of Lindus, who learnt his art under the famous Lytippos; it was seventy cubits high, and the stride was fifty fathoms wide. This statue was thrown down by an earthquake in the year nine hundred fifty-four; and the brass of it, which was carried by a Jew to Alexandria, is said to have loaded nine hundred camels. This island is also noted in history, as having belonged to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The Rhodians were remarkably faithful to the Romans, and were strong in their navy, the island producing a great quantity of timber, as it does at this time. Egypt is supplied with a great part of its fuel from this place, and here most of the Turkish men of war are built by the merchants of Constantinople, who receive a sum of money from the Porte, and use them in trade until there is occasion of them for public service; they are then obliged to deliver them, and are refunded the whole expence of building; by this means the Grand Signior has a number of ships at command, without being at any considerable expence beforehand; and these large ships, trading to Alexandria, are secure against the corsairs, which was the chief design of encouraging the building of them; there were at that time seven on the stocks. They make use of oak only in the ribs, the rest being all deal.

The pashalic of Rhodes is reckoned very dishonourable, and great persons have often been sent to it, who were designed for the bow string. When I was there, a deposed grand vizier was on the island; but as the present sultan's reign has not been bloody, so there are very few instances of any great men having been put to death by him. The French only have a consul at this island, and there is a small convent of capuchins. There are but very few Turks except in the city, the island being inhabited by Greek Christians. There is a great plenty of provisions here, though it is a mountainous country, but it produces very little wine. We went ashore, and taking our arms with us, walked to the village of La Hania, and desired the inhabitants to sell us some provisions, but they would give us none till their aga came to the village, whom they expected the next day, so we returned on board the ship. On the eighteenth I carried my tent ashore, and pitched it on a height over the stream. On the nineteenth two people from the aga came to us, with the Greeks, and told us we might buy what provisions we wanted. The case was, if the Greeks had furnished us with any thing,

* Acts, xxvii. 5.

† Acts, xxi. 1, 2.

before they had leave from the aga, he would have raised money on them, under a pretence that they had sold provisions to the Maltese, and they might have forbid us coming ashore. We waited on the aga, and supplied ourselves with whatever the place afforded. We set sail on the twenty-third, and having cleared the western point of Rhodes, I saw, at a considerable distance to the north, an island called Caravi, which is probably the ancient Chalcia*. We then came up with the island Scarpanto, the ancient Carpathus, from which this part was called the Carpathian Sea†; it is a high mountainous island, and is said to be twenty-five miles in circumference‡. I saw a bay on the east side of it, very near the south-east corner, and there is anchoring ground in it, so that probably one of the four cities of the island was on this bay, which might be Pellidum, the only town on it mentioned by Ptolemy§; probably it was on the north side of the bay where I saw an opening, and the sea charts make the anchoring place in that part. Having passed this island we saw Caxo to the west of Scarpanto, which seems to be the island called by the ancients Casus. On the twenty-sixth we came up with the island of Candia.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Island of Candia in general, and of the Places in the Way to Canea.*

CANDIA, antiently called Crete, has always been looked on as an island of Europe; the old name seems to be derived from the Curetes||, who were the antient inhabitants. There are various opinions concerning these people, and the occasion of their name¶; some say that six of them came to Crete from mount Ida in Phrygia, and that Rhea committed her son Jupiter to their care, when she feared that his father Saturn would destroy him.

The island is said by Pliny** to be two hundred and seventy miles long, and by Strabo†† two hundred eighty-seven and a half. The former says, that it no where exceeds fifty miles in breadth, and is five hundred and eighty-nine miles in circumference.

Crete was antiently governed by its own kings, among whom were Saturn, Jupiter, and Minos; the last divided the island into three parts; and the Grecians, to whom it afterwards became subject, seem to have followed this division, and the three territories became republics. It was conquered by the Romans under the conduct of Metellus, who on that account had the title of Creticus; on the division of the empire it fell to the share of the eastern monarchs. The league between the French and Moors of Spain being broke, the latter seized on Crete in the year eight hundred and twenty-three, in the reign of the emperor Michael the Stutterer; these Moors built the city of Candia. The eastern emperors being engaged in other wars, the island was given by them to twelve noble families, on condition that they would undertake the conquest of it; and accordingly in the time of Alexius Comenus, they vanquished the Moors, and the island was divided between them, but the sovereignty seems to have continued in the Greek emperors; for it is said to have been sold by them to the Venetians about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and in one thousand six hundred and sixty-nine the Turks made a complete conquest of it. Minos, when he divided the island into three parts, built a city in each of them, namely, Cnosus to the north, Gortynia towards the south, and Cydonia near the west end. Under the Venetians it was

* Strabo. x. p. 458. Plin. Hist. 423. and v. 36.

† Strabo. x. p. 459. Carpathus quæ mari nomen dedit Casus, Aëtiæ lim. Plin. Hist. v. 36.

‡ Strabo. lib. 1.

§ Ptol. viii. 2.

|| Plin. Hist. iv. 20.

¶ Strabo, x. 462.

** Plin. Hist. iv. 20.

†† Strabo, x. p. 474.

divided into these four provinces; Sitia, Candia, Retimo, and Canea; the pashalic of Candia at present consists of the two former, and there is a pashia over each of the others; these are again subdivided into certain districts called *castellates*, probably because a certain extent of the country was under the government of a castle in it; of these there are twenty, which are named from their principal towns or villages*. These four provinces seem to answer to counties, and the *castellates* to hundreds. Every *castellate* is governed by a *cadi* as to the administration of justice; and is under a *castle caia*, as to other affairs of collecting money, and the like; and a Christian officer called *capitano*, is appointed over every village to collect all extraordinary taxes or dues, that belong to the Grand Signior.

Cape Sidero, which is the farthest point to the north-east, must be the promontory which was anciently called Zephyrium; to the south-east of it we saw a head of land called Salamoni; this is the cape, overagainst which saint Paul failed in his voyage to Italy, the wind not suffering them to go on the west, when they were scarce come over-against Cnidus†. Near this cape I saw a small island, which probably was the island Cavalli. About six leagues to the east-south-east of the cape we saw two islands, which I suppose were those called Chritiana. We had calms or contrary winds for several days, and a great sea by reason of the strong current, and were drove to the south. The Moors were very uneasy, and often called on a favourite saint; they hung up a basket of bread to him on the top of the main mast, and afterwards threw a bottle of oil into the sea, made long prayers, and chanted a sort of litany; when they found that this had no effect, they wrote something on a paper, and one of them went up and tied it to the top of the mast, whilst another threw a basket of cuscufou into the sea; and I could not but take particular notice of their manner of ending a dispute which arose between some of them, who coming to high words, the chief of them on a sudden began one of their Mahometan litanies, on which they all joined with him; and so an end was entirely put to the controversy. On the fourth of September we again approached Candia, and came near the three small islands of Gjadurognissa, called by mariners Calderoni; we saw to the north-west a town, where there seemed to be a good road for shipping, and there is a large opening from it between the mountains. About twelve leagues further to the west, we were opposite to a deep bay, in which are two small rocky islands, called by the Greeks Paxinades, and by mariners Chabra; we came near the island Gozo, which is about twelve leagues to the south-west of Chabra, and eight from the island of Candia; eight leagues beyond it we saw a cape, which may be that which was antiently called Hermoea‡.

The island of Gozo is called Galda [Γαλδ] by the Greeks; the situation of it as

* In the province of Sitia are the *castellates* following:—Myrabello and Lefre, which are the diocese of Petra; Hieranetra, which is the diocese of Jera; Sitia, which is the diocese of Sitia; in Candia, are Cnossos and Tomios, which is the diocese of Cnidus; Arcadia, which is the diocese of Arcadia; Pelada, which is the diocese of Chironelos; and three more, called Kenomo, Bortachia, and Gortyna, which all together are called Melares, and with the city of Candia make up the diocese of Gortyna, belonging to the metropolitan archbishop, whose title is metropolitan of Crete and primate of Europe. There is also a sort of independent castle, called Stachia, in his diocese, and the island of Gozo. In the province of Retimo, is the castle Milopotamo, the east part of which is under the pashia of Candia, and the west under the pashia of Retimo; this makes the diocese of Aulopotamo. Aios Rodas, and Amari, which are the diocese of Lumbi, and Retimo, which is the diocese of Retimo, formerly called Agria, from a ruined city which was the see of it. In the province of Canea are the castles of Apocritas and Canea, under the bishop of Kydonia, or Cydonia; Salmos and Chitamo, under the bishop of Chitamos, in all eleven bishoprics, excepting the diocese of the metropolitan.

† Acts, xxvii. 7.

‡ Ptol. iii. 17.

well as the name, is a proof that it is the island of *Clauda*, under which *saint Paul* sailed in his voyage to Italy *. The road for shipping is to the north; it is inhabited by about thirty families of the country of *Sfachia*, who have a Greek church there; they have also a dragoman to interpret for them, as ships often put in to water and victual; and the *Mahometans* confairs supply themselves there. To the west of it there is a very small island called *Pulla Gafda* [Little Gafda].

On the ninth we came to anchor at the castle of *Suatia* or *Sfachia*; the Greeks, with their priest, at the head of them, met us on the shore when we landed, and asked us what was our pleasure; the captain told them we wanted to take in water. I found I could not get mules in order to go to *Canea*, which they told me was forty miles distant; so that I was obliged to send to the English consul there; I returned on board that night; the next day I went ashore to the priest's house, and on the eleventh the consul's janizary came from *Canea* with horses for me. Under *Sfachia* there is a small natural port defended from the south winds by some rocks that are not above water, where little ships may enter and lie securely; the uninhabited castle is a Venetian building, and over the entrance of it are the Venetian arms, and the arms of some of the governors. To the east of this castle they shewed me the foundations of a wall, which, they said, was the boundary between the territories of *Sfachia* and *Retimo*. To the west of this there is only the *Castellato* of *Silino*. The people of this part of *Candia* are stout men, and drive a great coasting trade round the island in small boats, by carrying wood, corn, and other merchandizes. On the twelfth we set out for *Canea*, and entered into a very curious passage between the mountains called *Ebros Tarange*; it is from five to thirty paces broad, having high perpendicular rocks on each side, out of which there grows, all the way up, a great variety of uncommon plants, and some shrubs and trees, as cypresses, fig, and ever-green oak; this passage is about six miles long, the first part of it is a good road; but towards the further end there are many difficult ascents up the rock, which are so narrow in some places that we were frequently obliged to unload the horses. Coming into the open country, we passed by the house of the aga of the territory of *Sfachia*, who invited us to go in, but we pursued our journey; we saw here six or seven Greeks with a heavy chain about their necks, a punishment inflicted on them for not paying a tax of about the value of half a crown, demanded on their guns, though they affirmed that they had none. We went to a village called *Prothnero*, were kindly received by the priest, and the next day arrived at *Canea*, where I took up my abode at the house of the English consul.

CHAP. III. — *Of Canea, Dycamnum, Cyfamus, Aptera, and Cydonia.*

THE city of *Canea*, capital of the western province of *Candia*, is situated at the east corner of a bay about fifteen miles wide, which is between cape *Melecca*, antiently called *Ciamum* to the east, and cape *Spada*, the old promontory *Pisacum* to the west; it has been commonly thought to be on the spot of the antient *Cydonia*, but the chief reason is, because the bishop of *Canea* is called in Greek the bishop of *Cydonia*. About the middle of the north-side of the town there is an old castle within the fortifications, which is about half a mile in circumference; this possibly might be called in Turkish a chane, or public place for strangers, and from this the name of *Canea* might be derived; the city is of an oblong figure, about two miles in compass, fortified towards the land after the modern way by the Venetians, with four bastions, and a

* *Acts*, xxvii. 16.

ravelin at the north-east corner; on the north-side of the town is the port, well defended by a wall, built on the north-side on the rocks; there is a light-house at the end of it, and a castle in the middle, which serves as a cistern; the entrance to the harbour is narrow, and there is a very fine arsenal for laying up galleys, which was built by the Venetians. This city was taken by the Turks under the conduct of Issouf captain pasha, in one thousand six hundred and forty-six, after a brave defence for fifty-seven days. It is a neat town, the buildings being almost all Venetian; most of the mosques are old churches, of which, together with the chapels, there were twenty-five; one particularly belonged to a large convent of Franciscans, and that on an advanced ground within the castle seems to have been the cathedral called saint Mary's. All the Turks who are inhabitants of the city, belong to one or other of the bodies of the soldiery, and those fit to bear arms are about three thousand; there are three hundred Greek families in the town, and only four or five Armenians, and about fifty families of Jews. The pasha of the province of Canea resides here, who is the head of the famous family of the Cuperlis, whose grandfather took the city of Candia; this pasha is the general that retook Nissa; and some say, that the cause of his disgrace was his cutting off so many Greek villages in the neighbourhood of that city, by which the lands were left uncultivated; but that he alledged in his defence, that he acted according to his orders. The people of this city are very much inclined to arms, and had fitted out this summer two galliots, each manned with sixty persons, to cruise for Neapolitans, or any other enemies; they were attacked, as they say, by the Venetians; one of them was taken, and all the men cut to pieces; it is thought that the Venetians meeting them beyond a certain place, which by a late treaty of peace between the Ottoman Port and that Republick, they ought not to have passed, was the reason of their falling on them; however, it caused a tumult in Canea, particularly against the French, who had given them certificates of their being Caneotes; so that many of that nation fled to Retimo; some took shelter in the English consul's house, and none of them dared to appear for some time. The consuls general, both of the English and French reside here, though the latter have a consul both at Candia and Retimo, but the English have only a droggerman at those places, who does the office of a consul. The English having very little trade this way, the consul's is the only English house on the island, but the French merchants are numerous; the chief trade consists in sending oil of olives to France, to make soap, and for working their cloths; they export also a small quantity of silk, wax and honey, into the Archipelago, and wine to all parts of the Levant, which is very strong and cheap; it is sent mostly from the city of Candia; the common sort is red; but about Retimo they make a fine Muscadine wine; they export raisins, figs, and almonds to many parts; English ships sometimes carry oil from Candia, both to Hamburgh and to London. The capuchins of the mission have a small convent here, and are chaplains to the French nation *.

On

* Towards the south-side of the western part of the island, there is a chain of high mountains, which, from their appearing white, especially at the west-end, were called by the antient Leuci. Strabo says, they extended in length thirty seven miles and a half; the northern part of these mountains are called Omala, and the south parts are called the mountains of Stachia. From these mountains two long ranges of hills extend to the north, which make two points, one called Cape Spado, the old promontory Paeum; the others which make Cape Liza, are called the mountains of Gratouzi, and formerly it was called the promontory of Corycus. These two sorts of land are about two leagues apart; the former seems to be that part of the white mountains, which were called Diorymans; and the great mountains running east and west might be distinguished by the name of Caditus; for so the antients divided these mountains called Leuci. To the north of these mountains there are many rocky hills that cannot be cultivated, which sort of hills the Greeks call by a general name Madara, which is the reason why a certain traveller

On the third of September I set out with the English consul and the bishop of Chifamo, to see the western parts of the island. Half a mile to the west of Canea I saw a small flat island, about half a mile in circumference, called Lazaretto, which is the place where they usually performed quarantine in the time of the Venetians; but now all the buildings are destroyed, and the island is desolate; about the middle, between the two points, and about half a mile from the land, is the high island of saint Theodoro, so called from a chapel which was formerly on it, dedicated to that saint; it is half a mile long, and about a furlong broad. The Venetians had a small castle there, which the Turks battered from a high ground on the island of Candia, where there are still some remains of the works which they raised; this place is now uninhabited. Opposite to this island the river Platania falls into the sea, so called from the great number of plane-trees which grow about it; they are very high, and make a most beautiful grove; vines are planted at the bottom of them, which twine about the trees, and are left to grow naturally without pruning; and being backward, by reason of the shady situation, do not ripen till the vintage is past; they hang on the trees till Christmas, and bring in a very considerable revenue. We stopped a while at this delightful place, and then travelled about two hours and a half to the bed of a winter torrent, which, I suppose, is that called Tauroniti in Homan's map; it is the bounds between the Castellate of Canea and Chifamo. We came to the western corner of the bay of Canea, and crossed the bed of a winter torrent called Speleion, and went two miles northwards to a very pleasant village of that name, which is so called from a large grotto in that part. We here went to the house of the bishop of Chifamo's brother; from this place we made excursions to see the antiquities, and whatever is curious in this part of the island. At the south-west corner of the bay of Canea there is a convent called Gcnia, regularly built after the Venetian manner, but has only a ground floor; they have a very handsome refectory, and a neat church in the middle of the court; the convent holds several lands of the Grand Signior, paying him the seventh part according to custom; there are ten priests, and fifty caloyers, or lay brothers, belonging to it; over it, on the side of the hill, is the old convent, which consists only of a small church and four or five rooms; but it is a delightful place on account of its prospect, and the streams of water that run down the hill through the gardens.

On the east-side of cape Spada before mentioned, towards the north-end, there is a very small bay, which is only large enough to receive great boats; there are ruins of a small town about it, which they call Magnes and Magnia after the Italian pronunciation. This must be Dictamnus, or Dictynna of Ptolemy, which he places in the same degree of latitude as the promontory Piacum. It is probable that this place was so called from the nymph Dictynna, and possibly it was the scene of her history; the mountains that make this cape, and stretch away southwards to the hills called Omala, had the name of mount Dictynnæus; it is said that this nymph, who was also called Britomartis, invented hunting nets, and was the companion of Diana; that Minos being in love with her, she threw herself off from the rocks to avoid him, or, as Callimachus says*, she

says the mountains called Leuci are the mountains now called Madara. On the top of the mountains of Omala there is a round valley, sunk in, like the basin of a lake, and is called Omala, without doubt from the Greek word, which signifies plain, and from this the mountains must also have had their name; this probably is what in Homan's map is called Lago Omalo; for in winter the water makes little ponds in several hollows of the plain which is a pasturage for sheep; and the people say that a certain herb grows there out of which they affirm that gold may be extracted, and that the sheep feeding on it, that precious metal gives a yellow lustre to their teeth, as it is said a certain plant does in the Tirol. The north part consists of many plain and narrow vales between those hills.

* Strabo, x. p. 471.

threw herself into the fishing nets [*Δίκτυα*], from which she was called Dictynna; though it is a more probable account that this name was derived from her invention of hunting nets. They have a tradition of something of this nature, but they tell it with this difference, that being wooed by a great person, in order to avoid his solicitations, she consented, on condition that he would take her away in a chariot; that for this purpose he made a paved way, of which there are still some remains, but that she fled away in a boat with another person, on whom she had before set her affections; they say she was called Magnia, and that from her the city received its name. The antient remains of this place are chiefly on a small height over the west end of the bay, and on each side of two rivulets, which meet just before they fall into the sea; most of them are roughly built of the grey marble of the mountains which are on each side; one building resembles a church, and has some antient brick work about it. On a height to the south of the bay, there are some pieces of grey marble columns, and four oblong square cisterns sunk into the ground and contiguous, as if they had been under some great building. I observed that in the middle they were sunk lower, like square wells, and lined with brick, with a design, I suppose, to receive a greater quantity of water; and below these on the side of the hill towards the town, there are remains in some of the walls of earthen pipes, by which one may suppose the water was conveyed down from the cistern, the torrents below being dry in summer. Among these ruins, which were probably an antient temple, I saw a fine pedestal of grey marble three feet square; it had a festoon on each side, and against the middle of each festoon there was a relief of Pan standing, the whole was finely executed; it is probable that this was either an altar, or the pedestal of a statue erected to that deity in this temple, which probably was dedicated to the nymph Dictynna; Strabo* mentions the Dictynnean temple in this place. Some years ago they found a statue here of white alabaster, but having a notion that such pieces of antiquity contain gold in them, the fishermen broke it to pieces; I brought away a foot of it, which shews very distinctly all the parts of the antient sandal.

We went on westward from this place, and came to the river Nopeia on the west side of the hills which make this cape; it falls into the sea at the corner of the bay; over this river on an advanced rock, there are ruins of a house and chapel called Nopeia; about them are the remains of a strong-built wall five feet thick, as if it had been part of a fortified castle.

Near the west corner of the bay was the port and town of Cyfamus, now called Chifamo; it was the port of the antient city Aptera, which is about five miles distant to the south-south-east; the port was a small basin within the land, which is now almost filled up; it was defended from the north winds by a pier made of large loose stones, not laid in any order. Along the shore, to the west of the port of Chifamo, there are foundations of some considerable buildings, which might be warehouses; a small rivulet runs into the sea at this port; and east of it the antient Cyfamus seems to have stood; a city of no small extent, as one may judge by several heaps of ruins about the fields; but there are no signs of the walls of the city; it is a bishop's see, though there are no remains or tradition of any cathedral here. The Turks who inhabit the place live in a castle, and in a small village or town walled round adjoining to it, both which together are not above half a mile in circumference; as they are so near the sea, they would not be secure from the Corsairs without this defence. At the end of Cape Buzo there is a small uninhabited island, now called Grabusa Agria [Wild Grabusa] and by Strabo Cimarus. Cape Buzo, is the old promontory of Corycus; it is made

* Strabo x. p. 471.

by the mountains now called Grabuse; the island appears as if it was the end of the cape. A little to the west of the cape is the island and fortress of Grabusa; it is a modern fortification, built by the Venetians, and was betrayed to the Turks by some officers in it, in one thousand six hundred and ninety-one, which was about a year before the descent of Mocenigo on this island. It is now a garrison of about a thousand Turks, who were such bad neighbours that the whole promontory is now uninhabited. Ptolemy mentions the city of Coreyrus here, of which I could not learn that there are any remains, there being only a small ruined convent of St. George, and two churches on this promontory*. I saw from a height the high island Sinigluse or Cernaotto, which is the old Ægilia, and I was told that there is another between it and Candia called Pondelonis.

I travelled through the inland part of the island as well as by the sea side; it appears from Peutinger's tables, that there was a road along the middle of the island which led to Gortynia, and going northwards to Cnossus, came to the sea at Crefonello, and then went east south east to Hiera.

Aptera was about five miles from the port of Chifamo; it was situated on a high hill in a mountainous country, and is called (as all ruined cities are in this island) Paliocastro. The walls of the city and castle are seven feet thick, and it must have been a place of very great strength; it is said to have been built by Apteras king of Crete, and was ten miles from Cydonia. I procured here a very antient bas relief, it is one foot nine inches long, and thirteen inches wide; the largest figures are eleven inches long; it seems to be a sepulchral monument, and shews something of the antient dress. The famous trial of musick between the Muses and the Syrens, in which the latter were vanquished, and lost their wings, is said to have been in a field at the foot of this hill†.

Another inland town was Artacina, which might have been at a place now called Rocca, though Ptolemy places it more to the south; it is a small high rocky hill, on the top of which are the remains of some buildings; there are about three or four rooms, which the people say belonged to the antient Greeks, and they have some fables relating to it of a giant whom they call Iënes. At this and the neighbouring mountains there are churches in grots dedicated to that St. Anthony, who was the founder of the monastic life. To the west of this place there is a river called Tiphlosè; and I suppose it might derive its name from some place near the rise of it; for among the

* The other places mentioned by Ptolemy, at the west end of Crete, are Phalarna, the Phalararne of Pliny and Phalararna of Strabo, which might be at S. Chirglani in Homan's map, where he makes a little bay sheltered by a rock; the next place is Rhamnus port, which Ptolemy places ten miles farther south, and might be at the mouth of Homan's river Sinari; if in Ptolemy the degree of 34. 36. be corrected to 34. 26. then Chersonesus may be supposed to have been four miles farther to the south, and agrees with the situation of Kermiti, which is on a point of land setting out into the sea; and doubtless this situation was the reason of its antient name. I could not hear of any ruins there, but find it was a bishop's see, by an account I have by me of the antient bishopricks of this island, which beginning from the east, Chersonensis is mentioned as the last, and consequently the most western diocese. According to the above emendation, Inachorius was sixteen miles south of this, probably in the bay which is made by cape Crio, the old promontory Crumetopon, which Ptolemy puts down ten miles farther south. As I could get no other informations concerning these places, so I went no farther that way. Strabo observes, that the island was twenty-five miles broad at the west end, and Ptolemy makes it thirty.

† Polyrrhenia was another inland city five miles more south than Aptera, and according to Ptolemy forty minutes of longitude more to the west, which seems too much; it was seven miles and a half from Phalararna, and four miles and three quarters from the western sea, as I suppose it must be meant; so that probably Rhamnus was its port; the Polyrrhenii were to the west of the Cydoniata; they had in their city a temple to Dictynna; at first they lived in villages, but when some Achæans and Lacedæmonians came to live with them, they fortified a place of strong situation, which was called Polyrrhenia. Strabo, x. p. 479.

bishoprics one is called Tephiliensis. About a league to the north east of Rocca is a village called Episcopo, where there is a church still entire, and the bishop of Chifamo thinks that it is his cathedral; it is a round building, covered with a dome, and is about twenty feet in diameter; it is paved with Mosaic, and dedicated to St. Michael the archangel. At the east end are the remains of the bishop's throne, and in the portico there is a very particular vase, which probably served for a font; at each end there is a seat, in which, they say, the bishop and priest sat when the bishop performed the ceremony of washing the feet of the priests*. In my return, going along by the river Platania to the north east, I came to a pleasant village called Kirtomado, which is amongst the hills of Omalo.

About five miles to the south south west of Canea, there is a hill among the mountains, on which there are some ruins; I conjecture that this hill is mount Tityrus, on which, according to Strabo†, the city of Cydonia seems to have been situated‡; the hill on which it stood is bounded by a deep valley to the east, the highest part is directly over this valley extending from east to west, and is so narrow, that in most parts there is only room for the wall with its turrets, which ends to the east at a precipice, and to the west is carried down the steep hill, so as to hinder any passage into the town on the south side; in one part there is a room, which is twelve feet broad within, and thirty feet long, and possibly might serve as a tower of defence; at the west end of it there is a hole down to a cistern, which is hollowed into the rock. The descent on the north side is formed in terraces, and there are several level spots on which the city seems to have been built, and I saw signs of the tool about the rocks; the north and east sides of the hill are inaccessible precipices. The west side, on which there is the easiest ascent, was defended by the castle, which is about a quarter of a mile in circumference, and is built with square turrets; it is not very much to be wondered at that no other ruins should be seen here, as they would, without doubt, carry the stones from this place to build the city of Canea, which is but five miles distant, whereas the quarries are ten miles from that city. Near this place, about four miles from Canea, there is a fine ruinous Venetian house, which belonged to the family of Viari; it is on the side of a hill, and delightfully situated both on account of the water and prospect; a large stream flows out of the rock in a grotto near this place, and is conveyed by an aqueduct on the ground to Canea. A little nearer the town is the convent called the Little Trinity belonging to mount Sinai, which is the English burial place. Having visited all these places I returned to Canea.

* This church being among the hills, which they call Madara, made me conjecture that the bishopric called Matrechenfis might be here, the diocese of which might be to the west of Tephiliensis, this being mentioned as the last to the west, except two, and the other the last but one; and the diocese called Chersonensis might be south of Tephiliensis, consisting of the castellate of Simeo; and these three make up the present diocese of Chifamo.

Another inland town is Lappa, nine miles from Cifamos in the Tables, and according to Ptolemy, nine miles more to the north than Antacma. If the Tables are right, though Ptolemy is mistaken in the longitude; this might be either about Spila to the south of Gonia convent, or it might be on the river Platania, though that is rather too far from Chifamo.

† Strabo, κ. p. 479.

‡ It may be interpreted that mount Tityrus is a hill of the territory of Cydonia; there was on this hill a temple to Dictynna; for Strabo adds Cydonia is situated towards the sea ten miles from Aptera, and five from the sea, and indeed in a straight line they are not above ten miles distant; but Ptolemy, who is so exact as to place Aptera among the inland towns, which is not so far from the sea, places Cydonia among the maritime places of Crete to the north; but one may rather suppose him to be mistaken than Strabo, who gives so particular a description of this place, and of all others in the island. If this place was not Cydonia, it would agree best with the situation of Lappa; I rather suppose it to be Cydonia, as there are no signs of antiquity about Canea, and what remains here shews it to be no more of that place.

CHAP. IV. — *Of Gortynia, and some other places towards the south part of the island.*

ON the seventeenth of August I set out from Canea with design to make a tour round the island, having the consul's janizary and a candiote with me *. We went by Paliocastro to the middle parts of the island, came into the province of Retimo, and lay the first night at Armiro in a kane, where there is a castle garrisoned by janizaries, who are under a Zidar; the design of them is to be a defence against the Corsairs, though the place is at a considerable distance from the sea; beyond the castle there are two springs of ill tasted salt water. On the eighteenth we went to a village called Aios Constantinos, and a mile further to Rustico; we went on to the villages of Spele, where there is a considerable river, which I suppose to be the river Mafalia of Ptolemy. We continued on between the mountains in very bad stony roads, and came at night to a village and rivulet called Creobrisi [The Cold Fountain]; this and some other streams empty themselves into the sea at an opening between the mountains, and, I suppose, make that river, which Homan distinguishes only by the name of Potamos; probably Psychium of Ptolemy was situated either here or at the next river Vifari or Platis, four miles to the east, called by Homan, Galigni; this place was fifteen minutes to the east of the river Mafalia. About three miles beyond the river Vifari we passed the mountains, and came into a fine plain; the mountain on the north is called Kedrosè, and is the antient Kentros; but on the south, next to this plain, it is called Mount Melabis. To the north of mount Kedrosè is the famous mount Ida, in the middle and broadest part of the island, which is from Melabis to the mountains of Strongyle, that make cape Saffoso of Homan, and was the old promontory Dion between Candia and Retimo. This plain, which is about two leagues wide, stretches from the south west to the north east for several miles to the mountains of Scethe, or Sitia, the antient mount Dicte; and at the south end of it there is a large bay, in which there are two high rocky islands already mentioned, which are divided from one another by a very narrow passage, and both together extend for about two miles, and are a furlong broad; they are called Cabra by mariners, and by the Greeks Paximades: the larger probably is Letoa of Ptolemy, which might have its name from the river Lethæus that falls in here †.

* There runs a considerable stream on the west side of the vale of Spele; it is called Mega Potamo, which I take to be the river Mafalia of Ptolemy, fifteen minutes to the east of Phœnix, which, correcting the longitude of Phœnix port to 53. 15, was five minutes to the east of that port, which, on this emendation, being in the same longitude as the promontory Hermea, might be a port at the cape which is to the west of the castle of Sfachia, if not that very port itself. Strabo also mentions Phœnix Lampeo, a place on this sea, on what he calls the Isthmus, or neck of land, twelve miles and a half broad. The place at this isthmus, on the northern sea, was a village called Amphalia, which must have been at the Salines on the bay of Suda, where, from mount Ida, I observed the island was very narrow. This is the Phenice in Acts, xxvii. 12. where some would have wintered, when the ship in which St. Paul was embarked loosed from the Fair havens.

The next place mentioned to the east is Phœcilasium, about fifteen miles from the promontory Hermea, which might be Ponta Placo in Homan's map; and to the east of it, I find, he puts Fenichia; Phœcilasium probably was at the river Romelia in Homan's map, as Tarba might be at the river Soglia, being indeed placed only about four miles to the west of it. Dewit's map has a place called Tarba, but he puts it on the west side of the island. Lissus, the first place mentioned by Ptolemy on the south coast, sixteen miles from Tarba, and four from Criumetopon, might be at the river Staurumena, much about where the castle Selino is. Liso is placed in the Tables in such a situation, probably by some mistake, that it does not agree with this place; but in Dewit's map the plains of Liso are put in this part of the island.

† Homan places castle Sfachia at a great distance from these islands, though it is not above seven leagues to the west of them; he likewise places Gozo very wrong, at the distance of two degrees of longitude to the west, though it is but twelve leagues west south west of it. Dewit's map is the best with regard to the situation of the islands south of Candia.

In the plain before mentioned, about ten miles from the sea, the famous city of Gortynia was situated. At the first entering into this plain near the sea, on the nineteenth, we crossed over the bed of a winter torrent, called by the natives Climatiano, by Roman Tartara; here we entered into the province of Candia, and the castellate of Kenurio. Along the middle of this plain, or rather on the south-east side runs the river called Jeropotamo [*Γηροποταμος*], or the old river, as they explain it, according to the modern pronunciation; it runs to the east of the antient Gortynia, which might extend to it, though the principal ruins are above a mile to the west. One would imagine this to be the river which Strabo says runs all along the city, or through it*. We went to Tribachi in the middle of the plain, where I saw the extraordinary ceremony of a Greek marriage: we crossed the plain near the sea, and came to a very small bay, or creek, to the west of the land that makes the great bay: this creek is the old harbour Metallum, or Metalia, now called Metala, which was one of the ports of Gortynia, and was sixteen miles and a quarter from it: the bay is a furlong broad; there are two hills over it on each side; that to the east has some ruins on it, particularly of a wall, which seems to have encompassed it, and there is a watch tower; they now call this Castro Matala, and Castro Hellenico [the Greek city]; there are several large rooms cut into the rock on the west side of the quay, as if designed for warehouses; and at one corner there is a chapel partly built, and partly under the rock, which is called St. Mary's of Metala; a caloyer lives there, who belongs to a convent near. On the other side the rock is cut out into sepulchral grotts in six or seven stories, most of them consist of two rooms, one within the other, and a smaller room on each side of the inner one, in all which there are semicircular niches, which seem to have been designed for depositing the dead, and I saw the bottoms of some of them hollowed in like graves, and a stone laid over them. In searching after Lebena† further to the west, I found out a place which I thought to be of greater consequence, because mentioned in holy scripture, and also honoured by the presence of St. Paul, that is the Fair Havens, near unto the city of Lasea; for there is another small bay about two leagues east of Matala, which is now called by the Greeks, The Good or Fair Havens, [*Λιμὴνὲς καλὰς*]; it is about three miles to the south of a large convent called Panaia Egetria, but there are no ruins nor marks of any thing ancient there; however, they have

* Ptolemy places the river Lethæus to the west of several places, that were farther to the west than Gortynia, and the mouth of it thirty-five minutes west of that city. It is true that a small stream called Metropolitano runs through the village Metropoli, which is one part of the site of Gortynia, and might also be called Lethæus, it falls into the river called Jeropotamos: but it is more probable, that this river Lethæus is misplaced in Ptolemy, than that Strabo should mention the name of so small a rivulet, and not take any notice of the great river which runs through the plain, and was very near Gortynia, if that city did not extend to it.

† I found myself misled by Ptolemy to search for Lebena, the other port of Gortynia further to the east; for Metalia being to the south-south-east of Gortynia and sixteen miles and a quarter from it, and Gortynia being but eleven miles and a quarter from the sea, and from Lebena, according to Strabo Lebena could not be farther east, but must have been where the sea approaches nearest to Gortynia, consequently somewhere in the bay at which the plain ends, and probably at the mouth of the old river; they told me there was formerly a town about a castle near it, which they now call Mourietta. The Tables also place Lebena twelve miles from Gortynia, which confirms Strabo's authority, who was well acquainted with Crete. I should have thought that Leon promontory, which Ptolemy places in the same longitude as Lebena, was the point at Matala, and that both might be well corrected to 55. 20; and the river Lethæus to 54. 16. and then as to the other places Ptolemy may be corrected in this manner, as to the order and the longitudes: Lethæus 54. 16; Lebena 54. 16; Leon promontory 54. 20; Metalia 54. 20; Cataractus river 54. 50. which probably is the river Luzzuro in Roman; but if that geographer has reason for calling a point of land much further west than Matala cape Leonda, that seems to be the point, which in sailing by it we took to be four or five leagues to the west of what I found afterwards to be Matala; then Leon promontory ought to be put after Matala, with the longitude which Ptolemy gives it nine minutes west of the river Cataractus.

a tradition that Saint Paul failed from that place, and though there is a tradition that Saint Paul was about Hierapetra, yet I should imagine that this has more the appearance of truth, especially as the Tables place Lisia, which must be Lasea, sixteen miles from Gortynia, which probably was to the north of the Fair Havens, and north north-east of Matala *. From Matala we travelled to the north-east to a small village,

* I do not find that Lisia is mentioned by any authors under this name; but Strabo speaks of Prasus as near the Lebenii, and as twenty two miles from Gortynia; so that it is very probable that Prasus and Lasea were the same city, where there was a temple to Jupiter Discreus; for Phællus was destroyed about this time, which must have been near Lebena, five miles to the north-west of Metallum, and seven miles and a half to the south-east of Gortynia, the rival city that destroyed it, and two miles and a half from the sea, and does not so well agree with the distance of Lisia in the Tables, though indeed Strabo says, that the Hierapytnii had destroyed Prasus. The poet Epimenides was a native of Phællus, who gave that character of the Cretans, which is quoted by St. Paul. The next place mentioned by Ptolemy, after the river Cataractus, is Inatus, about ten miles more to the east, which might be at the river Coudre, where Homan has a place called Litina. The Tables place Inato thirty-two miles from Hierapetra, which was an inland town, and gives title to a bishop, who resides at Hierapetra, and probably it was where Episcopi is placed in the map; ten miles more eastward is Hieronoros, and about five miles east of it Hierapetra, and five further the promontory Erythræum. About the point which I took to be this promontory a town was seen, which we judged to be Hierapetra, there being a large opening between the mountains to the north of it; this cape is five miles west of Hierapetra. To the south-east of that city we sailed by the islands Gaidurognissa, called by mariners Calderoni; they are two leagues from the land, the larger is about two miles long; half a furlong east of it is the other, about half a mile in circumference; and two leagues to the east there is a point called by Homan Santi Ponta, which we judged to be eight leagues to the east of the last point, which Homan calls Leonida, and must be Ptolemy's promontory Erythræum, which he places five miles east of Hierapetra, which is the same as Hierapytna, and is called also by Ptolemy Hierapolis. Ptolemy mentions only two more places on the south of Crete, the first is Ampelus, ten miles east of cape Erythræum; this I take to be a little to the east of the island Christiana, where we saw a port, and judged there was a town, or village, opening to the west of a small point, which is what Homan calls cape Stomachri Giallo. We had a plain view of the three islands of Christiana, the largest is about a league in extent every way; to the south of it are two very small ones. The last place on the south is the city Itanus, ten minutes more to the east, and only ten to the west of Samonium promontory, now called cape Salomone. Homan, who doubtless must have had his instructions from some Venetian charts, seems to have laid down these places very exactly as to their distances, though as to the bearing of the island, he shapes it in such a manner here that these places are rather to the east, than to the south side of Candia; he puts the rocks or isles Cavallus and Farioni to the west of cape Xacro, and placing the river Xacro to the north-east of it, he calls it the promontory of Itanum, and a little beyond it to the north-east he puts down Palio Castro, or the old city, where doubtless there are ruins of the antient city Inatus. If cape Salomone were brought out further east, as it ought to be, Homan's map would agree very well with Ptolemy's east end of Crete. He puts the port and cave Minoa eleven miles south, and thirty minutes west of the cape, which probably was at Porto Schigma, and if that bay set in a little more to the south, the latitude would agree better. He places Camara ten minutes more to the west, and five minutes further north; I should have inclined to have fixed it to point Trachila, if there were not a Palio Castro in the bay to the north west of it, which bay might be five miles more north than that in which Minoa is; for the ruins of an antient city there, are a great argument in favour of this situation; we may suppose it was in the south corner of the bay, and that Olus was between it and Chersonesus, which is in the middle of that bay, as Homan makes a peninsula there; and the longitude and latitude of Olus ought to be corrected thus, 55 5. 35. 20. The last place to the east promontory Zephyrium is plainly cape Sidero. Strabo says, that from Minoa of the Lychi to Hierapytna, from one sea to the other, it was only seven miles and a half: this Minoa must have been another place of that name, at the bottom of the gulf of Mirabello. On the north part of Crete Ptolemy's longitudes are so false, that they are not to be regarded, for he makes but one degree and fifteen minutes of longitude from the promontory Zephyrium to Rhitymna, though it is two thirds of the island, and it is computed to be sixty miles only from Retimo to Candia, though, doubtless, the miles are very short. The account of Ptolemy also seems to be imperfect; for the first place he mentions is Heraclea, which was the port of Cnossus, to the east of which was Chersonesus, the port of Lyctus; which was sixteen miles from Cnossus, and is now called Cherronefo; it is a bishop's see, where there are some ruins, and here was a temple to Britomartis, or Dictynna. The Tables make it sixteen miles to Lixum, probably Lyctus; but if a place called Toxida, where there are ruins, four miles to the east of Candia, be Lyctus, which is two hours from Cherronefo, it ought to be rather put six miles; Arcade is sixteen miles further, from that place to Bienna thirty, and to Hierapetra twenty, and to end the northern rout of the Tables from Gortynia; there being another more to the south from Hierapetra

village, Panaica Saius; here we found the fardar aga of that castellate, who was very civil; but a janizary that was with him, asked who we were, demanded a passport, and not having one with us, he threatened to detain us, but at last permitted us to go on, and we staid that night at a large convent near.

On the twentieth we went to Metropoli, at the south end of the ruins of the antient city Gortynia, which was first built by Taurus king of Crete. The old river before mentioned, supposed to be the river Lethæus, is a mile and a half to the south-east towards the other side of the plain; and it is probable that the great city of Gortynia extended to it. Homer mentions it as a walled city; but the walls were afterwards destroyed: the circumference of the old city, according to Strabo, seems to have been six miles and a quarter; but it appears to have encreased very greatly; for Ptolemy Philopater beginning to build walls round it, did not complete his design, and yet he built walls that extended eleven miles and a quarter. All over the fields towards the river there are heaps of stone; the south-west part of the city seems to have extended but little farther than the river Metropolianos, which runs on the outside of Metropoli; it stretched to the north-east as far as the village Aioufdeka, being about two miles in breadth, and computing that it extended two miles to the river from the foot of the hills, which are north-west of it; this makes the circumference but eight miles; so that it is very probable that the city stretched away towards the river, as the most commodious situation by reason of the water; it might also extend up the side of the hills, and to add to its strength, the walls might be built along the top of the lower hills; for as I shall observe, there are some ruins now seen upon a hill to the south-west of the rivulet Metropolianos. To the north of the village Metropoli, on the east side of the rivulet, and at the foot of the hill, is the antient metropolitan church of Titus, who, it is said, was the first archbishop of Crete, settled here by St. Paul, who in his epistle to him, tells him, "That he left him in Crete; that he should set in order the things that were wanting, and ordain elders in every city." I shall speak of this building in its proper place. The principal ruins of the city extend for about a mile to the east of the church towards Aioufdeka. The nearest ruin to that village is a building which was doubtless either a theatre or amphitheatre, but it is almost entirely destroyed; it was cased with large brick, the walls are four feet thick, and it was about a hundred and fifty feet in diameter in the area within. The arches on which the seats were built are twenty-two feet deep and fourteen broad; there is another wall ten feet more to the west, and there seem to have been two square towers, as if designed for stair-cases; but I cannot certainly say whether there were any arches on this side; it does not appear that there were towers in any other parts: as the building is not large, I am inclined to think that it was a theatre. The common people call it a castle, and say that all these buildings are the work of one whom they call Antipata Ozechios, who, they say, was a king. Further west towards Metropoli there are ruins of a very grand building, the front of which to the east is almost entire, and the walls of it are seven feet thick, cased on both sides with fine brick; and in order to bind the walls, there are layers of large bricks two feet six inches long, one foot two inches broad, and two inches thick, at the distance of every four feet. The door in the middle, which was built with hewn stone, seems to have been arched, but the stones are taken away, and it measures twenty-five feet two inches in breadth, and the wall on each side is forty feet in front,

to Gortynia, in which there are some omissions, Inato only being mentioned in it. Strabo computes Lixus to be only ten miles from the sea, and fifteen from Cnossus; it was one of the flourishing cities, when Cnossus lost its privileges, before the time of Strabo; but afterwards, as he observes, Cnossus recovered its antient dignity.

so that the extent of the whole front is one hundred and seven feet. On each side of the entrance there are two pedestals of marble, which seem to have been designed to place some statues on. Going from this place westward toward the antient cathedral church, I saw two fine pillars of grey granite laying on the ground, which were two feet in diameter; we then came to a strong building, about thirty feet square. Further on is a round building on an advanced ground, which is ninety feet in diameter: the walls are nine feet thick, cased on the outside with brick; there are apartments all round five feet broad, and seventeen feet long, which might be for some uses of the temple, and within there were shallow niches four feet ten inches wide, probably as many as there were apartments without; this building seems to have been a temple. Beyond this, towards the north, are ruins of another large building, and south of that remains of an ill-built aqueduct, which conveyed the water from the hills, and I suppose, it was brought along the side of them from a spring, which is two miles to the south-west, in the way to what they call the labyrinth. Where this aqueduct ends, there are remains of some very considerable building, which probably was a prætorium, where they held their public assemblies; for on the stones that lie on the ground there are several defaced inscriptions, to the honour of the magistrates: from some pedestals that remain I could see there had been eight columns, which probably were the remains of a portico round the building, the entrance seemed to have been to the south-west; and the pedestals that remained on the north-west were probably the portico on that side of the building. Going on towards the church, I found an imperfect Greek inscription well cut on a marble stone, in which I saw mention made of an archbishop; near it are the foundations of a building, ending like the Greek churches in a semicircle; and very near the metropolitan church there are several pieces of marble entablatures and columns; and on the other side of the rivulet there are some ruins near to the south-west corner of the cathedral, which may be remains of the archbishop's house. The antient cathedral is on the north side of the stream Metropoliānos that runs by the village of Metropoli, which is at the distance of half a mile from the church, and is doubtless the quarter which belonged to the church in the first ages of Christianity. It is with great reason supposed that Titus resided here, and that this church was afterwards dedicated to him; it is above a hundred feet long, and fifty broad; the east part is almost entire, and shews that it has been a noble fabric; the walls are three feet and a half thick: I observed in the walls one tier of the stones laid flat, and another set up an end alternately, after the very antient manner of casing with hewn stone. On the east end within there are some Greek letters round a square stone, and two defaced inscriptions on the outside of the walls to the north; there appears to have been a portico before it. The rivulet washes the foot of a hill, on which there are the foundations of many walls like fortifications, and the ruins of some building on the top of the hill, where there is a chapel to St. John Baptist: this probably was the citadel, and here might be the temple of Diana, a place of security, where Hannibal deposited his vases of lead, as if they were full of money, and left carelessly in his house some brass statues, which he filled with his gold; and thus the cunning general defended himself against the avarice of the Cretans, who guarded the temple more against Hannibal, than to secure the imaginary treasure from robbers. Going about a mile further to the south-west, we ascended the hills, and came near the top of them, to what is called the labyrinth; though that famous building, so renowned in history, was at Cnossus, and no remains of it were to be seen in the time of Pliny. This place is nothing more than the quarry, out of which the city of Gortynia was built, for though they had rocky hills close to the city, yet doubtless the quality of this vein of free-stone, which is very good,

and

and runs large, determined them to bring their stone from this place, though it is a league from the town; and they might choose to hollow out such a large grotto, rather than work this quarry in the common way, that their families might retire to it on any invasion, and secure their riches. The first part of this passage is broad, and it divides afterwards into several ways; I went to the end of all of them; the alleys are from ten to twenty feet wide, and about eight feet high, and the small stones that are not fit for use, are piled up on each side; from the principal walk one enters by a narrow hole to an alley, which soon leads to two or three ways, that meet at the further end, where I saw the most curious thing in it, which is a small circular room, about twenty feet high, terminating above like a cupola, from all parts of which the water is continually distilling: in returning, the great difficulty consists in taking care to avoid going back again into one of these ways, for which purpose a little observation of the place is necessary. It is probable that there were many other entrances into the quarry, which are now stopped up, and especially at the further end, where the greatest quantity of stone seems to have been dug; they had, without doubt, machines for the easy conveying of the stone along the sides of the hills down to Gortynia; this quarry resembles those near Paris, and at mount Aventine in Rome, though it is rather inferior to them. To the south of this grotto there is a round pointed hill, towards the top of which is a village called Sifout Castelli [the Jews Castle], because some Jews lived there in the time of the Venetians, or as others say, were sent there by them: opposite to this in the plain is the village of Castelli, where I saw in the house of the descendants of Signor Hieronymos a relief of the head of a goat, with a festoon hanging from each horn; it is indeed well done, and is mentioned by Tournefort; but it is only the corner of a broken marble coffin, for I saw one of the same kind at Aiouldeka, with heads in relief over the festoons, and the goat's head at the corners.

It is said that Agamemnon, having been driven by a storm to Crete, built three cities in this isle, two of which he named from his country, and one in memory of his victory: the names of the cities were Mycenæ, Tegea, and Pergamus. I could learn nothing of these places; but I see in Dewit's map castle Pergamo to the south-east of the labyrinth, and to the north-east of Matala; and about that place I see Pirgo in Homan, but that may be only a general name for any tower, so that it is uncertain whether Pergamus was in these parts. However it is said, that the Pergameans used to shew the tomb of Lycurgus, who, according to common history, having obliged the Lacedæmonians by oath to observe his laws till his return, came to Crete, and, as some say, killed himself, or more probably did not return home, but remained there to the time of his death. After I had seen this quarry, and all the antiquities of the place, I went out to copy some inscriptions, but the janizary not being with me, the Turks gathered about, and insulted me to such a degree, that I was obliged to give over my business till the janizary returned.

CHAP. V. — *Of Temiras, Cnossus, and Candia.*

WE left Gortynia in the evening, and travelled some miles to the farm house of a convent, and on the twenty-second we went twelve miles to the large convent of saint George Panofity, situated in a very retired place; it is irregularly built, but in the middle of it there is a beautiful small church with a fine front of Italian architecture; they pretend to have a hand of Saint George here.

Twelve miles to the south-east of Candia we came to a village on a hill called Teminos, which gives name to a castellate, it is about eight miles from Gortynia: when we went first to the priest's house in this place, they said he was not at home, which is a method they take to avoid being troubled with soldiers, and the people of the pasha; but when they knew who we were, he soon appeared, and we found them to be the best sort of people we had met with in all the island. To the east of the village the hill rises up in a rocky point, which is of white marble; this height has been fortified on the west side with no less than three walls one over another; on each side of it there is a descent to a plain spot, where there has been a town, which was probably of the middle ages, as there are three or four churches still remaining; this part was walled round likewise, but all the walls both of this and the castle are built of rough marble, and with little art, excepting some part of an old town wall, which is without the other wall to the north of the supposed city; this appeared to be very firmly built, and to have in it a mixture of antient brick, as also a small building near a church about half way up the west side of the hill, both which I look on as marks that it was an antient town; the people say that Minos lived on this hill; I am inclined to think that it is Panona of Ptolemy, which he places twenty miles north of Gortynia, though the longitudes of both ought to be corrected; Homan does indeed put Panon as a village a league or two north of Temini. From this place we went on to Candia, and from that city to Cnossus, a league to the east-south-east. A castellate in this province of Candia is called Cnossou from this place: the spot where the small remains of old Cnossus are, is now called Candake, doubtless from the trenches which the Turks made there round their camp, that being the meaning of the word in modern Greek; it is a level spot of ground of a small extent, encompassed with low hills; to the south of it there is an eminence, on the top of which is a village called Enadieh: the Turks bombarded Candia from this spot, being encamped on the site of the antient Cnossus; it is probable this hill was part of the antient city, and that the fortress was built on it, for the plain is not four miles in circumference. Strabo describes this place as five stadia distant from the sea; between which and the city there is a rising ground, and two little hills on it, appearing at a distance like barrows; on the east side there is the bed of a winter torrent, which may be the river Ceratus that ran by the city, from which, in very antient times, it had its name: this city was twenty-five miles from Gortynia, and is famous for having been the residence of king Minos, where he had his palace: the labyrinth also was here, concerning which there are so many fables; but even in the time of Pliny there were no remains of it: this city was a Roman colony; Heraclea was its port; but in the time of Minos, Amnisso was used as its harbour, where there was a temple to Lucina, which possibly might be at the mouth of the river Cartero nearer Candia, where Homan has a place called Animos. I take the torrent east of Cnossus to be that which is called Curnos by this geographer. Cnossus was also famous for its bows and arrows, and for a dexterous use of that sort of arms. There are some little remains of the walls, especially to the north, which shew its extent that way; and there are four or five leaps of ruins about the little plain, but there is only one which can give an idea of what it was, and it would even be difficult to determine for what use this was intended; it is an oblong square fabric of rough stone, but seems to have been cased either with hewn stone or brick; to the north there are fifteen arches, which are six feet wide; there are the same number of arches on the south side, which are about eighteen feet deep, like the arches on which the seats of theatres are built; the space within the building is about forty-five feet wide. About a quarter of a mile to

the west of the town there is a building near the road, which is ten feet square within; the walls are six feet thick, and cased with brick inside and out; it seems to have been some antient sepulchre; the people say it is the tomb of Cadaphus; and the most probable account they give of it is, that he landed at this place, where he died and was buried, that his body being found above ground, they buried it again, which he was buried three times, and at last they built this strong fabric over it, which, they say, prevented its rising again, to which they add many other circumstances equally ridiculous. Taciturn this only to shew that the people of Crete have now as great a genius for inventing and spreading fables, as they had in the times of Paganism. It is said that several thousand Venetians sallied out to attack the Turks on the hill of Enadich, were repulsed with a great slaughter in the valley to the west of it, a panic having seized them on the accidental blowing up of some gunpowder.

About four leagues to the south-east of Cnossus is mount Joukia, which is the name of Jupiter in the modern Greek; they call him the god of the Greeks, and say that the antients called him Dia. They relate that there was a temple dedicated to him on this hill, which was much resorted to by the heathens, and it has been said that Jupiter's tomb was there; they have now no tradition that his sepulchre was at Cnossus, as was affirmed in the last century; but, they say, that he was buried in a grot on Mount Ida, and that there comes out of it such a wind that no one can enter it; but among people of such genius for invention, there have not of late years been wanting those who would fix all particulars of antient history to certain places.

Many have thought that Heraclea, which was the port of Cnossus, was situated where the town of Candia now stands, and I saw many sepulchral grotts on the east side of a mountain torrent, which is to the east of Candia, called in Homan's map Cazaban. The situations given by Ptolemy in this part rather cause confusion than help to the discovery of places; others have thought Candia to be Cytæum of Ptolemy, though doubtless the former is more probable.

The town of Candia is situated in a plain country on the east side of a large bay, having to the west of it a broad chain of hills, which are called Strongyle, and make a point out into the sea, which is the Capo Saffoso of Homan, and must be the promontory antiently called Dion. These mountains, together with the eastern parts of mount Ida, and the higher hills towards the plain of Mellares, in which Gortynia stands, make a sort of a semicircle, which opens to the north: this country consists mostly of small fruitful hills, which produce great quantities of excellent wines, but it is a level country on the bay. Opposite to Candia is the uninhabited isle of Dia, which is said to have its name from Jupiter; it is called Standia by Europeans; there are three good ports to the south of it, where the ships of the Maltese, as well as others, usually anchored during the siege of Candia. The city of Candia, before it was fortified by the Venetians, was but a small town, encompassing its port, and extended, as it is said, by Tramara gate from the north, to Sabionera gate on the east. The present city, which is of a semicircle figure, and very strongly fortified, may be about four miles in circumference, though they affirm that it is twice as much. The city was taken by the Turks in One thousand six hundred sixty-nine, after a siege and blockade of twenty-three years; the Venetians having lost thirty thousand men in the siege, and the Turks seventy thousand. In the year One thousand six hundred sixty-seven, twenty thousand Turks and three thousand Venetians were killed; five hundred mines were blown up; there were eighteen combats in the under ground works; the besieged made seventeen sallies; and the city was assaulted two and thirty times; so that it is deservedly reckoned one of the most famous sieges recorded in history. There

are in Candia six thousand men belonging to the six bodies of the Turkish soldiery, but those include all the Turks who are fit to bear arms; for they all belong to some military body; they have about fourteen mosques, six or seven of which were churches. There are some families of Armenians, who have a church; the Greeks likewise have a church belonging to the convent of mount Sinai, and another at the house of the metropolitan. The capuchins have a small convent and chapel for the consul and French merchants, and the Jews a synagogue. The city is well built, though some parts of it near the ramparts lie waste; the streets are broad and handsome, and the shops built after the Venetian manner. A wall is standing of the ancient palace of the governors, and in the piazza there is a fine fountain of the work of Vincenzo; the lower basin is adorned with excellent bas-reliefs; the upper basin is supported by four lions, and had in the middle a fine statue by the same hand, which the Turks destroyed. The entrance of the port is narrow and difficult, having only nine feet water, and there is but fifteen within, but there is a good road without the basin; there are several fine arsenals about it which are arched over, in order to build or lay up ships or gallees, though many of them have been destroyed; the port is made by two points of rocks that run out into the sea on the east, west, and part of the north side, on which walls have been built, and the port is defended by a strong castle. I had designed to have gone further to the east, at least as far as Cerronefo, but they advised me against it, as the people in those parts are very suspicious of all Europeans, on account of their being so frequently disturbed by the Corsairs.

CHAP. VI.—Of mount Ida, and Retimo.

WE set out from Candia on the twenty-fourth*, and travelling to the west, went over the mount Strongyle, and laid in a kane at a village called Damartal. On the twenty-fifth we came into a pleasant country full of small hills covered with oak, olives,

* Continuing along the coast from Candia, to the west of the city there is a river called Jesir; Ptolemy puts Panormus after Heraclum, but I have reason to believe that it was west of Dion promontory, so making that amendment, and correcting the longitudes without altering the order of the places, the first place is Cyteum, the latitude of which and of Heraclea ought to be rather 35: 10. as being more south than the cape; this town might be in a little bay to the west of the great bay of Candia, where Homan places Palioastro. What he calls cape Saffoso, and De Lisse, as well as the inhabitants, the cape of the Cross, is the old Dion promontory. Here the road is over high mountains called Strongyle. On the east side is the high mountain of the Cross, where there was a church of that name; and to the west the mountains are called Val Monistere, from a small convent. As Ptolemy is very faulty in the north part of Candia, till he comes to Rhitymna, I have on the observations I could make corrected him thus; Heraclum 54: 30. 35: 10. Cyteum 54: 20. 35: 10. Dion Promont. 54: 10. 35: 15. Panormus 53: 45. 35: 10. Pantanatrium 53: 35. 35: 6. Rhitymna 53: 30, 35. The first place which I put west of the cape, Panormus, being near the castle of Milopotamo (which gives name to a calcitate here) Homan places Panormos, and calls a mountain by that name. This place I take to have been on a small bay, which is called Astania. To the south of this place about eight miles, there is a large pleasant village called Magarates, which seems to have given title to the bishoprick called Margaritensis; south of this village about a mile, and east of the deep valley that extends towards the sea, I saw an old tower at a distance, and enquiring about it, they told me, it was a work of the ancient Greeks, and they call it now Teleuterna, so that without doubt the ancient Eleuthere or Eleuterna was situated here, and Subrita must have been somewhere under the mountains towards Retimo. To return to the sea; four miles further to the west was Pantanatrium; this seems to be a place about a mile north of the convent of Arfani, on the river Stauronene, which runs near the convent of Arcadi; the place is now called Airio [Aγριο] and they have a tradition that there was a city here, and that it was a bishoprick; they say the old name was Aeria, and that the bishop's title was (O) Aγριο, and probably it is the bishoprick called Arienfis, or another called Agienfis, both of them mentioned after the see of Milopotamo. A little east of it is a village called Episcopo, where they suppose the cathedral church was. At Airion are some heaps of stones about the fields, enough to shew that there have been some buildings there; and on the west there is a small church, built to the cliff of a rock, and is called Panaica Chrysepay [the Madonna of the Golden Spring].

and the plane-tree, having vines twining round them. We travelled twelve miles to a kane and fountain called Papatebrisy, and going two miles further we saw the high hill of Val Monastere to the right, and at the end of six miles came to the village of Perameh, on a river of the same name; opposite to this place there is a port called Aftomia, where the Maltese came ashore this year, and carried away above twenty Turks from a village called Delabolou, which is near a league from the sea; it is said that this descent was occasioned by a servant of the aga of the village, who having been ill used by his master, went to the Maltese at Gozo, shewed them the way, and, it is said, had the revenge to assist in binding his master. We went three miles out of the high road in a pleasant valley on the south to a village called Magarites, which was given to the Cuperlis, with many other villages about Candia, when their ancestor took that city; we were here directed to an untenanted house, where two priests of the convent of Arcadi came to us, and afterwards the steward of the *passa* Cuperli, who brought me a present of a nosegay and a water melon; and when I went away he met me at his door, and served us with wine, melon and walnuts, and fired a gun at our departure, which were all marks of his civility, for which I made him a proper acknowledgment. They have here a manufacture of a fine red earthen ware, something like that of the antients. About a mile further we passed by a church of saint Antonio in a grotto. Travelling still in a pleasant narrow vale, I saw a tower at a distance called Teleuterna, which I conjectured to be some remains of the old Eleuterna; four miles further we passed by the ruined convent of saint Antony, belonging to the monastery of Arcadi: soon after we came to a small plain between the hills about four miles in circumference, in the middle of which is the large convent of Arcadi, which was erected in the time of the Venetian government. It is a handsome building, round a large court; they have a good refectory, and a very fine church in the middle of the court, with a beautiful front of Venetian architecture; the convent has a large income, above a hundred caloyers, and about twenty priests; I was received here very civilly by the abbot, and conducted to the apartments allotted for strangers: and the abbot always came and took his repasts with me. On the twenty-sixth I set out in the afternoon with three caloyers to go to mount Ida, which is about six miles to the east of the convent; the road is very bad between the hills, which are covered with ever-green oak; we came to a farm-house belonging to the convent, where they killed a sheep for us; we went on further to a grotto, where we made a great fire and lay all night. On the twenty-seventh we went near three hours to the foot of the high mountain.

Mount Ida is now called by the natives *Upsidrites*; it is probable that Jupiter passed great part of his youth amongst these mountains in the manly exercise of hunting and drawing the bow, as he is said to have been educated here. This mountain extends to the north-west almost to Retimo, being bounded to the south-west by that valley which is to the north-east of mount Kedrosé, on the side of which I saw at a distance the convent of Alimatos, and to the north-east by those narrow valleys which divide it from mount Serenyle, and so extended to the south-east, to the plain in which Gortynia stood; but what is properly mount Ida, is one very high mountain in the middle, or rather towards the south-side of them; it is of a grey marble, and the surface being of loose stones, makes it very difficult to ascend; there is no verdure on it, except a few small shrubs or herbs; I was two hours and three quarters ascending to the highest summit, for it has another to the west somewhat lower. I conjectured that this mountain is not so high as mount Libanon, or the Alps. In some hollows, especially in two which I saw, there is snow all the year round, which is carried in

summer to Retimo for the use of the pasha. On the top of the mountain there is a low church built only of loose stones, dedicated to the Holy cross. It commands a glorious view of almost the whole island; and in a clear day, it is said they can see many of the isles of the Archipelago; I saw from it the small islands that are north of Sertia. A little way up the north-side of the hill I went into a small rough grotto, which is the only one that I could hear of about this place. As barren a spot as this mountain is, I saw a flock of sheep on the highest summit of it, and I took particular notice of the shepherds lying the snow on stones exposed to the sun, and receiving the water in their bottles as it melted, and they drink it without finding any ill effects from it. I returned to the convent; and on the twenty-eighth travelling northward, passed through the villages of Annato, and went to the mouth of the river Stavromene, on both sides of which there are ruins, and the place is called Airio. We went a mile southwards to the rich convent of Arfani, which is subject only to the patriarch of Constantinople; it is pleasantly situated, and the estate that belongs to it produces some of the best wines and oil in all Candia. The abbot pressed me to dine with them, and made a very grand entertainment; and on drinking certain healths, they chanted some Greek verses; this convent lying in the road is at a great expence in entertaining strangers; and the Turks are not content with that, but take away with them whatever they want on the road. We went eight miles to Retimo, passing over the river Platania, and through a beautiful village called Chamaleore. At Retimo I was received in the house of the English vice consul.

Retimo is situated on the bay antiently called Amphimale; it is on a peninsula that runs northward into the sea, at the north end of which there is a high rock, strongly fortified; to the south of it there is a level spot of ground, on which the town is built, defended by a wall built across the neck of the peninsula, which on the west side extends to the hill on which the castle is built; though the city is almost encompassed by the sea, yet they find plenty of good fresh water wherever they dig, and a fine stream is brought to the town from a spring that is near, which runs like a river from a handsome conduit made by the Venetians; and though it is a rocky soil, and there is no morass near it, yet, I know not for what reason, it is accounted an unhealthy air; the situation is delightful; and on the east side, facing the sea, there are some very fine houses of the Venetian architecture, with gardens behind them extending to the sea side. There is a Doric door to one of the houses, which may vie with any piece of modern architecture; there is also a fine tower, where there seemed to have been an entrance to the port, on which there was a clock in the time of the Venetians; the port is a small basin to the east, into which large boats only can enter; but the ships anchor abroad in a good road. There are here some French factors for the merchants of Canea and Candia, in order to export oil; but there are no priests of the Latin church in the city. They compute that there are about ten thousand souls in the town, three thousand of which are Turks who bear arms; there are about five hundred Greek families, who have a church and a bishop residing here; there are six or seven families of Jews, but they have no public synagogue. They have an old proverb which mentions the people of Retimo as given to letters, but probably it may have no other foundation than that this town has produced a great number of priests and monks. The grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha, who enjoyed that office at the beginning of the present grand signior's reign, was in exile in this place; I was told that he was first of all eunuch, or minister to the black eunuch, who advanced him to this office, and when he was in it, he was so sensible of the exorbitant power of that favourite, that he had laid a scheme to send him off in a galley, which he had prepared for that purpose;

Purpose; but his design being discovered, he was himself sent away in that very galley to be a pasha in Negropont; it seems the vizier had obtained a promise from the grand signior not to touch his title or estate, so he was ordered to the honourable pathalic of Romelia, on purpose to put him to great expences, and about six years ago was sent to this place, where he lives in a very honourable retirement; the pasha sometimes goes to his levy, but the station of the vizier exempts him from returning the compliments even of the governor of the province.

When I was at Retimo I heard of a German slave, a native of Silesia, who was taken in the wars with the emperor, and I agreed for him with the Turk his master for two hundred dollars; every thing being concluded, the property of him was transferred to me by kissing the feet of his old proprietor, and then of his new master. I proposed to give him his choice either to remain with me as a servant, or to be given up to the priests at Constantinople who redeem captives, on their returning me the money. The love of his native country made him choose the latter, and I delivered him up into their hands about a year afterwards.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the places between Retimo and Canea.*

WE left Retimo on the twenty-ninth, and continuing on westward along the mountains in a very stony road, we came to the river Petrea, over which there is a very extraordinary bridge lately built, consisting of one arch, which cannot be less than fifty feet wide, and, as I conjectured, was sixty or seventy feet high. A little beyond this we left the province and castellate of Retimo, and came into the province of Canea, and the castellate of Apokorano, which has to the south the independent castellate of Sfachia before mentioned. Soon after the entrance into this province we came to another village called Armiro, where there is a garrisoned castle, and a kane. A little to the east of it, a very plentiful salt spring flows out from the bank in a large stream; we lay in a kane in this place. About a league to the south east, under the hills which are called Corunna, there is a small lake and village of the same name. On the thirtieth we proceeded on our journey, and passing over those hills which make cape Trapani, the old promontory Drepanum, we came to the present narrow vale of Apokorano, through which there runs a stream that is divided into two parts by a hill called Scordiani, and empty themselves into the sea near a village called Calives: to the west is the end of those hills called Meleefa, which make the south-east side of the bay of Suda; they are a continuation of the mountains of Omalo, or Sfachia; and towards the north-east of them, where they are highest, there are ruins of some ancient city, which, I suppose, to be Minoa, and according to Ptolemy it was the nearest place to the promontory of Drepanum on the west side; these ruins are called Paliocastro. At the north end, which is the highest, there seems to have been a castle, and some walls of rusticated stone remain, which are nine feet thick. As the situation is high, and they have no water, the whole town had cisterns under it, of which I saw a great number; the circumference of the place on the top of the hill might be about two miles. The chief ruins are about the middle of it, where there is a house, a church, and lands belonging to the convent of St. John of Patmos; under an area, which is near this house, there is an arched cistern, which seems to have been lined with brick; to the north of these are remains of a church; and to the west of the house there are large cisterns cased with fine brick; to the north of this there is a large arched building; and to the east of the house a smaller about twenty-five feet square, with some niches, which seem to have been designed for statues;

flamms; it appears as a rough building, though probably it has been cased. Towards the foot of the castle are four pieces of fluted pillars two feet six inches in diameter, which might be the remains of an antient temple.

From Paleopolis I proceeded on westward on the side of the hills, over the south-east side of the bay of Suda; this bay is near a league broad, and well sheltered by the land, which runs out in a point from the south west to the north east; it is a very good harbour, where all the large ships lay which cannot enter the port of Canea. Towards the opening of this bay, on the west side near to cape Melecca, there is an island called Suda, which is near a mile in circumference, having a small rock at each end of it; this place was strongly fortified by the Venetians, and not taken by the Turks till after they had conquered the Morea; about which time Spinalonga was likewise taken, which is a fortified place near Mirabello towards the east part of the island. The people of Suda by their capitulations were permitted to go away, and many went on board the Venetian ships; but some choosing to stay and settle on the island, being either Greeks, or allied with them, on some disgust the pasha got an order from Constantinople that all who were taken there should be sold, which accordingly was executed, and those who had not money or friends to pay their ransom, were made slaves; many of them who were redeemed, at this time live on the island under French protection: there are only about a thousand Turks in the island who bear arms. The east part of this bay is made by cape Depranum, now called Trapani, and the west by cape Melecca, the old promontory of Ciamum, which is about a league broad; the country is called Acrotery, and the high mountains that cross it towards the north end, from the south east to the north west, are called Scouca. Ascending up the high land of this cape, I passed by two ruined convents of St. Matthew and St. Elias, and on the height came to the Greek nunnery of St. John Baptist; it is built like an hospital, round an oblong square court, consisting only of one story, and a church in the middle of the area: there are about forty professed nuns in it, and sixty that have not taken the vow; they are governed by an abbess, and are dependant on the convent of St. John the hermit, the priests of which officiate in this church; but this nunnery is like the Lutheran nunneries in Germany, or rather like the large nunnery, which I afterwards saw in Scio, where they have their separate houses, and live on what they have, or can earn by their labour. This nunnery is open for all persons to go in, and consists mostly of widows and old women, who have no allowance, but live by their labour and charity, or by what their relations send them.

To the east of the cape, opposite to the fort of Suda, there is a village called Sternes, from the great number of cisterns there; this being the only way by which they are supplied with water. This village is remarkable for nothing but eight or ten chapels in it: these and the great numbers which one sees all over the island, seem to have belonged to houses; it being probably the devotion of the middle ages, when this island was recovered into the hands of the Christians, to build chapels near their houses.

On the south side of the mountains called Scouca is the beautiful unfinished convent of the Holy Trinity, built round a large court, with a grand entrance, and a magnificent church in the middle. Going up the hills of Scouca, we came to the convent of St. John the hermit; it is built like a castle, with a square turret at each corner; they had begun a very ornamental front to the church in the middle of the court, adorned with sculpture, but in a very bad taste. The bishop of Canea is abbot of this convent: going from it to the north-east about half a mile there is a large round grot, in which there are some high pillars made by the distillation of the water, and a figure which resembles a sitting bear, from which it is called the Cave of the Bear;

Bear; at the entrance of it there is a chapel of the Virgin Mary; from this grot one goes down the hills towards the deep bed of a winter torrent, there being high mountains almost perpendicular on each side. There is a descent to the lower part of the hill by one hundred and forty steps to a place called Catholico, which was probably a chief convent over several others; for they generally give that name to the head, or mother convents and churches. A bridge fifty feet high is built over the channel of this torrent; on the other side there are two hermitages one over the other; and on the fourth side is the church called Catholico in a grot, with a handsome front built to it, and near it there are two or three houses left unfinished, by reason of the Turkish invasion; it is a very proper place for retirement and solitude, there being no other prospect from it, but that of the sea and the rocks; there is likewise at this place a curious grotto, which extends for near a quarter of a mile; there are many petrifications in it, made by the dropping of the water, and at the end of it there is a table cut out in the rock, which has received a coat from the dropping of the water like rock work, and has a very beautiful effect; this grotto exceeds all that I ever saw in the beauty and slenderness of the pillars, one of which is near twenty feet high, and they are transparent; as I had seen stones of this kind hewn out of a grot at mount Libanon, which were used as white marble, and appeared to be alabaster; this made me imagine that when these sorts of petrifications are hard enough to receive a polish, they then become the oriental transparent alabaster, which is so much valued; and there are two curious columns of it at the high altar of St. Mark in Venice. After I left the place I was told that there is another grotto lower, which extends much further than this.

We went two miles to the west among the mountains, and saw a ruined village called St. George, and a church in a grotto, under which there is another grotto, where I was informed there were petrified bones of a larger size than ordinary, and I actually found some bones in the softer part of the rock, but not petrified; however, the earth about them was almost cemented into a stone by the dropping of the water. This seems to be owing to their having deposited their bodies in the hollow parts of the rock over one another, and being covered with earth from time to time, and the holes filled up, the humidity of the place has cemented all together; for I observed in this grotto some petrifications like those in the others. From this point of land I had a sight of Cerigotto and Cerigo, the antient Cythera, of cape Mallo, of the Morea, and the island of Milo; having seen every thing that was curious, I returned to Canea.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of the natural history, people, customs, and the military and ecclesiastical state of Candia.*

THE island of Candia is for the most part hilly and mountainous, resembling Wales, or the territory of Genoua; the mountains are mostly either of free stone, or of marble, which is either grey or white; the hills are nearest to the south side of the island, and consequently the northern parts of it are the most pleasant, and best inhabited; it abounds much in springs and fountains, which they find even close by the sea side, if they dig wells down but a few feet deep; most of the rivers are dry in summer, but in winter many of them are very dangerous torrents. I do not find that they have any fresh water fish except eels. The most remarkable sea-fish here are the scarus, and the red shelled oyster shaped like a scollop. The island does not produce any mineral, and very

few natural curiosities of any sort, except in the vegetable kind. There are a great variety of trees in it, both of the Asiatic and European growth*.

As to wild beasts, I could not be informed that they have any other except the goat and the hare; they have the red large partridge, which they call *Coturno*, and a particular bird of the size of a blackbird, and of a blueish grey, which, when kept in a cage, sings finely, and is called *Petro Cockifo*, or the bird of the rocks, which it frequents, and by the English the solitary sparrow; they have also another bird called *Potamida*, because it is mostly about the rivers, and sings very finely. It is reported that there are no venomous animals in this island; they say, they have two sorts of snakes, one called *Ophiis*, which is spotted black and white, much of the colour of the adder; the other is the *ochedra*, which is smaller, and, as some pretend, is the sort of viper which fastened to St. Paul's hand in Malta, and, as they say, was afterwards harmless; they have an animal like a lizard called *Jakoniè*, which the people apprehend to be exceedingly venomous in its bite, and some say by a sting in its tail; but having some of them caught, I saw they were the very same as the *finco* or *stinc marin* of Egypt, which are harmless there, and are sent dried to Europe from Egypt, without dismembring them, and go into the composition of the *Theriaca*; they have also the lizard, and a sort of spider called *Phalangium*, which is very venomous, especially in hot weather, and it is said that music and dancing helps towards the cure, as in the bite of the *Tarantula*. They have a strong rough middle-sized breed of horses, used mostly in the towns; in the country they have generally mules and asses; the former are used by the Christian ladies, who ride after the English manner; but the Turkish females, who veil their faces, ride like the men. The roads being very stony, and in many places narrow, there are no wheel carriages in the island.

They do not compute above three hundred thousand souls in the whole island, and reckon the number of Christians to be more than double the number of Turks; the inhabitants consist partly of the antient people of the island, who may be supposed to be very few, and partly of the descendants of the twelve noble Cretan families already mentioned, partly of Saracens, who conquered the island, of whom it is probable there are not many; and some Venetians settled here during their government, who are now all of the Greek church, except some few of *Suda* and *Spina Longa*, who remained on the island when those places were taken, and have come under French protection; or lastly, they are Turkish Mahometans brought from Constantinople and other parts to this island, either as soldiery or as colonies to forfeited lands.

The people of the island do by no means want parts, however defective they may be in the improvement of them; for they are sharp and sagacious, which they discover in their countenances; the young people are very fair and handsome, and have fine eyes; it is said the Turkish women, who veil, are more beautiful than the Christians; they

* Its trees are the cypress, pine, ever-green, oak, willow, caroub or locust-tree, arbutus or strawberry-tree, the oak, palm, fig, olive, almond, wild pear, platanus, the bay, which they call *Daphne*, the myrtle, walnut, and chestnut, alphetamos resembling maple, and *jèprino*, which is a sort of *phulrea*; they have so many different kinds of grapes, that I have heard them reckon no less than seventy-two sorts; they have also a very great variety of curious shrubs, among them the bramble, which are not seen in other eastern parts; they have many rare herbs, as curled tea sage, roman sage, and wormwood, savory, liquorice, dwarf elder and fern, which I had not seen before in all the east, besides many others; and I saw tuberoses grow wild on the sandy shore; but they are more particularly famous for four mountain herbs, which excel those of other parts, and are sent to several parts of Europe, the physicians always prescribing those of Crete, as *Dictamnium Creticum*, *Epitimum Creticum*, *Lancus Creticus*, and *Origamum Creticum*, and one meadow herb called *Scordium Creticum*: this island is also famous for *ranunculus* roots, which grow wild, sell very dear, and are sent to Constantinople, and other parts.

answer their antient character as to invention, and taking pleasure in spreading falsehoods, and they seem also to be credulous, and fond of believing strange things; they are civil and hospitable to one another and to the Franks; but with great reason avoid opportunities of being burthened by the Turks, who command every thing as a debt due to them, and make use of their monasteries, and the houses of their parish priests, as inns: these are indeed the places for entertainment of strangers; but Christians who have any honour always bestow some gratuity, that, at least, they may not be sufferers by their civility. The dress of the men here is the same as that of Cyprus; those of a middling condition and children wear only a small red cap, without any fash round it; the boors wear a black cap close to their heads, with a black silk tassel hanging down at each ear, and in summer are always clothed in white, which is a general custom among all the people in the Turkish empire for all the habits, except the outer garment, imagining that white is a cool dress. The country people wear about their necks a long towel, with which they cover their heads when they are in the sun. The children here plait their hair round from their foreheads, and bring it down so as to hang in a plait behind, and the females have often two or three such plaits, which are very becoming. The Greek women do not cover their faces, but wear a muslin veil upon their heads, and bind up the hair in ribbands, and roll it round their heads, so as to make it a high dress; they tie their petticoats and aprons near as high as their armpits; and, when in high dress, they wear a sort of short stays, adorned before with gold lace. The women never sit down to eat with men that are not of the house, and though they are not so strict as the Turks, yet they rarely come into the room where any strangers are.

All people here have such a property in their lands, that only the seventh of the produce belongs to the grand signior, and when they die, the lands, according to the law, are equally divided between the children; which has reduced all the Christian families to poverty; nor can the father leave the lands in any other manner. All along the north coast of Candia small watch towers are built to observe the coast, particularly by night, and to give the alarm by making fires, in case of any descent. The Christians are obliged to keep this watch; and to shew they are on the guard, every tower is obliged to have a fire as soon as it is dark, and at break of day. The pashas have often taken money to excuse the attendance of the watch, and in three or four months after sent an order to keep it again, and then they come to a new agreement to be excused; but there having been some descents made of late by the Maltese, the guard is strictly kept, and a company of soldiers go out every night from the garrisoned towns to watch the coast. The caia, or prime minister of the pasha, gives an account of all duties to be levied, to the Christian secretary of the pasha, who sends it to the castel caia, or high constable, and he goes round to the capitaneo of each village, who levies the sum laid on the village from every house. The harach, or poll tax on the male Christians above sixteen years old is five dollars and ten medins a head, which is about thirteen shillings sterling, and is collected by a Turkish officer sent to every castellate, who goes round and receives it. There are twenty-five thousand Christians who pay harach, not including those who are in the three great cities.

There are in the garrisoned towns seven military bodies: first the janizaries, of which there are in each a certain number of different companies, or chambers called odas; but besides these there are a greater number of janizaries called jamalukes, who belong to chambers which are in other parts of the empire, and are settled here as merchants or tradesmen, and yet receive their pay as janizaries; and if any one of the companies are ordered away, those only go who please, and they make up their number as they can, and then the persons who refuse to go belong no more to that

company; but they frequently go to Constantinople to be put into another company, and return to Candia, with a patent to receive their pay: as there are many janizaries about the country on their late cities, they are governed by a *fardar* in every caitellete, and are subject only to that officer only. These *odas* or chambers, like the Roman legions, are called by their respective numbers, there being a hundred and sixty of them in the country, and each one has from one hundred to five hundred men, which is their complete number in time of war; in peace they generally consist of about a hundred men. The second body are the *filiks*. The third are the *fidarles*. The fourth are *topgis* or cannoners. The fifth *spahis*, who have the care of the ammunition. The sixth *spahis*, who are the cavalry, and are supplied to have horses, and when the *pasha* goes out they furnish him with all the number of horses he wants, but even furnishing the rest. All the Turks belong to some military body. The *farach* and customs pay all the foldiers, except the janizaries, whose money is brought from abroad.

The grand signior has the seventh part of the lands of Candia for one life, and no proprietor can be dispossessed; but the purchasers can lawfully receive out of them only a seventh of the produce, which of corn, fax, and cotton, is taken in kind; as to the oil of their olive-trees, it is exactly fully estimated; and for their vineyards they pay a certain sum, according to the quantity of land; and silk pays a *medin* or three farthings an ounce. The person who buys the seventh part of any village is lord and master of it, leaves his *suballiere* or steward to collect his rents, who has all the power, and the business of the capitaneos, which is to collect all occasional impositions raised on the village by the *pasha*; he has the number of Christian families registered, and the tax is equally divided among them, the Turks paying nothing; and even sometimes a Christian family, by great interest, may be struck out of the list.

The archbishop is put in by the patriarch of Constantinople, and the metropolitan makes the bishops, who put in the parish priests. The archbishop, besides the revenues of his own diocese, receives a yearly sum from all the bishops; and as he pays a yearly tribute to the grand signior, every bishop is empowered to levy five *medins* for that purpose on every house, and pays a certain sum on that account to the metropolitan. The bishop's revenue is a certain measure of corn, wine, and oil, besides the voluntary contributions of the people; he has also fees on marriages, and they generally go round their dioceses in the three Lent, in March, August, and November. If a Christian woman marries a Turk, she is not admitted to the sacrament, till she is at the point of death, and must then renounce her husband; but she goes to church, which they cannot hinder; and many of those who live in the villages are converted by the Turks. When Candia was taken, the Christians had generally two bells to every church, which they were ordered to bring into the citie; many of them hid the bells; and it is delivered down from father to son where they are: this is known by the Turks; so that the *pasha*, if he would raise money on a rich family, the matter is accused as having the bells hid somewhere in his land, he is carried to prison, and there remains until he pays a sum of money for his deliverance. Though many of the villages are inhabited by Turks, yet there are some villages where the inhabitants, who were formerly Christians, are now entirely become Mahometans; some to avoid punishment, or to be revenged on a Turk, whom a Christian cannot strike; others are encouraged by the thriving of the Mahometans, who pay no taxes: so the Christians grow poor, the Mahometans rich, and part of their lands; and thus the Christian religion daily loses ground in all parts of Turkey.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE EAST, &c.

BY RICHARD POCOCKE, LL.D. F.R.S.

Book the First. — Of the Greek Islands of the Archipelago.

CHAP. I. — *Of the Island of Scio.*

I EMBARKED on board a French ship at Canea on the first of October, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine, and sailing in sight of most of the islands, landed at Scio on the fourth. The island of Scio is now called by the Greeks Kio [X_i], the ancient Greek name of it was Chios [X_ios]; it was first called *Ætalia* in very ancient times, and also *Mastic*, on account of the great number of mastic trees that were in this island. It is situated to the west of that large promontory, which makes the southern part of the bay of Smyrna which is to the north, and the north part of the bay of Ephesus; where it is nearest to the continent, it is only eight miles distant; the north part of it is all mountainous, and is distinguished from the other parts of the island by the name of *Epanemeria* [The upper quarter]; there are notwithstanding some fine small vales in that part. The mountains extend to the south-west, and end with low hills to the south, on which most of the villages of *Mastic* are situated. To the west of the mountains, about the middle parts of the island, there are also some villages of *Mastic*, and likewise of *Epanemeria*; these extend to the north-west corner; the other villages in that quarter being to the north. The whole island is about thirty miles long, and fifteen broad, and is computed to be ninety miles in circumference, though Strabo makes it one hundred and twelve miles and a half, which may be true if it were measured round the bays and harbours. This island was taken by a Genoese, called Simon Vignotius, and was mostly governed by the family of the Justiniani from Genoa. The Turks became masters of it in one thousand five hundred sixty-six, the Christians remaining in possession of the castle till one thousand five hundred ninety-five, when the Florentine galleys under Virginio Urfinio, making an attempt to recover the island were repulsed, and the Christians dispossessed of the castle. About forty-five years ago the Venetians took this island, but held it only six months, and were forced to yield it again to the Turks, leaving only about thirty soldiers in the castle, who were soon subdued by the conquerors. This island has only one city in it, which is commonly called Scio, and by the natives, by way of eminence, The place or city [X_i K_i]; it was antiently called *Chiepolis*. This town is situated about the middle of a shallow bay on the east-side of the island; to the south of it is that fine country called the Campo, and a narrower strip to the north called *Livadia*. Within this bay there is another small one, which being defended to the east by natural piers, and having a light-house on each side, makes the port of Scio, into which the shipping enter when they are unloaded; and there is a good road without for the large ships to ride in. The castle is to the north of the bay, which is about half a mile in compass; it

it is inhabited only by Turks and Jews, and is often a place of confinement for state prisoners who are sent from Constantinople; and when I was there the late vizier landed from Rhodes; but it is esteemed a good omen when they are brought nearer to Constantinople. To the north of it is Palaiocastro, or the old town, so that probably the antient city was on the north-side of the port. The chief part of the present city is on the west side of it, and is separated by gardens from the old city, which is mostly inhabited by the lower rank of people. Though the streets are narrow, yet the town is well built, there being many fine houses in it of hewn stone, inhabited by the Italian families who remained here, and by the rich Greeks, many of which were built in the time of the Genouise government. The Greeks have a great number of churches in the city, which are remarkable for the skreen, or partition of wood before the altar, which is of fine carved work. One of the churches is a beautiful fabric, with galleries supported by pillars, and was built a little before the Venetians took the island; the old and new city together are about two miles in circumference without the walls.

The campo, or plain of Scio, to the north of this town, is a very beautiful country, about two leagues long, and a league broad, but it consists entirely of country houses and gardens walled round, great part of them are groves of orange and lemon trees; and the houses are so near to one another that it appears like the suburb of a town; and from the sea it looks almost like one continued city. The plain country to the north and south is about four leagues long, and a league broad in most parts, and in some more; there are also in it several gardens of mulberry trees for silk worms; those that are the most beautiful have a walk in the middle, and to the right and left from the house with square pillars on each side, and seats built between them of hewn stone; the pillars support a trellis-work, which is covered with vines, and on the spaces on each side there are groves of orange and lemon trees; some have chapels in their gardens, with a family vault under them. Here almost all the people of the city retire in the summer, and as constantly return to the town in winter; they go also out of the town to their country houses when there is any plague; and the spring before I was there, when there were such terrible earthquakes, many went out of the town; but found that it was more secure to stay in the city, where the houses being contiguous, support one another better against the shock. To the south and south-west part of this country are the villages of the Campo; but these, as well as most of the others in the island, which are sixty in all, are really like towns; the houses are built together, and consist of several narrow streets, having gates at the entrance, and many of them a castle in the middle, especially the villages of Mastic; which manner of building in the country seems to have been introduced as a defence against the incursions from the continent, which were often made when this island was not under the same government. On a hill to the south of this plain there is a large convent called saint Minas; from it one ascends to the hills on which there are one and twenty villages of mastic, all which except four are together on the south-side of the plain; one of the four is on the hills to the west, and is called saint George. It produces no mastic, but enjoys the privileges of the others, as being the guard to three villages that are to the west of the mountains; for these villages have great privileges; they pay no rent, only a certain quantity of mastic to the grand signor, which I was informed is yearly five thousand and twenty okes of four hundred drams each; and they are subject only to an aga placed over them; are permitted to have bells to their churches, being all Christians, and may wear white sashes to their turbans. At the first village there is a guard to hinder any one from entering during the season when they make mastic, unless they have an order from the aga. The mastic tree, or as it is sometimes called the lentisk, in Arabic Carice, they say, is of two sorts, the wild and the domestic tree; what they call the wild, I have seen in great abundance

dance in Syria, especially in the Holy Land, and in Cyprus and Candia ; it bears a small red berry, which they affirm the domestic does not ; it is a large shrub, I have seen it fifteen feet high ; they affirm that they observe a male and female sort of the domestic kind ; the wild produces mastic, but not so good as the other ; and of this the female, which has larger leaves, and is a brighter green, produces the best mastic ; and that which comes first from all of them, is better than that which drops afterwards, when the tree has lost its strength. On the ninth of July they make holes in the rind across the trunk with an instrument called Temetri ; it is like an awl, except that it has two edges, and the point of it is an eighth of an inch broad ; they sweep the ground, and throwing water on it, tread it even to make a smooth floor ; in three days the gum begins to run, and they let it lie and dry for about eight days ; it is then hard enough to handle, and they take it up ; it continues running all the month of August, and drops also in September, but then it is not good ; the finest and best is called Fliscari, and sells for two dollars an oke ; the rest from a dollar to a dollar and a half ; and if they have a greater quantity than the tribute which they are to pay to the grand signior, they may have a licence to sell it ; notwithstanding I have reason to believe that most of it is sold clandestinely, that their tribute may not be increased. I have been told that water, in which the wood of this tree has been boiled, is good against the gout, and that the wood of it has been clandestinely procured by some persons, in order to send it into some parts of Italy for that purpose. The mastic was formerly sent to Venice, but is now exported only to Constantinople and Smyrna ; it is chewed only by the Turks, especially the ladies, who use it both as an amusement, and also to whiten their teeth, and sweeten the breath, on which account it is much used by those of the grand signior's seraglio ; it is also put in bread, and is said to have a very good taste ; the whitest and clearest is the best, but after a year it turns yellow, though it is thought it does not lose its virtue ; they sometimes cut the wild sort ; but I have great reason to think, though they said otherwise, that the difference between the wild and domestic is, that they take off the flowers from the domestic, which would produce fruit, in order to make the tree give a greater quantity of gum, and of a better quality ; not to mention that their cutting it early may prevent its flowering, by enervating the force of the tree. I observed on the domestic tree a sort of a black dried flower, like that of the male ash, which, they say, is sometimes on all the trees, both male and female, though I imagine it to be the flower only of the male. The mastic must not be made in any other parts of the island, and, if I do not mistake, the making of it is prohibited throughout all the grand signior's dominions ; and it is actually made nowhere else, though it was formerly ; for Dioscorides says, that the mastic of Scio was the best in the world, which probably may be owing to some art they may have to keep it from blowing and bearing fruit. After I left that part of the island, I was informed that at one of the Mastic villages called Kalamoty, on the south-west part of the island, there was lately discovered a subterraneous building, supported by pillars.

I went to visit two convents further to the south, and was shewn a spot of ground, near a winter torrent, about two miles in compass, which, they say, after a great flood, sunk down in such a manner that the trees and houses were overturned ; and I saw the marks of this accident still remaining, which, one would imagine, must be owing to some cavity under ground, the flood loosening one side, which supported it. There are three small convents, and a nunnery this way ; I did not see them all, but I was at a large nunnery near a village called Calamaria ; they build or buy their apartments, half
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going to the head convent of Neamone, and half to the relations of the deceased; they cannot profess before they are twenty-five years old; and they may take the vow after that age without probation; they are admitted by the abbess, and have no allowance, but live on their fortunes, or labour, for they have a dymity manufacture in this convent. They may go out when they please, as they often do, and live some months in the houses of their friends; the gates are open, and all have access, and that without any scandal; and to gratify a stranger for a small piece of money they will sing in their churches a form which they call a Paracletis; some live in the convent without ever taking the vow, or at least not till such time as there is little danger of being induced to break it. There are in this nunnery some old women, who live on the charity of the others, and of those who come to it.

Going from the villages of Maltic, we came to a place called Selavia; it was formerly much inhabited by the Genoese, most of whom went away with the Venetians, and there remain now only a few poor Roman catholic families of Genoese extraction, who have a small church; there are two of their magnificent houses remaining, with a very fine mountain before one of them. At a village called Carchiosè I saw over the church a very antient alt relief of our Saviour's triumphal entrance into Jerusalem; the sculpture is but indifferent.

We went northward between the mountains, and turning west came to the large convent of Neamone, about two leagues to the west of the city; it is situated on a hill in the middle of the mountains; this convent was founded, or the church built by the emperor Constantine Omonomilos; his picture, and that of his empress Thea, are in several parts of the church. The convent is large and irregularly built round an oblong square court, and two or three smaller. In the middle there is a church, which is esteemed one of the finest in the Archipelago, it originally seems to have had two porticos, to which a smaller has been added, and a tower that has destroyed the beauty of the front; the door cases are all of jasper or fine marbles, and on each side of the outer one there is a column of the same; the east side of it within is wainscotted with jasper and beautiful marbles; the second portico is painted, and the arch is adorned with several figures in mosaic. In the outermost are the reliques of three saints of the place kept in a red jasper chest; the church itself, which is the choir, is a square of about thirty feet, excepting the part within the screen of the high altar; the whole is adorned with pillars, and wainscotted and paved with jasper, and the most costly marbles; and on the dome and upper parts are represented history pieces of our Saviour in mosaic, finely done for those times. They shew some reliques, much esteemed by the Greeks, as the thumb of St. John Baptist, the scull of Timothy, a bone of St. Luke, and St. George, and a piece of the cross. The abbot is chose for two years, and no woman can enter the convent; they keep, at least in public, the old institution of eating no meat; there are two hundred persons in the convent, twenty-five of which are priests, fifty stavroforoi, or cross bearers, who are those who have taken the strict vow, and ought never to eat flesh; and four or five of the Megalothema, whose vow is so strict that they can have no employ in the convent, or elsewhere; and though they ought to have no property, yet this is permitted, because they are obliged to pay their poll tax. They admit caloyers here for a sum of money, who may go and live on their own farms, and are entitled to a certain portion of bread and wine, though absent; so that the convent is served, either by hired servants, or such as labour five or six years to be admitted caloyers, without money, or by such caloyers as have offices, by which they gain something for themselves.

In the way from the convent to the town there is a hill called the marble table [*Μαρμάρου τραπέζα*], out of which, they say, the jasper was taken that is employed about the church. Strabo observes, that there is a vein of marble in the island, and Pliny says, that the first jasper was found here; it is a fine red sort, and the winter torrents near the city having brought down several pieces of it, they have taken those stones to pave the streets, and there are several other curious marbles found in the beds of those torrents. I went to see two of the three fountains on the sides of the mountains, which are conveyed five or six miles to the city, and passed a valley on an aqueduct built with arches.

From the city I made a voyage round part of the island; the plain to the north of the city is called Livadia, and is near two leagues long; there is a small village in it called Eretes, which might give occasion for the mistake of a certain author, who mentioning a place here of such a name, says, that the Sibyl Erithræa was born there; whereas she was of the city Erythræ, on the opposite continent. At the end of this plain, and toward the south end of the bay, is that great piece of antiquity, which is called Homer's school; it is near the sea side on the foot of a mountain called Epos; it is a part of the rock that sets out beyond the rest, the surface of which is hewn into a seat all round, which I take to have been a figure of many unequal sides, though it is commonly said to be round; it is indeed much broken and defaced, and the side next to the sea is fallen down; within this seat there is a cube three feet above the floor, and on the side next to the sea there is a mezzo relievo of a person sitting, and a smaller figure on each side; that in the middle may be supposed to be Homer; and those on each side two of the Muses*. The heads of the figures are broken off, except of the lion behind; for on the three other sides are reliefs of an animal; that behind is a lion passant, the other two have the heads broke off, and are very much defaced, but seem to be lions; by which may be represented the fire and force with which this poet wrote. Many think that Homer's verses were taught here; and it is not improbable, when so many places contended for his birth, that the people of Chius should cause this place to be hewn out in memory of him; and here they might at some certain times rehearse his verses to his honour. About two or three leagues further north is a bay called port Dellin, which I thought might be Fanum, mentioned by Strabo, till I came to Fana, mentioned below in another place; opposite to this are the islands called Spermadori, and in Greek Egonuses, which stretch almost to the mouth of the channel; they belong to Scio, and are inhabited only by herdsmen. The north-west cape of the island, is that which Strabo calls Posidium, which, he says comes near to the promontory of Argenum of Erythræ, though the distance which he mentions of sixty stadia seems to be a mistake for a hundred and sixty, as it is computed twenty miles. Opposite to the mouth of this channel is Mytelene, the antient Lesbos, computed to be about forty miles distant. About a league to the west of the north-east part of Scio, now called Laguardia, is the deep bay of Fana, which is wide at the opening, but narrower towards the end, and is sheltered by an island called Saint Margaret: here Strabo says there was a grove of palms, and a temple of Apollo, the west wall of which is still standing; it is four feet thick, and at the distance of every three feet there are two layers of brick, the entrance of it fronts to the east; it was about seventy-five feet long, and thirty-five broad, as well as I could discover from what remains of the foundations. I saw some pieces of grey marble about it, which

* Chandler, 52, calls it an open *Temple of Cybele*, whose figure is in the centre; the head and one arm wanting.

appeared to have been joined with iron cramps. This inner part of the bay has a fine beach on the west and south sides for boats to come up to, and seems to be the place called *Notium* by Strabo, which he says is a fine shore, and may have received its name from its situation to the south-south-west, that wind being called *Notia*: he says, it is three hundred stadia distant from the city by sea, but by land only sixty, which is another mistake for a hundred and sixty, it being computed eighteen miles: this is now called the bay of *Carlaudilla*, from a village of that name near it. In this part of the island, to the north of the city, and along the northern shore, there are fourteen villages; it is the part called *Ipanomaria*, with the eight villages mentioned to the west of the mountains. A rivulet called *Sclavia* runs into the sea about a league to the west; its source comes from the foot of the mountain, and runs on a bed of white marble with a reddish cast. This country called *Negole* or *Naele*, without doubt from a temple near, some small ruins of which are now to be seen; from the best judgment I could make, it was fifty-five feet long, and thirty-five broad; the pieces of marble, which are very large, seem to have been polished, and it appears as if there had been two steps all round; there are no signs either of pillars or pilasters. This temple *Tournefort* supposes to have been dedicated to Neptune, who had amours with a nymph here: he conjectures that this fountain of water is that of *Helena*, mentioned by *Stephanus*; and, as he observes, *Vitruvius* speaks of a fountain in this island, the waters of which make people mad; in which he was probably misinformed, there being not so much as any tradition that there ever was such a fountain. This place is opposite to port *Sigri* in *Mytilene*. We went on westward, came to a stream, and walked along the side of it to a poor village called *Aie-Thelene*, on a high hill: we went to see a grotto on the south side of the hill under it, which is more famous for a foolish superstition of the Greeks, than for any thing that is very curious in it; over it there is a church, and within the grot, which has some petrifications in it, made by the droppings of the water; there is one of those pendant petrifications, from one part of which the water continually drops; they say, that it formerly dropped from another part of the same stone, which is now broken; these, they tell their devotees, are the teats of the *Virgin Mary*; that the water is milk, and that no body must drink of it but fasting; and give the pilgrims some little stones of the petrifications, which, they say, are good against a fever when boiled in water. The water of the rivulet below never fails, and they have small eels in it called *Mungri*, which is the only fresh-water fish in the island. If we suppose that *Saint Thelena* is a corruption of *Helena*, we may conjecture that this is her spring, mentioned, as above, by *Stephanus*. We walked two miles, almost as far as the north-west cape of the island called *Melano*, and went to a village of the same name; this is the old promontory of *Melana*; and the city of that name mentioned by *Strabo*, might be where the village is, though there are no signs of antiquity. The governor of *Saint Thelena* sent an express to this village to give advice of our arrival, according to their custom. Going about three leagues further to the south, we came to *Volisso*, where the country of *Arioussa* seems to begin, which was so famous for its wine; it extended for three hundred stadia in length, and is said to have produced the *must* of the ancients; the *Chian wine* is praised by *Horace* and *Virgil*; and we have an account that *Cæsar* used it in his triumphs; and this spot still produces very good wine.

Volisso is said to have had its name from *Bellisarius*, whom they call *Vellisarius*, and say, that he came here with his armies, and built the castle; and I find there is an author who gives an account that he was imprisoned in it. *Volisso* is about two miles from the sea, on the side of the hill on which the castle stands, which was defended

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with round towers; there is a church in it dedicated to Saint Elias. About two leagues south of this place is the convent of Diefca, dedicated to Saint John Baptist, situated in a very retired place on the side of the hills, which extend a great way to the west, and make a cape called Pefaro; at the angle of the bay there is a village of Mastic, to the south of which there are several other villages along the western shore. This land makes a sort of a large bay, with the land of Volissò to the north; but there is no port, and it is much exposed to the west and south-west winds. These mountains extend to the east to mount Elias, which is the highest hill in the island, and was antiently called Pellineus; to the west of these mountains is the country of Volissò, full of small hills, with little fruitful vales between them, where they make good wine, much silk, and preserve a great quantity of figs. From the high lands I discovered what they told me was Monte Santo, but I rather took it to be Stalimene: and here we saw Sciro, the Negropont, Andros, and Tinè. The villages of Volissò and Perich, which is one of the villages of Mastic, are exempt from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, except that of the patriarch of Constantinople.

CHAP. II. — *Of the natural history, customs, trade, and government of Scio.*

A GREAT part of Scio consists of rocky mountains and hills, and even the soil of the plains is but poor, and naturally fit only for trees; but they are very industrious, and the inhabitants bestow great labour on it. The greatest part of the mountains are of a lead coloured marble, streaked with white; they have also about the city and plain some quarries of a reddish free-stone, it being a rocky soil. The air of Scio is consequently very good; but the great communication it has with other parts is the cause that they often have the plague; they also feel those earthquakes which do more damage on the neighbouring continent. There are several winter torrents, but very few rivulets that run all the year; however, they have a great number of fine springs, and find water almost in all places where they dig; that of the plain of Scio is not reckoned so good as the water of the rocky countries.

The ever-green oak, the pine, the wild mastic tree, and the caroub, are the only trees that I observed growing wild, except a very few common oaks; but by improvement they have all sorts of fruit trees, and the mulberry-tree for their silk has a great place among them; they have also the terebinth-tree, the rind of which they cut to let the turpentine run out upon stones, which they place under it; they call it *Crementina*, and by the Druggists it is called *Terebintina*, and *Turpentine*, and does not dry to a gum, but is preserved in vases; it is esteemed the best that is made, though the tree is very common in Syria: they have cotton here for their own use, and a very small quantity of flax, and some corn, but not sufficient for the consumption of the island, there being much corn imported from the continent of Asia, and sometimes from Alexandria. The herbage here is so scarce, that they give their cattle the cotton shrubs to eat when the cotton is gathered, and preserve the dried leaves of the vines for them in winter.

They have no sort of wild beast, except foxes and hares: mules are generally used throughout the island, and they sell some of them at great prices; the humble ass serves the poorer sort of people, there being only a few of the top families in the city who use horses; they have no wheel carriages. The want of herbage makes all sorts of meat very dear, except goat's flesh, which they have on the mountains; but sheep are so scarce, that in the villages of Mastic, every family almost has a domestic ewe for breeding,

breeding, which follows them about like a dog. They have now no domestic partridges that come at a whistle, but great plenty of wild ones of the red sort.

Besides the original natives, there are here some noble Greek families, who retired from Constantinople, when it was taken by the Turks; they have also several Genoese families on this island, but only those of the name of Justiniani and Grimaldi, who are noble and rich; of the former there are about ten families. This island is rich, and exceedingly well peopled, inasmuch that every thing is twice as dear as it is in Candia; they compute that there are a hundred thousand inhabitants, of which half are in the city, and in the villages about the plain, and of these three thousand are Roman Catholics, who are all of Genoese extraction, and call themselves Italians. There are about forty families of Jews in the castle, and five thousand Turks, the rest are all Greeks, there being no Turks in the villages. The Greeks have a bishop, whom they call metropolitan; and the Romans have one likewise, who is chosen by the pope out of six natives of the country, nominated by the chief people among them, as they informed me, though I find the present, who is the first since their churches were destroyed on the Venetian invasion, was put in by the pope without any nomination: they have about fifty Roman priests, who celebrate according to the Latin rite, some few of them have been educated in Rome, and all the Roman Catholics of fashion speak Italian very well. The government here has corrupted the language in the city in such a manner, that the country people talk by much the purer Greek. In the convent of Neamone, and in the city, there are priests that teach the old Greek; those who understand it are reckoned to speak the best modern Greek, and often use old words; and if they would come into the custom of studying the ancient Greek in all parts, it might be a great means to purify and improve the modern language.

As to the genius of the people, they are industrious, and sharp in acquiring, but luxurious and extravagant on the days when they have repose from their employments: they are very dextrous in managing affairs, and one may make a conjecture of their capacities from a reason a Sciote gave me why they had so few Jews there, which was, because the people were too sharp for them. The Greeks and Roman Catholics have a great aversion to one another, and those of one profession are not Christians in the judgment of the other; the Franciscans of propaganda fide, and the Capuchins, have a small convent in the city; the former under the Dutch protection, and the latter under the French, to whom they are chaplains: there are in the island three nunneries and eight convents.

The dress of the men here is much the same as that of Candia. The youth and people of fashion, when in the country, wear trowsers, with shoes and stockings. The garments of the ladies come but a little below their knees, and they are dressed all in white, even to their shoes, except that their coat is often of damask, or some other coloured silk, but without sleeves; they wear a head dress, which is particular to the Sciotes, it is of a stiffened fine muslin, made so as to stand up very high, extends out far on the right side, and is called a Capash; they are very fair and beautiful, and the men also are comely. The women are not shy, but have a certain air of assurance and simplicity that seemed to bespeak their virtue, for they appeared to me to be modest women; and though I have heard general reflections made on them, yet I was assured that the character of their being otherwise is owing to some inferior people among them, who go out of the island chiefly to get into services. Their open manner of behaviour seems to be owing to some certain customs they have; for visiting is not in fashion; but the houses in the streets having all stone seats before them, the women of
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best fashion, as well as the vulgar, on Sundays and holidays, sit almost all day in the streets, and the men come and stand by them, and hold a conversation, or they discourse with one another. In the villages the men and women dance together in the public squares, and the mothers and the virgins sit round till midnight, and enjoy the conversations of their neighbours; it seems to be a custom continued from the antient Greeks, among whom dancing was looked on as a great perfection, whereas with the Romans it was hardly consistent with the character of a modest woman. Though there is no jealousy, yet the men hardly ever go into the houses of any that are not relations, and not often even to those; the women also rarely go into one another's houses, as they enjoy conversation in this public manner; nor is it the custom to make any invitations to entertainments, not even of strangers, much less to lodge them in their houses. The women spin silk, and do other business at home, never stirring out, but on Sundays and holidays. The Franks have little trade, and no merchants here; but the French have a consul, and one of Genoese extraction is consul both to the English and Dutch.

The chief trade of the island is an export of manufactured damasks and other silks; to carry on which they import yearly from Tinè, and a place near Salonica, about twelve thousand oke, their own produce of raw silk not being sufficient. They send these manufactures to Constantinople, Smyrna, and other parts, the natives paying only a duty of half per cent. whereas foreigners pay five; every oke of raw silk brought into the town pays sixteen medins duty, and all that is exported a medin a pike. Another great export is lemons and China oranges. Their import is oil from Candia and Mytilene, both for lamps and eating; and wine from Ipsara and Mycone, though they have much good wine here, but it is not sufficient for their use; they import corn from Asia. The public revenue arises from the customs, and from the poll tax of six to ten dollars a head, according as it is fixed on the villages, except the villages of Mastic, in which they pay only three dollars; also there is a small rent paid for lands, and the governor pays in the whole about three hundred purses, and raises four hundred, that is, between forty and fifty thousand pounds.

This island was usually governed by a pasha, who was generally a disgraced person; and the Christians had five deputies, two of them Roman Catholics, and two Greeks, who had great power, decided all civil causes between Christians, and could apprehend all Christian offenders, send them to be judged by the cadi, and require them either to be sent out of the country, or executed; but about twenty years ago the deputies, on some pretence, were carried to Constantinople and imprisoned, and then a moselem was sent instead of a pasha, and in the place of deputies they have only, as they have in other islands, vicardi, I suppose, a corruption of vicarii; they have these in the same manner as the deputies, but with less power, however they can remonstrate; and if the moselem does any thing unlawfully, they can move the affair to the cadi; but if that officer and the other governor are united they can do little; however, the cadi often calls them to be present at any disputes between Christians; and they are frequently made referees in many cases between them at this time; and lately they caused a governor to be removed and punished; however, the governor, on the least pretext, will fine, which is the punishment for those that are rich, and render themselves obnoxious. One of the Justiniani is always one of the two Roman vicardi, and often one of the Grimaldi, and one of the richest Greeks; their office continues for one year, and is very troublesome; they name their successors. When they had deputies the people paid no rent for their lands, and the deputies could levy money for their public expences; but when the deputies were laid aside, a valuation was made of all the

lands, and a small rent fixed on them: the most any one pays does not amount to above six or seven pounds a year, and sometimes a poor village does not pay more. For in some of the inland mountainous parts, where they are very poor, the live by rustling every thing, cannot sell the wine they have, by reason of the difficulty of carriage, and raise what money they must have by their little flocks of sheep. Every village is governed by a vicardi, who sometimes is the parish priest, and is appointed yearly in the same manner; his office is much the same as that of the head vicardi, to send orders to the cadi, and also to levy all public taxes, or to assist in it. The cadi of the island is sent every seven or eight months from Constantinople; his jurisdiction extends to Gênes, on the continent; he sends his deputy about to all the villages, to reside in each eight or ten days, in order to decide disputes, but principally to raise money by fines for offences.

CHAP. III. — *Of the island of Ipsara.*

WE sailed from Volisso for Ipsara in about five hours, which, they say, is forty miles distant, though I conjecture that cape Melanon is but twenty miles from the north-east point of Ipsara; Strabo computes it to be only fifty stadia, though if he had said a hundred and fifty, it would be nearer the true distance. Our boatmen looked out very sharply, to see if there were any Maltese in the port of Ipsara. I saw the island of Andros to the south, Schiro to the west, and the cape of the Negropont, called cape Diro, which is the old promontory Cephareus, and was famous for the shipwreck of the Greek fleet. We arrived at Ipsara, called by Strabo, Plyra, [Πύρα] who says, it had a city of the same name; but he is mistaken in the circumference of the island, for it is computed to be eighteen miles round, whereas he makes it but forty stadia or five miles. The island is high and rocky on the north and east sides, and is about six miles long and three broad; on the south side there are two bays; in that to the west is the small island of Saint Demetrius, which has its name from a chapel on it, within which there is a good port to anchor; and the Corsairs sometimes ride there in bad weather, but oftener at the uninhabited island called Antipsara, which is before this bay, and is about three miles in circumference. Between the two bays there is a small beach at the bottom of a very shallow bay, which is made by two rocky heights; on that to the east is the chapel of saint John Baptist, and a deep cistern sunk into the rock and foundations of what seems to have been walls of a castle, the rock on which it stands being very high; what they call the castle is situated on the western height, and is enclosed only with the walls of their houses, and has but one entrance; it is about a quarter of a mile round. The present town is on a gentle descent on two sides of the castle, probably on the spot of the antient city, and may be half a mile in circumference; the houses are low and ill built, most of them consisting only of one floor. In the castle is the principal church of saint Nicholas, near which I found three or four antient reliefs, and a short Greek inscription or two of no importance. There are some reliefs also in the church of saint John, and on a house near it; there is another church in the town; at a little chapel by the sea side, called saint Luke, there is a Greek inscription, in which the antient name of the people is mentioned. They say that there are thirty churches in the island, though in going the whole length of it I could see but thirteen; and as there are no Turks in the island, they have bells to their churches. I went to the north end to see the poor convent of the virgin Mary, which belongs to the city, and has only three caloyers in it. The island consists of a flat stone, with several veins of white marble in it; the high mountain to the north,

on which the chapel of saint Elias is situated is mostly of a grey marble; there is also here a bastard crumbling granite of a red colour, a little resembling porphyry. They have good springs, but no herbage, the ground being covered only with several dwarf shrubs; they have no trees that grow naturally, and only a few figs, which they plant; they have a small quantity of cotton and corn, and are supplied from Asia with the latter; the great produce of the island is a very good strong red wine, which they export to Scio; the old wine sells for about a halipenny a quart, and the new for half that price; the south and middle parts of the island consist of small hills, and two little plains on the two bays; and all of it seems to be excellent soil; the sides of the mountains in many parts are improved with vineyards; they use oxen for the plough, and asses for burthen and riding, and they have some sheep and goats. The people, who are all Greeks, are computed to be about a thousand, two hundred of whom pay the poll tax; they live all in the town, but have huts in the country, where they stay during the busy seasons of the year; they are said to be brave courageous men, and have freed themselves from the dread of the Maltese, by falling out, and killing some of those that made a descent, and taking several of them prisoners, and since that time they have never disturbed them. The men wear a sort of sandals made of raw hide, and tied with thongs round the foot and ankle: the women have a veil or towel, that comes over their heads, and is brought round the neck, and sometimes they put it over the chin and mouth; but they expose their breasts in a very indecent manner, which seemed rather owing to an ignorance of decorum, than out of lewdness; they have neither physician, chirurgeon, nor lawyer. They are governed here as at Scio by three vicardi, but all of them are labourers; the cadi of Scio sends his deputy to this island in his progress to decide their disputes: they pay two purses a year to the captain pasha or lord high admiral, to whom all the islands belong which are not governed by a pasha or moslem; so that Cyprus, Rhodes, Candia, Negrepont, Scio, and Mytilene, do not belong to the admiral. In ecclesiastical affairs they are subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, as all the islands are where there are no bishops. The patriarch has a vicar residing here, who is also over Volissio and Perich in Scio; his chief business is to send people to the bishop of Scio to be ordained; they pay thirty dollars a year to the patriarch, which is received by the vicar of Scio, and they have only five priests in the whole island. They have no trade but the export of their wine, and the import of corn, and the few other necessaries they want; as it is an open bay, they draw up their little boats and boats to the land. The same day I arrived I went to see the convent on the other side of the island; and, as I returned, some countrymen who were eating bread and fish, called to me to take part with them, and they seemed much pleased with my compliance. I lay in my boat, but as it rained, and the wind was contrary, the next day I removed with all my baggage into the chapel of saint Luke at the port. On the eve of saint Luke they performed devotions in the chapel; the women or children brought small wax candle, and a plate or basket of boiled wheat, on which either raisins, or the inside of pomegranates was strewed; some also brought cakes of bread; when the service was finished, all but the boiled wheat was distributed to the people in or near the church. On the festival they brought lentils and brandy, which were given to the people in the same manner; all which seems to be some remains of the ancient custom of having all things in common, and eating their bread together in fragments of meat.

We sailed for Mytilene, but put in the first evening at Cardamilla in Scio, where I pitched my tent, and lay all night, and the next evening arrived at the port of Mytilene.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the island of Mytilene, the antient Lesbos.*

THE island of Lesbos, so often mentioned by the Greek historians, is now called Mytilene, from the old name of its capital city, which it still retains. The Lesbians were formerly famous for their fleet: they were at first under kings, and then became a republic, governed by a council of the superior rank of people, and by an assembly of the common people, whose decrees are seen in some inscriptions still remaining in the island. At one time some persons of greatest interest usurped a sort of tyrannical power over their fellow citizens; among these was Pittacus, one of the seven wise men, who, out of a public spirit contrived to get all the power into his own hands, and then restored to his country their antient liberty. Thucydides gives a particular account of the opposition the people of Mytilene gave the Athenians, who subduing them, made a decree to cut off all the people of that city; but a party in favour of the Mytilenians afterwards prevailing, they repealed that decree; the account of which arrived before the former was executed*. Mytilene, the antient capital of the island, was situated on the spot of the present city of that name, which is called also Castro; it is on the north side of the island towards the east end, and is only seven miles and a half from the most eastern point of the island, which was antiently called cape Malia; which distance was probably computed to the head of land which makes the bay of Mytilene, where the east end of the island begins; for the whole eastern point seems to have been called cape Malia. The old city appears to have been built on the plain near the sea, and on the side of the hill to the south of it, and to have extended along the plain to the east of that hill. There was an island before the city about a mile in circumference, which was well inhabited, and is now joined to the land by an isthmus, which may be about a furlong wide, and of much the same length, and they have still a tradition of its being an island; there was a port on each side of it, as there is at this time; that to the south-east was defended by two moles, of which there are now some ruins; the entrance is between them: the other port to the north-west was defended by a mole, of which there are still great remains; the port to the south is now only frequented by large ships. The city was formerly very large, and one sees in all parts of it many fine pieces of grey marble, which are remains of the antient buildings, and several imperfect inscriptions; and at the entrance to the palace of the bishop, there is a very curious antient chair cut out of one block of white marble. Pittacus, one of the seven wise men of Greece, was of this city, and so were Alcæus and Sappho the poets, and also Theophrastus the historian, who had the honour to enjoy the friendship of Pompey the great, and his son was made procurator of Asia by Augustus. The present city is on the neck of land that leads to the peninsula, and on each side of it on the shore, and likewise to the south, it extends up the side of the hill; it is about a mile in circumference, and is well built. The castle is on the top of the high rocky peninsula, and is near three quarters of a mile in compass, consisting of the old and new castle which are contiguous, but have their distinct governors and bodies of militia; they are inhabited only by Turks, and Franks are not permitted to go into them. The ruins of the old city extend a considerable way to the west. I was told that there are in the castle, the arms and cypher, or name of one of the emperors Palæologi; and that there is a stone coffin in a mosque, which, they say, is the tomb of Sappho. If this castle was built by the Greek emperors, it is probable that it was much improved by

* Strabo, xiii. 618.

the Genoese when they were in possession of the island. As well as I could be informed, the island was at that time the property of a family of the name of Catanisi, who were lords of Lesbos; and it is said when the city was besieged by sultan Amurath, a lady of one of these Catanisi, sallied out at the head of the citizens, and raised the siege. There are in the city a great number of Greeks, three or four Greek churches, and only a few families of Armenians. The French have a vice-consul here, who has a chapel and chaplain in his house, and there are two or three French factors of the merchants of Smyrna. The English also have a Greek vice-consul. The bishop has the title of metropolitan, though I could not find that he has any jurisdiction over the other bishop; both being put in by, and immediately subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. In this city, as well as in some other parts of the Archipelago and Greece, they have a priest who has studied at least the literal Greek, preaches, and has the title of Didaskalos and Logiotatos [Most learned], which latter is given to most of the priests: the person here in that character had studied several years at Padoua. As they are generally envied by the other ignorant priests, so they are commonly drove from one place to another.

They have a great trade in this city in building large ships and boats, with the wood of pine, which they use even to the keels of the ships; they bring the timber from the continent, there being no place there secure from the corsairs for the building of them. These vessels are very light, and last for ten or twelve years, it being a timber full of resin, and said to be much more durable than that of Europe; they use also iron nails in building; and instead of crooked timber, they saw the wood to the shape that is necessary for building. As to the other branches of trade, it is the same here as throughout the whole island, and consists in a very great export of oil of olives to France, and to many parts of the Levant, which latter is carried on by small vessels or boats. They have also very good scamony and althea here, and I saw a great quantity of alkerimes, but they do not make any use of it. They have likewise an export of tar extracted from their pines.

On the twenty-second of October, I set out to make a tour round the island, in company with some gentlemen of the French nation, and under the protection of a janizary. The island is mountainous; one chain of hills that are mostly rocky, consists chiefly of marble, and runs the whole length of the island; another crosses it towards the west end; the whole island abounds much in hot baths. We went along the north-side of it, and observed that the ruins of the old city extended a considerable way to the west, and there are marks of the city wall which was carried up the hill. Going about two miles from the city, we came to a hot bath, which is little frequented; the waters are warm, and have no particular taste. We went in between the mountains, about a mile to the south, where there are remains of a very magnificent aqueduct of grey marble rusticated, built across the valley; the water having run a considerable way on the side of the hills from the south-west, passed these arches, and then went in channels round to Mytilene. Returning into the road along the north-side of the island, about two leagues to the west of the city, there are hot baths near the sea; they are rather saltier than the sea water, and are now much used for bathing, as it appears they were by the antients; there are great ruins of buildings about them, particularly of a colonnade leading to them from the south, the pedestals of which remain; there are also several inscriptions about this place. A little beyond the baths there are remains of a castle of the middle ages, built with square towers at the corners, in which there are several pieces of marble of the antient buildings. Beyond the middle of the island is a large head of land, which I take to be the promontory Argenum of Ptolemy;

to the east of it there is a bay, near which is a village on a hill called Manoneia. I conjectured that the village *Ægirus* was about this place, and that from this bay to the bay of *Pyrrha* was the narrowest part of the island, which, *Strabo* says, was only twenty *stadia*, though it seems to be much more; opposite to this cape is the deepest part of the bay of *Adramyttium*, in which there are a great number of islands, called now *Musconisi*, and of old *Hecatonnesi*, that is, the isles of *Apollo*, *Hecatus* being one of his names; some say there were twenty, others forty of them; one of them called *Musconisi*, in distinction from the rest, has a town of Greeks on it, and perhaps it may be the island *Pordoselena* of *Strabo*; all the others are now uninhabited; but I was informed that one of those near *Musconisi* was formerly frequented by herdsmen for pasture; and that there are some signs of an ancient bridge to it. This may be the island which *Strabo* mentions before the town of the island of *Pordoselena*; for there was a town in it of the same name then deserted, and a temple dedicated to *Apollo*. Near the land of *Mytilene* there are three or four very small islands, called the *Tockmack* islands, I suppose, from a village of that name in *Mytilene*, which is near those islands. The people of the island say, that the village of *Tockmack* is the nearest place on this side to *Caloni*, which is on the bay that was called *Pyrrha* by the ancients, but they affirm that those places are four hours distant, that is, about eight miles. On the north-west cape of the island is the town of *Molivo*; about four miles to the east of it, on the shore, are the ruins of a bath; and on the beach below, there is a source of hot water which seemed to have a taste of sulphur; and about half way between this and *Molivo*, there is a small bath in repair, the waters of which are warm, but have no particular taste.

Molivo is the ancient *Methymna*; it is built up the side of the hill, at that high point of land which makes the north-west corner of the island. *Methymna* was computed to be thirty-three miles and three quarters from *Sigrium*, and seven miles and a half from the shore of the continent, though it is now computed to be eighteen miles over, and it cannot be much less; the town is a mile in circumference; on the summit of the hill there is a castle, about half a mile in compass, which is inhabited by Turks, who have here their several bodies of soldiers with their agas, as at *Mytilene*. From the castle westward the ground declines, and makes a sort of a plain spot at the very point, on which one sees some little signs of the old city *Methymna*, particularly the foundations of the city walls on the south-side of the hill, and the ruins of a large strong tower or castle over the present little basin on the south, which is made by art for small boats; it is probable that the city extended from the end of the point, about half a mile, to that steep ground on which the present town stands; there are not above two hundred Christians here, who have three Churches, for it is in a manner a Turkish town. The bishop of *Methymna* resides at *Caloni*, and the Greeks are so very ignorant, that they imagine *Caloni* was *Methymna*, because the bishop retains the old title. In this city the famous musician *Arion* was born, who is said to have been carried on a dolphin; *Terpandrus* also was of this island, who added three strings to the lyre, which before had only four; the Lesbians having been formerly very famous in the art of music. The head of land on which *Molivo* stands, together with a small point of land to the south, makes a bay to the south-east, and there is an island before it, which is a defence to the harbour; this is the port of *Molivo* for large ships, where they often load with oil; it is also called the port of *Petra*, from a village of that name which lies on it, and seems to have its name from a high rock in the middle of the town, which is inaccessible every way, except on the north-side, and being enclosed at top with a wall, about a hundred yards in circumference, they deposit in it

all their valuable effects, when they apprehend any danger from the corsairs; they have also a chapel there to the Virgin Mary, and a church in the town, there being a considerable number of Christians in this little place. We travelled on to the south, mostly on the sides of the hills near the sea, and came to a narrow peninsula; it is a strong situation, and I expected to have seen some ruins on it; on each side of the isthmus, there is a very good port called Calas-Limneonas [the Fair Havens]. Further on there is another smaller peninsula, about which there are many ruins, particularly a wall on the north-side of a rivulet; this seem to be the ancient Antissa, which was between Sigrium and Methymna. It is said to have been formerly an island*; and some on this account conjecture that Issa was the ancient name of Lesbos†; the inhabitants of this place were sent to Methymna, from which time the ruin of the ancient city may be dated‡. We came to a large village of Turks called Telonia; there is a nunnery about two miles to the east of it, at a place called Peribole, in which they have a manufacture of stuffs made of silk and flax. About this place some accident happening to the mule on which the slave rode, and which I had bought in Candia, he chose to walk, and lost his way, so that we could hear nothing of him; but the next day I sent the janizary in search of him, who brought him to me just as I arrived at Mytilene. The slave said, that towards night he was about an hour from the sea, and met some people, who conducted him to the aga of their village, who sent a man with him the next day to Caloni, where he was carried to the bishop, who designed to send him to Mytilene, when the janizary found him. But the janizary, in order to get money out of me, said, that he went to several places, according to the account he got of him, but coming to the village where the slave lodged the first night, he met with the men who brought him to that place; they offered to conduct him to the slave for a reward, which being agreed on, they carried him to Caloni, where, as he said, they had placed him, that they might get something by him, and that he might not fall into the hands of the aga.

The promontory of Sigrium, now called cape Sigri, is the south-west point of the island; the port of Sigri is made by a small cape to the north, and by an island before it; to the east of it there is a convent on a very high rocky mountain, to which the ascent is very difficult; it is called Upselo monasterio [The high monastery], and is a very cold situation. The hills all this way, as far as port Caloni, are rocky and barren, and afford a very unpleasant prospect to a traveller. A league to the east of this mountain there is a large village called Eresso on the side of a hill, it is mostly inhabited by Christians, and from it one enters into a plain by the sea on the south-side of the island. In the south-east part of this plain there is a small hill, on which the ancient city of Eressus stood, placed by the antients two miles and a quarter from cape Sigri, though it cannot be less than two leagues. The top of the hill is of an oval figure, and there are great remains of the wall that encompassed it, and of a round tower at the east end; I saw near it an entablature of white marble, in the frieze of which there is an imperfect Greek inscription; I observed several large cisterns under ground, and there appears to have been a considerable suburb round the hill, at the foot of which I saw a wall built of stones of five or six fides each; a sign of great antiquity. From this place I travelled northward between the mountains, and turning to the east passed through a village; about two leagues to the north-east of it we came to the gulph of Caloni, and to a narrow part of it, which is about a league from the entrance of the

* Rursus abstulit insulas mari, junxitque terris: Antissam Lesbos. Plin. Hist. ii. 91. & Ovid. Metam. lib. xv. ver. 278.

† Livius, xlv. 31. Plin. Hist. xv. 39.

‡ Strabo, i. 60.

bay. Just without this narrow part there is a small island, on which there is a ruined church, and on the west side, on the height near the ferry, are remains of a wall which was built to support the hanging ground; it is likewise built of stones of five sides. This gulph of Caloni extends to the north in between the land at least four leagues, and is about a league broad, being shut in by a narrow entrance not a mile over, and would be a very good harbour, if there was depth of water; at the further end of it is a small town called Caloni, near which I was informed that there is a convent and a nunnery, the latter is of the same kind as those in Scio; I was informed that there is a small convent to the north-east of Lresso. The antient Pyrrha must have been on this bay of Caloni, a great part of the country on the east side of it is now called Pera, where I concluded from the bricks and tiles which I saw scattered about the fields, that there had been some antient buildings; but as the greatest part of that city was destroyed by the incroachment of the sea, it cannot be expected that there should be any great remains of it *. This gulph must be what Strabo calls the Pyrrhean Euripus, from its resemblance to a narrow streight between two lands; and here the land must be narrowest, as he says it was from the Pyrrhean Euripus to the other sea near the village of Ægirus; he says Pyrrha had been destroyed, and that it had a port, from which, that is from the north-east corner of it, Mytilene was only ten miles distant, though it cannot be less than fifteen, as it is now computed. The country to the east of this bay for about two leagues to the mountains abounds with corn, and is called Basilika; there are in it five or six villages, which are mostly inhabited by Turks: there are some baths here of very hot waters, which are now frequented, as they appear to have been formerly from the ruins that are seen about them. They use the waters for bathing, and also drink them, though they have found salt in them; there seems also to be a composition of iron and sulphur in them, and I believe, a very small degree of copper; they are very purging, and much esteemed for removing dangerous obstructions and scrophulous disorders. Near these baths are some other hot waters not frequented, which probably are of the same nature. Further to the east, towards the mountains, there is a small convent of the virgin Mary. From this place the road goes through the middle of the island to the north-east, over the mountains to Port İcro, or, as it is called by the sailors, Port Olivière; the entrance of it is near to the east end of the island, and opens to the south-east; it is a large basin, encompassed with hills covered with wood, the entrance is so narrow that it is not seen from within; so that the port appears like a large lake; it is about two leagues long and near a league broad; the water is very deep, and it is one of the most beautiful ports I ever saw; the ships often come into it to be loaded with oil. On the south-side of it there are seven or eight villages, called the villages of İera, retaining the name of the antient city Hiera, spoken of by Pliny, as destroyed; and neither Strabo nor Ptolemy make mention either of the town or port. To the west of these villages, and of the harbour, there is a small convent at a place called Quattrotrito, which belongs to the bishop of Mytilene, and is a sort of a country-house for that prelate; to the south-west of it, on the hills, there is a large rich village called Aiaflo; it has a great revenue from the oil of the olive-trees that grow on the mountains, and pays no other rent for the lands, but a certain quantity of tar every year for the use of the grand signior's naval armament; they make it of the pine-trees that grow on the mountains. On the north-side of the port there are hot baths, probably of a limestone water, for they have no taste; from this place the road goes over the hills about two leagues to Mytilene. I observed on a hill near the town several round stones of the pyrites kind. Among many other

* Pyrrha hausta est mari. Plin. Hist. v. 39.

great men of this island were Theophrastus and Phantias, the Peripatetic philosophers, and disciples of Aristotle; the former being esteemed by Aristotle himself, the most eloquent of all his scholars, on which account his great master gave him that name, and decided a controversy in relation to his successor, by calling for two sorts of wine, and giving the preference to the Lesbian.

This island is governed by an officer called a Nasir, who receives all the revenues of it, which arise from a fifth part of the produce of the island from Christians, and a seventh from Turks; and this officer appoints agas over a certain number of villages. The two cities of Mytilene and Moline are governed each by its mosolem, and have a cadi for administering justice. The soil of this island is very rich, though there is but little of it improved, insomuch that they have not corn sufficient for their own consumption; the people, especially the Greeks, being very slothful, and supported by the produce of their oil, which requires but a little labour only at one season of the year; for the women and children gather up the olives as they drop, which being ground by horse mills, are pressed with large screw presses, which they have for that purpose; and the oil is put into skins. The women have no better character for their chastity, nor the men for their sobriety, than in former times. As this island is so near the continent, it is much infested with robbers in the summer, who come over in small boats, attack people in the road, and if they apprehend any danger, return to the continent with their booty, or lie lurking in the woods.

CHAP. V. — *Of the Island of Tenedos.*

AFTER I had been at Constantinople I went from the Dardanel to Tenedos. This island was called by the antients Calydna, and there are two islands to the south of it, which are now called by the same name; it was also called Leucophrys. The antients say, that it was five miles from the continent, but now it is computed to be nine, thirty from Imbrus, twenty from cape Jenichahere, or Sigeum, and ninety from Mytilene; it is five miles long and four broad: the antients computed it to be eleven miles and a quarter in circumference. The city of this island was reckoned among those of Æolia, and it is said to have had two ports, one of which, I suppose, is the port now frequented, and the other is to the west of the castle close to the town, which is exposed to the north wind. The Grecian fleet that came against Troy lay here, but it was not then esteemed a good port. The road for shipping towards the continent is looked on as very safe. There was a temple here to Sminthean Apollo, which probably was in the fine esplanade before the castle, where there now remain some fluted pillars of white marble, which are about two feet and a half in diameter. The only town on the island is situated towards the north-east corner of it, in which there are two hundred Greek families, and three hundred Turkish; the former have a church and three poor convents in the town, and are under the bishop of Mytilene; the castle is a large high building, on a little rocky cape between the two ports, having a large esplanade to the land; it is very probable that this castle, or some part of it, may be the remains of the granaries that Justinian built to preserve the corn which was brought from Egypt from being spoiled, in case the ships which were bound to Constantinople should be detained by contrary winds. The country about the town is rocky and unimproved, and the Turks will not permit them to cultivate that quarter; but on the north-side there is a small spot well improved. This island belongs to the captain pashaw, and only maintains the janizaries of the castle; the chief export is good wine and brandy. I made a very short stay in this island, and lay on board an English ship, which was in the road.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Island of Lemnos.*

FROM the road of Tenedos we sailed to Lemnos; passing to the south of Imbrus, which is thirty miles from Tenedos, and is situated to the south-west of the cape, that is at the entrance of the Dardanelis; this island was sacred to Mercury, and has on it five or six villages, in two of which there are castles: there are silver mines towards the south part of the island, but the ore requires so much licturgy of lead to be mixed with it, that it does not answer the expence.

The high land, called Samandrachi, is to the north-west of it, which at first had the name of Samos, and afterwards Samothrace, or Samos of Thrace, to distinguish it from Samos of Ionia; if I mistake not, there is only one town or village in it; the land was sacred to Cybele, and she is reported to have lived in it for some time. It is said that Jupiter had three children here by Electra, grand-daughter of Atlas, namely, Dardanus, who founded the Trojan kingdom, Jason who had Corybas by Cybele, from whom her priests were called Corybantes, and Harmonia the wife of Cadmus. Peres, when he was defeated by the Romans, fled to this island.

We landed on the east side of Lemnos, at a bay well sheltered every way, except from the east; there are two villages near it called Odopole and Calliope. This island is called Lemnos by the Greeks, and by the Italian mariners Stalimene, from the Greek expression *Eis tē Lemno*, when they speak of going to this island: Lemnos was first inhabited by a people of Thrace, then by the Pelasgians, and afterwards by the Athenians, until it became subject to the Romans. Great part of the island is hilly, but the plains and valleys are fruitful, produce great quantity of corn and wine, and some silk and cotton, which they manufacture at home, making a sort of stuff of silk and flax mixed, which is much used for shirts, and is called *meles*, and a sort of silk like gauze, very light and transparent, called *brunjuke*, which is much used by the ladies for their under garments; they also export butter and cheese made of goats milk, especially the latter. They have a strong middle size race of horses, which are remarkable for walking fast. This island is noted for the *Terra Lemnia*, called both by the Greeks and Turks the *Holy Earth*; it is said to have the same natural virtue as the *Terra Sigillata* of Calabria, consequently it is not carried into Christendom, but is only used in the Levant. This earth was in esteem among the antients, who attributed the virtue of it to Vulcan's falling from his horse on the side of the hill where it is found, by which his thigh was broke; a fable which is thought to have its rise from a supposition that they first practised here the art of working iron. The Greeks, and even the Turks, imagine that it has a miraculous virtue, when it is taken before the sun rises on the fifteenth of August, which with them is the day of the ascension of the Virgin Mary; for this purpose the Greeks and Turks, with their magistrates, assemble at the place, which is called *Aikento*: a priest performs a service about half an hour long; one of the laity among the Greeks killing a sheep, which the Turks carry away and eat, the Greeks not eating flesh at that time; then a man digs the earth, and throws it out; the wai-wai and cadi take eighty oke, each near three pounds weight, which they send to the Grand Signor, in order, as I was informed, to make the cups out of which he drinks, and the people take what they please. This earth is dug on the side of a low hill, which is to the south-west of Cokino port, and to the north of the port called the *Golph*: the hole they have made is not large, as it lies near the surface: the earth resembles pipe clay; there are three thick veins which are white, and two smaller that are red; the latter is most esteemed; the people carry it home, and make it into balls,

balls, and seal it, as they have occasion, with a seal on which the Turkish name of it is cut; and when it is taken at other times, they think it has not so great virtue.

About a league to the east of Castro, the chief town of the island, there are hot baths, which they call *Thermè*; the waters are lukewarm, and seem to run on a limestone: I was told also, that under the castle there is an alum water, which I did not see. On each side of the port where I landed there is a salt lake; that to the north dries up in the summer, is called *Alke-Limne* [the Salt Lake], and leaves a cake of salt, which they purify for the use of the island; the other, which they call the *Mill-lake*, is not so salt, and is of no use. To the north of this port there is a large cape called *Ecatokephale* [the Hundred Heads], where there is a port of that name, on which I was told there are remains of an antient city called *Palaiopolis*; but I have reason to think I was misinformed, and that *Palaiopolis* is on a head of land to the north of *Cokino* port, which I saw from the place where the earth is dug, and is to the west of *Ecatokephale*, because travellers mention a ruined city at *Cokino*, as the antient *Hephæstia*. To the south of these places, and of the road which leads to Castro, from the port where I landed, there is a fine port called *Golpho*, which is near twenty miles in circumference: the entrance is so narrow that the bay appears like a large lake; to the east of it there is a town called *Madrou*, where there is a castle; and to the west of it is a large village called *Sarpè*.

The chief town, Castro, on the west of the island, is about a mile in circumference, and probably the antient city *Myrina* was on this spot; to the west of it there is a high rocky cape, on which there is a castle very strongly situated; there are about eight hundred families in the town, and the number of Greeks and Turks is near equal: the Greeks have three churches, and their bishop resides here, who has an income of about four purses a year. The waiwode has this island as an hereditary feud, paying about nine purses a year for it to the captain bashaw, or high admiral, who, whenever he comes this way, makes him pay considerably more, on pretences that he has permitted corn to be exported contrary to law, or the like, which the waiwode is very well able to bear, making, at least, fifty purses a year advantage by this island. A *cadi* and *janizer* aga resides at this place, and the several military bodies are here, which are in most other towns. There are sixty villages in the island, seven monasteries, and about seven thousand Greek families, and three thousand of the Turks. About thirty miles to the south of *Lemnos* I saw the small island of *Strati*, which is uninhabited. I could get no information of a volcano in *Lemnos*, which is mentioned by the antients, nor of a labyrinth, that is said to have been in this island.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the island of Samos.*

FROM Mytilene we went to Smyrna, and from that city to Segigieck, Ephesus, and Scala Nouva, where we embarked for Samos. This island, when it was inhabited by the Carians, was called *Parthenias*; it afterwards had the name of *Anthemus*; it was then called *Melamphylus*, and last of all *Samos*. It was computed to be seventy-five miles in circumference, and is situated to the north-west of the promontory *Trogylum* in *Ionian*: the two eastern points of the island were computed to be but seven stadia from that promontory, though both the one and the other cannot be much less than a league from the continent; the furthest to the west was called *Posidicum*, or the promontory of Neptune. The west part of the island is the cape and mountain formerly called *Ampelus*, which now has the name of *Carabachtes*, and the cape is called *cape Fournos*, from the opposite islands; this mountain stretches through the whole island to the east;

so that Samos is hilly, and like all the other islands, is very rocky; it runs naturally into wood, of which there are all sorts that grow in Asia, except that I did not observe the cypress tree on this island.

Samos was under the Persians and Athenians, and sometimes was governed by its own tyrants, or kings; of these one of the most famous was Polycrates, with whom Anacreon lived, who often mentions him in his poems: Pythagoras was of this island at the same time, but out of a distaste of the tyranny that reigned in it, he travelled to Egypt, Babylon, and at last to Italy, where he died, after having improved all those countries by his excellent philosophy. Among the Athenian citizens, who were sent to this island as a colony, was the father of Epicurus; that philosopher was educated here and in Teos, and afterwards went to Athens, where he was contemporary with Menander the comedian.

We first landed at the port of Vahti, which is a bay that lies open to the north-east, and is a good port when there is not a very strong northerly wind. The town is situated about half a mile from it to the south, and is built up the side of a hill; there are in it above five hundred houses, and six churches, with a bell to each of them, as all the churches in the island have: the whole town consists of Greek Christians, of whom there are about two hundred souls. The convent of St. Mary is near a league to the north-east of this place. The town of Vahti lives by fishing, and by an export of wine, which is very good, especially a white muscadine sort, like that which is sold with us for Greek wine, of which the best sells for about a half penny a quart.

From Vahti I went two leagues towards the east end of the island; the passage between it and the continent of Asia is called the boghas, that is the mouth, or strait of the passage: one of the eighteen towns, or villages of the island called Palaioastro is in the way to it. To the north of it is the port Casonefi, and a small island in it of the same name, lying open to the north-east: to the east of this is the south-east point of the island; there are two little bays to the west, which are open to the south-east, and are excellent harbours. The two points of the northern port appear to be the lands which are nearest to the continent. The southern point commands a fine view, and there are ruins of a very strong tower on it, which was probably designed to guard the coast. From this point, they say, an iron chain went across to the opposite side, though it is not easy to conjecture what end it could answer, unless it were to receive a tribute from ships that passed that way. On both these bays there appears to have been a village, each of which had a church; one of them called St. Mary's, has two or three marble pillars in it lying on the ground. To the south-west of the point, on which there are ruins of a tower, is another cape, and beyond that a small bay, to the west of which there is a cape, which I take to be the promontory of Neptune; and opposite to it is an island called by the ancients Nartekis; and over against that is the northern point of the promontory Trogylium; the southern part extending somewhat farther to the west; being, as Strabo observes, the nearest land to Greece, at the promontory of Attica, called Sunium, from which it is one hundred and thirty-two miles and a half; opposite to this point is the small isle Trogylium. There is a little bay at cape Neptune, and to the west of it is the ancient port of the city of Samos, now called the port of Tigani; which is the harbour of Cora, the capital town of the island, near a league from it. The bay is small, and it is a very bad port, being exposed to the south winds, from which little boats are sheltered by a small head of land; and yet the sea runs so high that in winter they are not secure from damage. An artificial mole, now ruined, was built from the bottom of the bay, extending towards the head of land, which made the narrow entrance of

the antient harbour, as it does now of the present. This, though it does not now seem to be a great work, yet it may be the remains of that mole which was esteemed one of the wonders of Samos, and is said to have been two hundred and fifty paces long. The port within seems to have been filled up, and the sea has lost on the west side, for there is a flat, about a hundred paces wide, to a broad ruin, which being an inclined plain, seems to have been the foundation for steps down to the shipping, which might come up to this place when the port was kept clean and open, and the ships might lie there secure from all winds when the pier was entire: these steps were on the east side of that high land, which is to the west of the port, and seems to have been the fortress of the city towards the sea; it is a low rocky hill, about five hundred paces broad from east to west, and a hundred from north to south; the remaining part to the north being flat; the middle part of it rather higher than the rest, is a hundred feet square, and appears to have been very strongly fortified with a wall and fossée; and at a small distance from it on one side there is a sally port, cut down through the rock to the sea: there are great remains of very strong works towards the south; and on the west side is the bed of a winter torrent, which might fill a basin for small galleys: to the west of this torrent there is a plain spot, full of pieces of columns, which seem to be the remains of a forum. The old city Samos extended about eight hundred paces beyond this to the west; the plain being about a quarter of a mile wide to the foot of the hill, which was called mount Ampelus. The western walls extended up the steep side of this hill, and on the top of the hill to the brow on the other side, along which the northern wall was continued to the east of the hill, where turning to the south, opposite to the middle of the bay, it crossed a rivulet, to another low hill which seems to have been much inhabited, and going along to the north side of it, it turns down to the sea to the pier in the middle of the bay; north of this inclosure I saw some broken marble coffins, some of which were covered with the usual lids, and others with large stones laid across. The city walls are cased inside and out with white marble, being filled up within with small stones; they are ten, twelve, or fifteen feet thick, according to the strength of the situation, and at the top are covered with very large hewn stones; they are built with square towers at about sixty paces distance, unless where the hill is so steep as to make them unnecessary. The walls do not seem to have been above fifteen feet high, but are the most beautiful I have seen; and some parts of them on the top of the hill are entire. Below there are remains of a theatre, the seats of which were not built on arches, but on the side of the hill; it was two hundred and forty feet wide, and the space for the seats was eighty feet wide; it is built of white marble, and there are remains of an arch ten feet wide in the front of it. The walls are built in a very particular manner in the front; the ruins appeared in that manner, though probably there was an entrance in the front. It is a rustic building, the stones being rounded so as to make a segment of near a quarter of a circle, and towards the lower part of every tier are knobs at certain distances, which make it look more rustic; they might be hewn so in order to command the stones in placing them.

Towards the west side of the town there are ruins of two or three very considerable buildings, which are so destroyed that it is impossible to judge of what nature they were, and there are many walls to the west of them, especially several arches, like those which are now built in the east for shops; it is said that formerly they served for that purpose, and probably there was a town here in the middle ages, which might continue till the islands were taken from the Christians, when they might move farther from the sea, not to be exposed to the insults of the corsairs. To the west of these there is a large pond made by a wall that confines the waters which comes from the hills; it

does not seem to be a very ancient work, but possibly may have been designed for a wall, or there is a wall race from it on a wall, which extends to a building, where, they say, there formerly was one. In this part there are likewise two or three small ruined churches, and to the north of the port there is a considerable ruin of a building of brown stone, with two or three tiers of brick, at the distance of every four feet, which, they say, was a church and palace, probably the cathedral; and at this time there is a small church within it, dedicated to St. Nicholas. The hill over the lower city is of white marble, and there are several grotts in the side of it, which were the quarries of the city. The inhabitants were at great expence to bring water to the town by an aqueduct, the remains of which are seen all along the sides of the hills for a league to the west, having its rise at or near the river Imbradius; the channel for the water was made on a low wall, except in a very few places, where there are remains of some arches over a valley on the east side of the city; these arches were at least sixty feet high; and above them, on the other hill, are a great number of grotts, which were quarries, and are cut in like galleries, or as large square piazzas, supported by square pillars of the natural rock; these were doubtless dug in order to build the aqueduct, over which they are, and also for the use of the city, being a free-stone, and more easily worked than the marble. As I went one day to visit these grottos alone, some shepherds who were feeding their flocks on the hills, called to me; but as I did not understand their meaning, I went on: I had been informed that they found salt in some of these grottos, and my curiosity led me to taste the earth in several of them: I learnt afterwards that a man who died of the plague at the port, about three weeks before, was buried in one of the grottos, and that the shepherds called to me in order to prevent my going into them.

About half a mile to the west of the old city the hills retire to the north, so as to make the plain on the sea about two miles wide, and a league long from east to west. I take this plain to be the *Heraion* of Strabo, to which, he says, the suburb of the city extended, and not the temple of Juno, or the cape to the west of it, as some have apprehended; for the temple of Juno being at the south-west corner of the plain, the ground to the east of it would be a very wet situation for a suburb in the winter, as it is for the most part a morass; so that it is most probable that this quarter to which the suburb of the city extended was situated here, and had its name from being the nearest building this way to the temple of Juno.

The temple of Juno was another of the wonders of Samos; and it was a very extraordinary building, both with regard to its size, and the manner of its architecture; it was built near the sea, fronting to the east. Several of the bases and pedestals remain on the north side, though they are almost buried in the ground, and likewise a part of one of the columns; and on the south side there is almost an entire shaft remaining. The pillars were built of several round stones laid one on another; they are of white marble, and the bases of grey. One of the shafts which seems to be entire, consists of seventeen stones, from two feet to three feet and a half thick; these stones are moved every way out of their places in a very extraordinary manner, as if it were the effect of an earthquake; I saw part of two round capitals of grey marble: I found that one of them was four feet five inches diameter; but as the pillars are five feet six inches, it seem probable that they belonged to pillars on the inside of the temple; they seem to have been Doric capitals. This temple was famous for a great number of fine statues. I saw part of a large one of grey marble, the head and legs of which were broken off, and it appeared to be a work of no mean hand. At some distance to the north-west of the temple are three small hills, to the west of which there are
great

great signs of buildings : in a ruined edifice, which seemed to be of the middle ages there is a small relief of a man, probably designed for Hercules, having these letters under it ΑΑΡΗΙΔΗ. About half a mile to the west of the temple there is a rivulet, which is the ancient Imbrasius, on which, they say, Juno was born, under a white willow, and there are a great number of these trees on it, which grow up in a spiral form to a great height. This river comes from the mountains, and runs near a village situated on them, called Paouni, where there is a red earth, of which it is supposed the antients made the earthen ware, which was famous here ; and if I mistake not, was first invented in Samos ; the pipes of the aqueduct were made of it : I saw some of them from six to eight inches in diameter, and also in Cora others of stone, bored thorough, and about the same size. The river runs below by a ruinous village called Milo, which is almost forsaken by reason of the injuries they have received from the corsairs.

The third wonder of Samos was a canal cut through the mountains to convey the water of a river on the north-side of it to the city, which must have been near half a mile long ; this is mentioned by Herodotus. I could not meet with any information about it ; only they talk much of grots that go under ground to the old city, but I could not find any grot that I could suppose was for that purpose ; and if there was such a canal, it must have been made before they had invented the way of carrying water on aqueducts round the hills, which could have been very easily done in this place. As I was leaving Samos, I copied some fragments of inscriptions just dug out of the ground from a wall, on the outside of which there was a portico ; it is the remains of the large building mentioned towards the west end of the city ; one of the inscriptions seemed to be to the honour of a person who had gained the prize in some games to Apollo.

The capital of the island, called Cora, is at the north-west corner of the plain, on the side of a rocky mountain ; it is a poor ill-built place, having more the aspect of a country village than a town ; it has notwithstanding about twelve small churches, and two hundred and fifty houses ; there are some imperfect inscriptions and broken reliefs there, which are mostly about the churches ; I saw a defaced one of a bearded youth, with a dove in his hand, of very fine sculpture. About a league north-east of this place, towards Vahti, is the village of Mytilene ; there is a curious relief in the wall of the church a little defaced, which seems to be sepulchral, and has on it the name of the person, Apollonius, who probably was a physician, for one of the figures has a leaf in the hand, which I saw also in another relief, and it resembles very much the leaf of an herb that grows among the rocks in this island, and is called *Puccinia* ; it is much used there at this time for several disorders, being of a purging quality. At some distance to the west of this village is the highest mountain of the island called *Chrysomouni* [The Black Hill], which seems to be the *Cereus* of the antients. They have a white earth in Samos, which has something of the nature both of pipe clay and fuller's earth, they call it *Gouma*, and as they use it for walling they call it *Gouma laboni* (slap earth) ; they have the same in Milo ; the women and children eat it, as well for ornament as for a sort of necessament ; but as it makes them drink much water, it is thought that it causes a swelling of the spleen, and also dropsies : this probably is true of those white earths of Samos used by the antients in medicine. *Jalap* and *teanmy* grow here ; I have been informed that the latter is not the best ; and they do not collect the *jalap* for sale. The people in Samos are much given to revelling and drunkenness, and are very poor ; they till their own lands, and have no servants but their own children ; the ladies of the highest rank in Samos, even to the governor's wife, go to the fountain for water, and do every kind of work.

They have little trade, except an export of wine and raw silk; the latter is sent to Scio to be manufactured there, to the value of about eight thousand dollars a year; they also export some corn, though contrary to law, and are generally obliged to import afterwards for their own use. In some of the grots I mentioned they find salt; as they have kept their cattle in them at night during the winter season, it is supposed that the salt which is in the dung of the animals, in time, by the moisture of the place, makes a coat of salt on the surface of the earth; this the Greeks take clandestinely, that the Turkish governor may not deprive them of that benefit, or raise money on them; they call it a *sal nitre*, and I was informed that it is used also to make gunpowder; they have salt pans in the plain of Cora, and export the salt they make into the continent. They also send out a great quantity of the timber of the pine-tree to build ships and boats, especially to Patmos. At the north-west part of the island there is a small town called *Carlovassi*, from which they carry wine and oranges to *Sagigieck*; there is no harbour there, but three leagues to the west is a port called *Sitan*.

The lands of this island belong to the mosque in Constantinople called *Tophanajanesi*; they measure them once in seven years, by a measure which is a single pace, and for forty square paces they pay about ten or twelve medins a year, each *medin* being three farthings; the whole revenue that arises from the land amounts yearly to about twenty-two purses. In the eighteen villages and towns of the island there are twelve hundred and sixty that pay the *harach*, or poll-tax, which amounts to twenty purses more; and the Turkish governor makes about ten purses of what they call *Avanias*, which are fines on deaths, and for crimes; for this is the profitable way they have of punishing even murder; unless a Christian happens to kill a Turk, though the few Turks that are here stand in fear of the Christians.

The island is governed by a Turkish waiwode and *cadi*, the former having the care of the revenues, and the latter administers justice in the capital, and goes round to the villages four or five times a year for that purpose. The *aga* also has a servant in some of the principal villages, who is a sort of governor; they have likewise a Christian governor called the *aga*, who is a man of the greatest interest, is chosen by the people, and generally remains in the office for life; he has a great influence on the people; and the waiwode and *cadi* seldom do any thing of importance, unless he is present to give his advice. The waiwode continues in office for seven years, paying a certain yearly sum, and makes the most of it. This is the regular government of the island; but about three years ago a troop of banditti Christians from the Morea and other parts, to the number of about fifty, came into the island well-armed, raised money on all the villages, murdered several people, and among them the Christian *aga*; some galleottes were sent against them, and they were dispersed, except about twenty, who submitted to the government, and pretend to have a liberty to carry arms, and in reality govern the island in every thing, in which they are pleased to interfere; they marry themselves by force to the richest parties, and being dispersed through the villages do what they please, and have a captain at the head of them, maintaining themselves by the money they have raised; and this small number of men renders the island very unhappy, the Turkish governors themselves standing in awe of them, and no one has courage or resolution to oppose them.

The bishop of Samos resides in Cora; there are five monasteries in the island, but no nunnery; there are only three or four priests in each of them, and a sufficient number of caloyers to till their land.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of the Island of Patmos.*

FROM Samos we failed to Patmos, which is one of the islands, called by the antients Sporades ; it is in the Icarian sea, directly south of those small islands which are between Nicaria and Samos. Patmos is computed, by the modern Greeks, to be forty miles round, though the antients speak of it only as thirty ; and it does not seem to be so much. On the east side there is a deep bay, and on the west two small ones, which make the north and south part of the island peninsulas : the neck of land which joins them is not above a quarter of a mile broad : the town was formerly on the east side of the isthmus, but the people removed to the hill on the south for fear of the corsairs, and built a town about the convent, which is on the summit of the high hill.

There is a smaller convent about half way up the hill ; it is called Apocalypse, in which there is a grot, now converted into a church, where they say St. John lived when he was banished to this island, and where they affirm he writ the Revelations ; it is nine paces long and four wide, cut entirely out of the rock, except on the north side, where it opens to the chapel of St. Anne, and in the middle there is a square pillar, which seems designed to support the rock : to the east of this pillar there is a crack which goes all across the grotto, by which they say the Holy Ghost spake to St. John when he writ the Revelations and the Gospel ; for the monks say, that, according to the testimony of some of the fathers, he wrote the Gospel here as well as the Revelations : they say he was seventeen years in this island, which seems to be a mistake for as many months, because it is agreed by the learned that he was here but eighteen months ; for he returned to Ephesus when the exiles were set at liberty by Nerva. This convent is a sort of novitiate, or seminary subject to the great convent, and is governed by a professor, whom they call Didascalos, who has a master under him : they teach the antient Greek, which they call Hellenikè, physics, metaphysics, and divinity : they use the grammar of Constantine Laskares of Constantinople, and the logic of Theophilus Corudaleos, both printed in Venice, and the physics and metaphysics of the latter in manuscript, and the divinity of Georgius Quaresius of Scio, which is likewise in manuscript ; they teach in a large school ; the master instructs the children in the grammar ; and the head professor teaches logic, philosophy, and divinity. I was present at their lectures ; one of the scholars read, and the professor explained it. This school, and the present professor who governs it, are esteemed the best in all the east ; they have about fifty scholars who come from different countries, and the greater part lodge in the two convents, though some of them are in the town.

The situation of the town and great convent, which are on the top of the hill, is something like that of St. Marino : the convent resembles a castle irregularly built, but the small church is very neat ; it was founded, as I am informed, by the emperor Alexius Commenius ; they have two large bells in it. The abbot is chosen once in two years ; there are in all two hundred members belonging to the convent, but there are only twenty priests, and about forty calovers in the monastery. They have a small library, furnished with some of the best printed books, mostly the Greek fathers. The oldest manuscript I saw there is a collection of the works of some of the Greek fathers, which as I conjectured might be a thousand years old ; they have also the Pentateuch, with the comments of divers persons, and they told me that they had one with the histories painted in it in the same manner as the curious manuscript which belongs to the archbishop of Smyrna. There are two or three hermitages dependant on the convent, and the whole island belongs to it, as well as all the small isles to the east of it. From

the top of the convent I saw most of the islands of the Archipelago: there is a nunnery in the town, dependent on the convent, which was founded by one of their abbots; it is inhabited by about thirty old women, who live by their industry.

There are seven hundred houses in the town, but only a hundred and sixty persons that pay the poll tax, except those that belong to the convent, who are about two hundred, most of the inhabitants being natives of other places. The convent pays two purses yearly to the captain bashaw for the island.

Though the abbot has all the power, yet for the government of the people there are four vicardi for life, who are generally succeeded by their sons. The inhabitants, who are all Christians, are mariners, or shipwrights; for the island is a barren rock, and every thing is brought from without. The only export is cotton stockings to Venice, to which city their ships frequently go: they have a few gardens, and make a little poor wine that will not keep above a month; they have good water; it is a very healthy island, and there has been no plague in it for forty years past, so that one sees many old people; for they are careful to guard against infection, by making vessels perform quarantine which come from infected places. The people here are much civilized by the commerce they have abroad; they are immediately subject to the patriarch; and there are three hundred churches in the island.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE EAST, &c.

BY RICHARD POCOCKE, LL.D. F.R.S.

Book the Second. — Of Asia Minor.

CHAP. I. — Of Asia Minor, and Ionia in general; and of the city of Smyrna.

THAT part of Asia, which has the Euxine and Mediterranean seas on three sides of it, was called by the antients Asia Minor, and by the easterns Natolia or Anatole, that is, the eastern country with regard to Greece and the islands. The western part of it was distinguished by the name of Asia on this side mount Taurus, which was bounded to the east by the river Halys. The eastern part, beyond and about mount Taurus consisted of Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Pisidia, Iauria, and Lyconia. On this side of the Halys to the north was Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Bithynia; all the other parts, which took in the whole the western coast, was Asia Proper; in which were the two Phrygias, the two Mysias, Æolia, Lydia, Ionia, Caria, and Doris: almost all these were colonies of the Greeks, who established free cities here, at first, in some measure, subject to the mother city from which they came; but afterwards they were governed successively by the Persian and Greek monarchs. For some time Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, and Caria had their kings, as well as Pontus and Cappadocia. The kings of Syria likewise, after Alexander, had footing in Asia Minor;

Minor; and Philetræus, general of Lyfimachus, laid the foundation for the kingdom of Pergamus, which he left to Eumenes, and so it descended to the two kings of the name of Attalus; the last of which made the Romans his heirs, who delivered these countries from the tyranny of the kings of Syria, and left their kings and cities to enjoy their usual liberties; but the people favouring some disturbances that were made, the Romans reduced the whole country into the form of a province, and governed it by prætors, among whom were Sylla, Lucullus, and Quintus the brother of Cicero. Augustus made it a præ-consular province, from which time it was called *Præ-consular Asia*. Bithynia and Paphlagonia, after their kings were deposed, made another Province.

Ionian was in the kingdom of Pergamus, famous of old for its twelve free cities, which were united together in council and forces for their common defence: they were colonies from Athens, and said to be built by Ion, the Athenian, and from him this country had its name. It was bounded to the north by Æolia, where Phocæa, and part of the river Hermus, were its utmost extent; to the east it was bounded by Lydia, as it was on the west by the sea; and to the south it extended beyond the Mæander to the promontory Possidium, having Caria for its boundary that way. It is said, that the parts near Caria, as far as Ephesus, formerly belonged to the Carians; and the northern parts, with the isles of Chius and Samus, were inhabited by the Leleges; but both being drove out by the Ionians, retired into Caria. Androclus, son of Codrus, king of the Athenians, was head of the colony of the Ionians, and built Ephesus, where his family enjoyed the empty title and honour of kings. The other cities were built or improved by different persons, who brought colonies to them. The capitals of the islands of Samos and Chius were among the twelve cities; the other ten were Phocæa, Clazomene, Erythræ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus, and Myus.

We embarked at Mytilene, and landed at Smyrna. The Smyrniæans separating themselves from their brethren the Ephesians, built Smyrna on the spot where the present city stands, and by the interest of the Ephesians were taken into this body, and made the thirteenth city of Ionia. The people of Smyrna first inhabited a part of Ephesus; their name is derived from Smyrna, an Amazon; it is not mentioned, whether they were descended from her, or left their country under her conduct. This city is towards the south-east corner of a deep bay, great part of which, to the west, is covered by the cape of Carabournou, which extends to the north, being a high mountain, and is part of the ancient mount Mimas. Over against the mouth of the river Hermus there is a bank of sand, which runs to the south, and is supposed to be made by the current of the river; opposite to this there is a point, on which a castle is built, to command the entrance of the port, the ships being obliged to sail near it, by reason of that bank of sand. This bay is three leagues wide at the west end; about a mile from the south side of it there is a steep rocky hill, divided by a narrow vale from the hills to the east. The castle of Smyrna stands on this hill, which extends about half a mile to the west, towards the sea. I conjectured that the city of Smyrna in Strabo's time was on this hill, and on the plain to the north and west of it; and that what he calls the Smyrniæan bay was that part of the gulph which is towards the south-east corner; for there were two ancient cities. To the north of this hill there is a small bay, which is now called the Old Port, to which all the small boats go: this, I conjecture, was the port that could be shut up of the second ancient city. In this part there is a narrow plain spot between the castle and the sea; the present town is situated on it, and extends up the side of the hill; the river Meles runs to the east and north of the hill, and is said to have passed near the city walls. Twenty stadia from this, there was another

another bay, on which, Strabo says, the old city of Smyrna stood: I take that to be the bay which flows in to the east, about half a league to the north of the present city, which, by the English, is called Pegg's hole, extending near to a fine source of waters, called the baths of Diana, that fall into it in a small stream; about them there are some small signs of buildings. This place is about the middle of the bay, which extends near a league and a half further to the north, having to the east a fine fruitful plain, two leagues long, in which there are five or six very pleasant villages. The Lydians destroyed the antient city, and the Smyrneans, for four hundred years, lived near it in villages, till Antigonus and Lyfimachus rebuilt the city on the spot where it was in Strabo's time; it extended a little more to the south than the present, further up the hill, and not so far to the north. Dolabella besieged Trebonius in this city, and put him to death, being one of the accomplices in the assassination of Julius Cæsar; and he did great damage to the city for taking part with Trebonius. About half a mile south of the old port, and on the south side of a part of the castle hill, which extends to the sea, there are some remains of the walls of the second city, with a mole running out from it into the sea, and some other parts of the wall, as described below*. The town might be about four miles in compass, and was of a triangular form; it seems to have extended in length about a mile on the sea, and three miles on the north, south, and east sides, taking in the compass of the castle, which is very large, being not less than three quarters of a mile in circumference; the length of it is about twice the breadth; it is a very indifferent building, and stands on the remains of a strong castle, the walls of which were of the same kind of architecture as the city walls on the hill; it is all in ruins, except a small part at the west end, which is always kept shut up. One of the gateways, of white marble, has been brought from another place, and in the architrave round the arch there is a Greek inscription of the middle ages: at another gate there is a colossal head, said to be that of the Amazon Smyrna; it is of fine workmanship, and the tresses particularly flow in a very natural manner. Smyrna was one of the finest cities in these parts, and the streets were beautifully laid out, well paved, and adorned with porticos both above and below; there was in it a gymnasium, a library, the Homerium, which consisted of a portico, temple, and statue, dedicated to Homer: for of the seven cities which contended for the birth of that great poet, it has been almost generally thought, that Smyrna has the best title to that honour. There was also here, a temple of Mars, a circus, and a theatre, and yet there is now very little to be seen of all these things; the reason is, that the new city is built on the spot of the antient one, and most of the materials of it have been removed to serve for the modern buildings, and they are even now continually digging under ground for the stones. The spot on which the theatre stood, at the foot of the hill, towards the south end of the town, is all built upon: one sees very little of the circus, except the foundations;

* The city wall went up what they call the Windmill hill, on the top of which there are foundations as of a small castle; from this hill the wall runs about a furlong to the north, turns again to the east, and goes up a summit of the hill, which is to the south of the Circus, from which turning north, and going east of the Circus, it afterwards turns to the east for a little way, and so joined the south-west corner of the castle: the northern wall began from the north-west corner of the castle, descends the castle hill to the north-west, in which direction, I suppose, it went to the sea, through the middle of the present town, near the Armenian street, where there are some remains of a wall, built of very large hewn stones, in which are cut several rough lines or letters, many of them in this shape V, which has exercised the learning of antiquarians to find out for what purpose those lines were made. Some think that it was designed for the initial letter of Vespasian's name; though possibly these lines might be made in the quarries from one stone to another, to shew how they were to be placed in the building: indeed the walls above are built in a different manner of rusticated stone, which is not so large; so that this might be a later building, being in the style of the work that was executed under the first Greek emperors.

it was hollowed down into the hill, not far from the south-west corner of the castle. At the north-west corner of it is the tomb of St. Polycarp, who was here exposed to wild beasts, and torn to pieces by them. It is said that great disorders had been committed here by the Greeks at the time of his festival; and that a cadi laid hold on this pretence to get money, ordering that, in case any Christians came to it, the community of Christians should be obliged to pay such a sum; but as he could not obtain his end, he put up a stone turban on it, as if it were the tomb of some Mahometan saint, by which he thought to have his revenge, in preventing the Christians from ever resorting to it again, which hitherto has had its effect. There is a tradition, that the cathedral church of the archbishop of Smyrna was built on the north side of the circus, which seems probable, there being some ruins that look like the remains of such a building; and to the south-east of it there is a fabric of three rooms, which had a portico before it, the pillars of which are taken away. This seems to be the building, mentioned by some travellers, in which the council of Smyrna was held, it having been, probably, the synod-room of the archbishop, whose house might have been between this and the church. There are remains, up the side of the hill, of many vaults and passages for water; and there are several arched vaults under houses, the entrances to which are well built, of large hewn stone: these vaults, doubtless, belonged to the houses of the old city. As they have no good water in Smyrna, the antients were very careful in making aqueducts, in order to supply the town with water; and the old aqueduct, which is now ruined, is undoubtedly very antient*.

* There are some hills to the east of the castle hill; and about a league to the east of it there is a narrow vale between the hills, where there is water, which probably was brought from that vale, round the hills, to the city. The first signs of the aqueduct are about a mile to the east of the valley, in which the Meles runs; and to the east of the castle there is a wall, which runs along on the height of the hill, higher or lower, according as the ground lies; this wall goes near the vale in which the river Meles runs; the aqueduct was then carried along the side of the hill, and crossed the valley, where the high arches are all destroyed, except some part of the wall on the side of the hills, and some remains of the arch over the river; it was then, probably, carried along the side of the hill to cisterns under the castle; the side of the castle being higher than the aqueduct could possibly be raised. In this manner it seems to have supplied all the parts about the castle, and probably the lower town likewise: the wall is not built with arches; for there is only one arch across the road that goes to the south, and three or four arches near it, where I discovered the channel of the aqueduct in the wall, which was made of large square stones, one stone being let into the other, and a round channel is worked through them; what is very particular, this pipe is laid in the wall, a very little above the ground, though the wall is built much higher, and in many places, where the wall was broke, I could see no sign of the pipes, not even at top, which, I therefore concluded, run mostly along the ground, except where the ground is low, and yet in all parts the wall is built high: I saw also many pieces of earthen pipes, and one in the wall three or four feet above the ground, which might be a channel from some other source; but it is not easy to conjecture for what purpose the wall should be built so high, unless there was a channel at the top to convey water to higher places; though, as the wall is built so thick at the passage of the road, with buttresses on each side, and also some towers to it further to the east, one would be inclined to think that it was designed as some sort of defence against the incursions of enemies. To the south of this there is another aqueduct, over the vale just under the castle; it is new built, with three rows of arches, one over another; towards the bottom of it there are remains of an old rusticated wall, after the manner of the city walls, which shews that an antient aqueduct had been there. A little to the south of this there is a place which they call the Homerium, and say, that the temple of Homer was there, though there is no sign of any antient building. A mile to the south there are two aqueducts close to a third which crosses the same valley, each having three rows of arches, one over another; one of them is new built, the other, which is a very bad fabric, is older; they convey great bodies of water from a place to the south-east, where several old artificial channels meet, and not being all conveyed to the city, they form a little river, which, towards Segeci, falls into the Meles. Near the above-mentioned aqueduct there are remains of the paved road to Ephesus, which was made of very broad stones; there are also ruins of a gateway and wall, which crossed this road from the castle hill, about a mile from the castle itself; this wall extended to the opposite hill, and was, without doubt, built to defend the pass.

The present town of Smyrna makes a very fine appearance from the water; it is built on a hill; the streets are narrow and not well laid out; there are in a great number of the houses built round courts, and being covered with cupolas, give a very beautiful appearance; they have also beautiful befitteens, or shops, which are arched over: the upper parts of their houses are built with unburnt brick, in frames of wood arched over: those in the street next the sea have courts and gardens behind them, extending to the sea side; they build these houses on three sides of a court, with a gallery of communication to the several apartments; their warehouses are below, and the dwelling-house above: on one side of the garden they have a long wooden gallery covered over, which leads from the dwelling-house to a sort of a pleasure-house over the water: this makes the situation of them very delightful; and there is a quay all along the sea side, to which the small boats come up and load at their doors.

It is thought that there are near a hundred thousand souls in Smyrna; of these there are seven or eight thousand Greeks, two thousand Armenians, and five or six thousand Jews, who all have their particular streets, in which they live together. The Greeks have three churches, the Armenians one; in the cemetery of the latter are several inscriptions, and some pieces of antiquity. The Franks or Europeans have their particular street, in which they enjoy great privileges, and lock it up every night. The English, French, Swedes, Dutch, and Venetians, have their consuls here. The English and Dutch have chapels and chaplains. The Franciscans, Capuchins, and Jesuits, have their respective convents. In the Franciscan monastery an apostolical vicar of that order always resides. Both the Armenians and Greeks have their archbishop, who, if I mistake not, has only the bishopric of Phocæa under him, which seems to be united to Smyrna, as there is no bishop in it. The Greek metropolitan has a very fine manuscript of the Pentateuch, supposed to have been wrote about the year eight hundred, with a large comment on it; it is on parchment, exceedingly well written, and adorned with several paintings, which are well executed for those times. The great number of Franks who are settled here, make Smyrna a very agreeable place, and there is no want of good company; they live in a very sociable manner, and are particularly civil to strangers.

Smyrna, and a considerable territory about it, belongs to the validea or sultan's mother. A waiwode, who has the more honourable title of mosolem, has the care of the revenues; but the cadi is the principal governor here, in whom the chief power resides, there being no palha over this district. The city had been much distressed two or three years before I was there, by the rebellion of Soley Bey, whose army ravaged the whole country, threatened to plunder the city, and raised thirty purfes of money on them; the Europeans removed most of their effects aboard the vessels in the harbour. The magistrates built gates to the town, planted cannon upon them, and for a pretence to raise money on the city, began to make a little fosse round on the hill, and to build a slight wall, great part of which has since fallen down; and the city and merchants found the effects of this blockade more sensibly, in a loss of their trade; the caravans not being able to travel in safety, in order to bring goods for exportation. The city, which has been alarmed on account of many earthquakes which have happened, was greatly terrified by a shock which happened in April, 1739, that overthrew several houses; many persons were killed in their beds, and there was not a house in Smyrna but what was shattered in a most miserable manner, and the people so terrified, that they slept in huts in their gardens and yards almost all the summer; and many retired altogether from their houses, both for safety and convenience.

The

The trade of Smyrna for its export to Christendom, is more considerable than any port of the Levant; it consists chiefly of very rich goods; such as raw silk, Turkey carpets, but more particularly the fine goats hair or mohair of Angoura, with which our camlets, prunellos, and buttons are made; they export likewise a great quantity of raisins to England, under the pretence of a privilege they have by our capitulations of loading so many ships for the king's table; they export also a great deal of unwrought cotton, and a small quantity of muscadine wine, for which this place is famous, as well as for the drier virgin white-wine. The import is chiefly woollen cloth, lead, and tin; in the first the English have been very much supplanted by the French in all parts, except at Constantinople and in Egypt, where the great people always use the English manufactures, because they are the best. They import glass from Venice, and manufactured silks from other parts of Italy; they have also another export to Italy from Vourla Segigieck, and some other small ports, of what they call Valanea, which is a large acorn; they use them in Italy for tanning instead of bark; the cup also, as I have been informed, is used in some parts, especially in Holland, to mix with their galls in dying black, being a cheaper commodity, and in some measure answers the end of galls; from these two ports they sometimes export oil to France, for making soap, and for working their cloths.

To the south-east of Smyrna there is a fine plain, and on the north side of it is a pleasant village called Bujaw, where the Europeans have country-houses, gardens, and fields planted with cypress trees; in the middle of this plain there are several canals, which supply the city by the aqueducts, and the river Meles runs to the south part of it, beyond which towards the foot of the mountains is the village of Segicui, where there are likewise some country-houses belonging to Europeans. To the north of the city, there is a coffin of white marble in a garden, with an inscription on it, which signifies that it was the tomb of a person of the name of Fabius Maximus, who died at twenty-one years of age: in the way to the plain in which Bonavre is situated, not far from the road, is that great source of water called the baths of Diana; the waters are warm in winter; and near them there are many foundations of buildings, and several arches of great antiquity, which doubtless belonged to the ancient baths; there are ruins all the way from the city to this place, and so far probably the most ancient city of Smyrna extended. At the village of Bonavre there is a Turkish burial place of great extent, from which one would conclude that it had been a considerable town; and it is said, that all the patents of the grand signor for consuls, make their consuls of Bonavre and Smyrna, as if it had been a place of trade, though it is a league from the sea. In these burial places there are a great number of columns, pieces of entablature, and other stones of ancient buildings; so that it is probable there was a temple in this place; and I found by a Greek inscription that there had been a church here. On the side of the hill, more to the west, and near the corner of the bay, there are several very ancient sepulchres; the plainest fort consists of a raised ground in a circular form, either of stones hewn out, or laid in a rough manner, in these there are generally two graves sunk into the ground, made of hewn stone, and covered over with a large stone. The others are circular mounts from twenty to sixty feet in diameter, which are walled round with large rusticated stone to the height of the mount. There is a room within under ground, and some of them are divided into two apartments; the walls are all of very good work, made of a sort of a brown ballard granite of the place, wrought every way very smooth, insomuch that the joints are as fine as those of polished marble; round at the top is the plain cornice used in the ancient Egyptian buildings, and these also, like the others, are covered with long stones; one of the

former fort being opened by some English, they found an urn in it. Towards the east part of the plain there are two villages called Norleui and Hadjelar, in which likewise some Europeans have their country-houses. At the Turkish burial place of the latter there are several stones of antient buildings, and some imperfect Greek inscriptions, as well as in most of the burial places of the villages here; so that it is probable there were antiently villages in these places, which had their temples to their Sylvan, or country gods. These two plains, with part of the neighbouring hills, were probably the territory of the Smyrnæans.

CHAP. II. — *Of Vourla the antient Clazomene, Segigieck, and the antient Teius.*

I WENT by sea from Smyrna to Vourla, which is a village a league to the south of a bay of the same name, on which there is a castle built to command the entrance to the port of Smyrna. This place is on that large promontory which is made by the high mountains of Carabournou, among which was mount Minas of the antients, so often mentioned by the poets, which Strabo says was between Clazomene and Erythræ, which is on the west side of this great promontory; and so is not, as some have taken it to be, that mountain between Vourla and Smyrna, which by reason of two high points is called the Brothers. This port of Vourla is computed to be eight or ten leagues from Smyrna, and is that bay, which with another to the south made the Isthmus so frequently mentioned by the antients, as having on the north side of it the territory of the Clazomenians, and on the south that of the Teians, and has that peninsula to the west which was the country of the Erythræans; consequently the port of Vourla must have been the port of the famous city of Clazomene, which was one of the twelve cities of Ionia; but Kelisman, a village on the east side of this bay, has been taken for this city by some travellers, from a similitude of the name, although it is without the Isthmus, and in a place where there are no ruins. Strabo also mentions eight small islands before the city, which are directly before the port of Vourla; and though it is true, that there are very few signs of the city in this place, yet the ground is covered with antient brick and tiles, which are a proof that some considerable city formerly stood there; but what makes this place without all doubt to be the site of the antient Clazomene, is the island of St. John, about a quarter of a mile from the land; it is half a mile in circumference; there are remains of a broad causeway leading to it, and though it is almost destroyed by the sea, yet they pass over to the island on foot. This must be that island to which the Clazomenians retired for fear of the Persians, and joined it to the continent by the causeway; at the end of which there are some signs of an old wall, and a small arch; and there are two or three pieces of antiquity remaining at Vourla. European vessels are often loaded with raisins and oil of olives at this port, where there is only a mosque and a custom-house.

The town of Vourla is a league to the north-north east of the port, and is situated on two rising grounds, on one of which the Christians live, of whom there are about five hundred houses; the Turks inhabit the other part of the town; the Christians have two churches, and the archbishop of Ephesus has a tolerable house here, and resides for two or three months in the year at this place, which is in his diocese. Strabo mentions a steep place at the beginning at the Isthmus, which was the division between the Erythræans and the Clazomenians, and that Chytrium was behind it, where Clazomene was at first built; and then he mentions the city of his time, before which, he says, there were eight islands; in order to understand this, it must be observed, that, to the west of the bay of Vourla, there is another narrow deep bay, called the bay of

Sharpan ; between the two bays and the plain of Vourla, there is a steep rocky chain of hills, which I take to be the steep ground mentioned by Strabo ; it extends to the bottom of the bay of Sharpan, where probably Chytrium was situated ; which is the more likely, as this bay is about a league and a half deeper to the south than the bay of Vourla ; so that this must have been the bay that made the Isthmus, mentioned by Strabo as six miles and a quarter broad from the fourthern bay of Teius to this place. Whether or no the city of Clazomene might extend across any part of the high ground, so as that an island or two in that bay might be said to lie opposite to it, is very uncertain, and rather too forced an interpretation of Strabo ; and I should rather think that he was mistaken in the number of islands situated before Clazomene ; for there are but five in that bay, and a rock, which might formerly be larger, and reckoned as an island ; that which is to the north-west of St. John's island is called Chicelle ; between them is the rock before mentioned, and to the north-west of this is the island Nerissè, to the west of which there is a larger island called Vourlali, which is known to Europeans by the name of the Partridge island ; to the west of this there is an island ten miles long, called by the Turks Kiullin, and by Europeans the Long Island ; it was antiently known by the name of Drymusa, and was given by the Romans to the Clazomenians, when they made Clazomene a free city ; and some large arched cisterns in it, are a proof that the island has been considerably inhabited. Between Clazomene and Smyrna was the temple of Apollo, which probably was at a village about eight miles from Smyrna, to the south of the castle, where I saw about the burial place of the Turks a great number of pieces of marble and fine columns. A mile to the east of this place are the hot baths mentioned by Strabo ; they rise at the foot of the mountains on each side of the bed of a small stream, over which there are ruins of a considerable bridge, as there are on one side of the antient baths ; the waters are very hot at the sources ; they have no particular taste, but by a red settlement on the stones, and by a yellow scum on the top of the water, I conclude that there is in them both iron and sulphur ; they are much frequented for bathing at a certain time of the year by the common people. Between mount Mimas and Erithræ, Strabo mentions a village called Cybelia, and the promontory of Melaina, which is probably that to the north of the great bay opposite to Scio, at the bottom of which Erithræ stood ; the place now has the same name, and is famous for giving birth to the Erithræan Sibyl ; I was informed that there are some marks there of the antient city. Between Teos and Erithræ, rather nearer to the former, the small town of Eræ was situated : Mount Corycus was near Erythræ, which Strabo describes as a mountain stretching itself from north to south ; under this mountain, to the south of Erithræ, was the port Casyflæ, probably that which is now called Gessmè, between which and Scio there is a great intercourse ; then followed the port of Erithræ, and several others in that bay, which have not at present sufficient depth of water for the shipping*.

The inhabitants of this part of the country having a bad character, we could not go to visit those places, but went from Vourla south-east three leagues to Sevrilissar. About half way in this road there is a Turkish burial place, there is one also at Erecui, another at a ruined village called Guzelhissar, and one near the town of Sevrilissar, in all which burial places there are several pieces of marble, and columns, and imperfect

* There are four islands called Hippi before Erithræ. The Romans granted great privileges to this city, on account of its fidelity to the republic during their wars in these parts. Strabo says, that beyond Corycus was the small island Halonnetus, probably towards the north part of the promontory Arginæum, which was the north-west point of that promontory, which is now called cape Cerabourneou, that was sixty, or rather a hundred and sixty stadia from cape Polidium in the isle of Chios.

inscriptions, which are a proof that there were some antient buildings in those places, particularly at Erecui is the famous inscription, which is called the Curſes of the Teians, and this place may poſſibly have its name from having been part of the territory of Teas. At Guzelhiſſar there are alſo ſeveral famous inſcriptions relating to the alliances of the Teians. Antient writers mention that there was a wood above Clazomene dedicated to Alexander, and that games were performed there by the whole community of Ionia, which were called the Alexandrian games; and from Strabo's account this ſpot ſeems to have been towards the ſouth ſide of the Iſthmus, becauſe in ſpeaking of the breadth of it, he ſays, that from the Alexandrian ſpot to the ſteep ground at Clazomene, it was ſix miles and a quarter broad, ſo that it is poſſible theſe buildings might have ſome relation to thoſe games, or might be different temples dedicated to Bacchus, who was worſhipped in theſe parts.

Sevrihiſſar is a large country town, ſituated on three heights; there are very few Chriſtians in it; I ſaw ſeveral imperfect inſcriptions and fragments of antiquity about it. The town of Segigieck is a league to the ſouth-weſt of it; it is built within a caſtle, about half a mile in circumference, and has a very fine ſecure harbour *. Hali a league to the ſouth of it, are the ruins of Teos, now called Bodrun; and on the ſouth ſide of one of the hills, within the city, are remains of a theatre, which is partly built againſt the ſide of the hill. To the ſouth-eaſt of the theatre are great ruins of a temple, but all the walls are thrown down; any one might conjecture that this was a temple to Bacchus, the deity of the place, as I found it to be by an imperfect Greek inſcription at it; this temple was on oblong ſquare, built of very large ſtones of grey marble; ſome of the fine Ionic capitals remain, and moſt beautiful pieces of entablature, richly adorned with ſculpture in the higheſt taſte. To the ſouth-eaſt of this temple there are two arched rooms on a hanging ground, which might ſerve for reſervoirs of water; the walls which ſupport the ground are built with arches. Further on to the eaſt, and near the theatre, there is an oblong ſquare enclosure, which appears to have had turrets round it. At firſt I thought it might have been a public place, or a citadel, and ſeeing at one corner ſome ſeats made in the theatrical manner like ſteps, which ſeemed to be part of a ſmall circle, I imagined it might be an odeum, or ſome other place for a ſmall auditory; but obſerving that all round within the thick wall there were great ruins for the breadth of thirty feet, like thoſe of a theatre, I concluded that the whole muſt have been deſigned for ſome public ſhews: towards one corner there are foundations of an oblong ſquare building, which probably was erected after the antient building was deſtroyed. The towers might ſerve for aſcents from without, and

* The little bay, which makes the port, extends to the north, then winds round to the ſouth and eaſt; and the land locks in ſuch a manner that it appears like a baſin; concerning which I am the more particular, becauſe this muſt be the port Cliezedæ, mentioned by Strabo as north of Teius, who would not eaſily be miſtaken in his poſſage, by one who has not ſeen the ſituation of this port of Teius, which has the ſea to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt; for the ruins of the antient Teius extend about a mile eaſtward to its port, which was at the north-weſt corner of the bay that made the Iſthmus; to the north of which bay Sevrihiſſar ſtands. The Iſthmus of the great promontory ſeems to have been called Chalcidis, probably from the antient inhabitants of it, and to have belonged to the Erithræans, Teians, and Clazomenians, who were diſtinguiſhed on the Iſthmus by the name of Chalcidians. I traced the wall of Teos from its port along the ſea ſide of it up two ſmall eminences, from which they turned to the ſouth-weſt, and were carried along to the top of another little hill, which is to the north of the theatre, where I had reaſon to think there muſt have been a gate of the city, as it is the great road to the north and weſt from that part: the wall went down to the valley, and I ſuppoſe was carried acroſs the hill to the ſouth-weſt, as far as the other ſide of the bay without the port of Segigieck; ſo that Teos had the ſea to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt; though the principal part of the city ſeems to have been in the vale, extending to the ſea between that hill and the ſmall hills, which are mentioned to the north, on which the city wall was built.

there might be semicircular tiers of seats in them, as I observed in some; on the outside of the north-east corner of this enclosure there are several pieces of marble fluted pillars, and beautiful entablatures, some of which were unfinished, but I could see they were of the Corinthian order; it is probable that they worked the stones here for the building, which I could perceive had been cased with marble, and I saw likewise a pediment of an entrance to the building; but it is not to be wondered at that all the stones of the fabric have been carried away, as it is so near the sea; the shape of this building is not so proper for a circus, and having seen just such another at Ephesus, to which there seemed to have been a canal from the lake near the temple of Diana, made me conclude that both the one and the other might be a naumachium; there being a river near this of Teos, which on occasion might be turned into it.

The port of Teos was on the west side of the bay, and defended from the south wind by a mole extending about a furlong to the east, and was near thirty paces broad; there are remains of the stone work about it, and it seems to have been made by hollowing out a basin within it, which is now choaked up; but as there is a small rivulet which runs into it, by the help of floodgates, it might have been made a very advantageous situation for shipping. About a mile to the north of Teos there is a high rocky mount; and on the west side of it a small lake in a deep basin, which, as the people imagine, feeds all the fountains about the country; to the south of this there is a hollow ground, where there are near twenty large pieces of grey marble, each of which is cut out into several steps; they are of such a size that it would be very difficult to move them; it seems as if other pieces had been cut off from them, and yet, that part of them at least, was designed for some building, for on one of them I saw these letters ΛΟΧΟΝ, as if it were to shew the part of the building they were designed for. Teos is placed by the Tables twelve miles from Smyrna, which seems to be a mistake for twenty-two, for it is computed to be nine hours from that city; and Ptolemy places it sixteen minutes both to the south and west of it, though both these distances seem to be rather too little. This place is famous for the birth of the lyric poet Anacreon; there are also about this place several inscriptions, which contain the alliances of the Teians.

I was recommended to a person of Vourla, who received me in his house, shewed me every thing in that neighbourhood, and went with me on the fourth to Sevriliassar, where we could not meet with any accommodations, and so we came on to Segigick, and I lay every night on board a Dutch ship, being recommended to the captain of it, for there was no convenient place in the town for strangers. I went out every day to see the antiquities of Teos and the neighbouring places. There were many remarkable places in this country, to which I could not go with safety. Myonessus was to the east of Teos, situated on a height on a peninsula. Lebedus was fifteen miles to the east of Teos, which seems to have been on a small bay within the great one; the two bays are divided by the island Alpis or Arconesus, which I take to be the long island about the middle of this bay, which stretches to the south-west, and is now called Carabath [The black Sash] from some imaginary resemblance; some seditious people of Teos having fled to Epnesus, were sent by Attalus to Myonessus, and began to fortify that place in opposition to the Teians; but on their applying to the Romans, they were received at Lebedus, which was then very thinly inhabited. Fifteen miles further to the east was Colophon, which probably was on the small bay, which is to the north-west of the bay of Ephesus, for it was but seven miles and a half in a direct line from that city, that is, probably from its port at the mouth of the Cayster, but it was fifteen miles if they sailed round by the bay. This is one of the places which contended for the

the birth of Homer. To the west of it was mount Coracius; and a little further west was the island of Diana, which might be a small island near the shore, towards the north-east corner of the great bay which is to the west of the supposed Colophon; concerning which island Strabo relates an extraordinary superstition.

CHAP. III. — *Of Scala Nuova, and Ephesus.*

I EMBARKED on the ninth at Segigieck on board an open boat for Scala Nuova, and arrived there in the evening. This town is situated on the side of a rising ground over the bay of Ephesus, at the distance of three leagues west-south-west of Ephesus; it stands on the north side of a head of land that stretches to the west. The port is defended against westerly winds by a small island, which has a tower on it, but it is somewhat exposed to the northerly wind. The town or castle, as it may be called, is about three quarters of a mile in circumference. To the north of it there is a large suburb, in which are some of the principal bazars or shops; the Christians live on the side of a high hill to the west; they have about two hundred houses; there is one church in the town, and another in a ruinous condition on the top of the hill, which is called saint Elias. The archbishop of Ephesus, to whom I was recommended, lives at the church in the town; he told me there were formerly thirty-two bishops in his province, but at present he has not one diocesan under him. The castle here belongs to the high admiral, who puts in a governor. The town is under an aga, subject to the pasha of Guzelhislar. This place is a mart that supplies all the neighbouring countries, and Samos, with rice, coffee, flax and hemp, imported from Ægypt, coarse woollen cloth from Salonica, cotton and calicoes from Smyrna, and many other things from other parts; and they export corn to Samos, and the neighbouring islands. They have vineyards in great abundance about the town, but the wine is not very good, though Ephesus was formerly famous for wine; but they dry a great quantity of raisins, which they export to Ægypt. It was late in the evening when we landed at Scala Nuova, and three of the janizaries went with me to the house of the archbishop of Ephesus; they stand so much in awe of the foldiers, that my conductors were first had in to the archbishop and entertained by him, and in the mean time I was served with a collation in another room. When the janizaries were gone I was introduced to him; he was a venerable old man, and dressed like the Greek priests, except that he had on a red mohair scarf. The next day I took lodgings in the kane; and by the help of some other persons to whom I was recommended, I procured a proper Turk to go with me to Ephesus.

We arrived at the village of Aiafolouk, to the north-east of the ancient city of Ephesus, where I lodged in a kane, which served also for a stable, there being sophas and chimneys all round for the convenience of travellers. The Turk that conducted me made me sensible that it was necessary to make presents of coffee to two of the governors in the castle; and I spent three or four days in this place, viewing the antiquities, not without being molested at night with large caravans that were going from Smyrna to Guzelhislar. The prophecy in the Revelation, that the candlestick should be taken from this place is so literally fulfilled, that there is not so much as one Christian within two leagues of the place.

There is a plain towards the sea about a league broad, extending to the north-east corner of the bay, where the great promontory begins, which extends westward to Scio. At a little distance from the sea this plain widens in a circular form, and there is a narrow vale to the south, which extends about half a league in between the mountains; and

and at the north-east corner of the great plain is the entrance to that narrow vale between the hills through which the Cayster runs. This river makes a great number of windings as it passes through the plain, and particularly towards the south-west part of it, where it winds so much like the Mæander, that the Turks call it, the little Mandras. Whether the mouth of the river is any way obstructed, as it seems to have been in Strabo's time, or that the lakes have not a proper vent, especially that which is near the temple of Diana, or that the fosses are filled up, by which the waters were drained off, whatever is the reason of it, a great part of the plain, especially to the south of the river, is a morass, and hardly passable after great rains. On the west side of the plain I saw those lakes mentioned by the antients, one of which was called Selenusia, that belonged to the temple of Diana, but was taken from it by the kings, I suppose, of Pergamus, and restored again by the Romans. These lakes brought in a great revenue, doubtless by the fish they produced; at one of them was the temple of the king, said to be the work of Agamemnon, and I observed a high ground to the north of the river, towards the lakes, which seemed to have had some building on it, that possibly might be this temple. To the north-west of the lakes mount Galefius stretches away to Colophon; where the plain begins to widen into a circular form, there is a hill on each side; that to the north of the Cayster, I take to be the hill through which, according to Dr. Smith's account, there is an extraordinary way cut in the rock[†]; that to the south is near the high mountains which encompass the plain. The whole compass of the walls which I traced, are about four miles, they are built in a rustic manner, are cased with hewn stone, and defended by square towers; in some parts the walls remain almost entire; in others one sees the foundations only, which are ten feet thick.

Before Ephesus was so large a city, it had changed its site more than once. The Leleges and Carians first built a city here, probably on mount Lepre; these being almost dispossessed by Androclus, he with his people settled at the south-east foot of mount Lepre, about the place where, I suppose the Gymnasium was afterwards built, and also on the side of mount Corissus. The part behind mount Lepre was called Opistholepria, and the quarter between the hills was that which was inhabited by the Smyrnæans, and was called in distinction from other parts, the city of Smyrna. The Smyrnæans separating themselves from the Ephesians, settled where Smyrna now is. In the time of Cræsus, the Ephesians left this higher situation, and came down to the plain, about the temple of Diana. Lyfimachus, one of the generals of Alexander the great, built the present walls, called the city Arfinoe from his wife, and was obliged to make use of a stratagem to bring the citizens back to the more advantageous high situation, by stopping privately the public shores, and so in a manner overflowing the low ground; and by the ruins one may see that the lower parts of the hill were inhabited every way, and likewise much of the west part of mount Lepre; there seems also to have been a suburb on the south side of Lepre, and near a mile from the south-east corner of it, to that hill, about which the present village of Aiasalouk is situated; on the hill there is a Turkish castle; round the top of the hill there are great ruins of thick walls built of brick, with many small arches, which seem to be of the time of the Greek emperors, though it might have been inhabited before as a suburb of Ephesus.

To the east of mount Lepre they had their burial places. I saw there a very large marble coffin, with an imperfect inscription on it, and I had reason to think that they had also grotts cut into the rock for depositing their bodies; there are several arches all round the hill, on which it is probable they built their houses, and on some of them are ruins of an aqueduct, for I saw the channel in which the water ran; it is probable that this

part also was enclosed with a wall that might extend to the cayster; and on the low ground between the hill and the village of Aiafalouk, there are remains of many square pillars, made of single stones laid one on another, on which it is probable they turned arches, and built their houses on them. I suppose the ruin, at the south-east corner of the hill, was the Gymnasium, which seems to have been in that place, where formerly there was a building, probably of the same nature, called the Athenæum; there are great and magnificent remains of it; the spot near this was called the Hypæcum, probably because there was some plantation of olives there; it is a very solid fabric; the outer walls are of brick and stone, there being four or five tiers of each alternately; the inner walls are built of large stone, on which the arches of brick were turned. A gallery or portico ranged all round; that to the south, had on each side large arched niches which in the outer wall were continued all round, and there is within a colonnade on each side. From the front of this building there is an entrance to a stately room, which leads to another, and that to a third, on each side of which there was another apartment. All this was doubtless cased with marble, as the temple of Diana, and some other buildings of Ephesus, appear to have been. At the south-east corner of this building a wall extends a little way to the south, with an entrance through it, which made me think that the wall supposed to have been built at the east foot of mount Lepre joined on here, and that it was continued on to mount Corissus; for I saw some ruins that way of a wall, and also heaps of ruins like towers. There are also remains of a stone wall, at some distance to the south, which probably enclosed a court before the Gymnasium.

On the sides of mount Lepre and Corissus, as well as in the valley between them, there are still great ruins to be seen of the ancient city, where, I suppose, that part of the city, antiently called Smyrna, stood; and continuing on to the west, the south part of mount Lepre is hollowed in by cutting away the rock, and before this are remains of the front of a theatre, which I should conjecture to be the new theatre, as it must have been built after the great theatre, which is near the temple of Diana, because by the remains of it, it appears to have been built in a very elegant taste; three arches of hewn stone remain entire, within which are built niches with a shell at top, and over each there is an oblong square window. When Antony extended the privilege of the asylum of the temple of Diana, as far as two bow shot, which is something more than two stadia, and thereby took in part of the city, and probably the great theatre, the citizens might at that time build this theatre, in order to avoid being molested with the company of those who took refuge there. A few paces further to the west, there are remains of a semicircular building, which seems to have had seats in it, made like steps, as in theatres, and is built in a rustic manner with pilasters on the outside at equal distances. This might possibly serve for an odeum or theatre for music. A little further on there are great ruins as of a strong gateway, and of walls extending from it on each side up the hills, which probably was built to defend the city against the people of the asylum, when their privileges extended so far. Beyond this, at the foot of mount Lepre, there are very imperfect remains of a strong brick building; a little further is the south-west corner of the hill, and to the west of it is the plain, in which are the ruins of the temple of Diana, and several other public buildings; the theatre is near opposite to it, at the south-west corner of the hill, the Circus being near the north-west corner. When all these buildings were standing, they must have made a most glorious appearance; for few cities have had the advantages of Ephesus for building; mount Lepre and Corissus being rocks of stone and marble; so that they had nothing to do but to dig out the marble, and roll it down to the places where they designed to build. The lake to the

west of the temple of Diana, was probably a sort of port, into which they could bring all those fine marbles, that were the produce of foreign countries, close to the very spot they built on; which made this quarter so proper for their public buildings; and being full of them, the city did not suffer much in permitting it to be an asylum. The plain, which is to the west of mount Lepre, is about a quarter of a mile broad from east to west, and half a mile long; at the north-east corner of it there is a small rocky hill, between which and the Circus, there was a road or street paved with large stones, many of which are eight feet long and four wide; to the east of this road was the Circus; and north of it another large building; on the north side it is built on a gallery, the seats on the south, being built up the side of mount Lepre; there are arches to the north, in order to support the lower seats, these make so many apartments; above them there were three more tiers of arches, on which the seats were built. I could not find out any staircases, and I rather think that they descended to the seats from the hill on the south-side, and went round on the gallery at top, or ascended by the seats from the bottom. The outside wall was of large rusticated hewn stone, and, what is very particular, towards the end of the Circus, there is a wall built with a large entrance in the middle, which with the end of the Circus makes a circle, and from it to the west other walls are built, which taking in the wide entrance in the middle is near a semicircle. Whether or no these were carceres from which the courfers started, or whether it has been erected since it was used as a Circus, I will not pretend to determine; the wall is not built in the best manner. The end of the hill, to the west of the Circus, and of the road, appears plainly to have served for the spectators, and to have had seats on it; and on the top of it there is a fine Ionic entablature, which made me conclude, that the ornamental parts of the Circus were of that order. Round the top of the Circus, there are arched windows or entrances about forty feet apart, and three feet wide, which might serve for the people to enter from the side of the hill, and also to give air, if they covered the place when they exhibited their sports. To the south-west of the Circus there is a well turned arch, which seems to have been an entrance to some building; round at the spring of the arch, and in the two fronts, it is adorned with the cornice of the Ionic order, which were probably taken from the Circus, as well as the white marble, with which the arch is built. It appears that some narrow buildings had been carried on to the east of it; but whether for a church, or for what other use I could not conjecture. On the stones of this arch are several pieces of inscriptions, which, as they are put together without any order, have puzzled the learned to explain them, on a supposition, that the letters originally followed one another in the order, in which they are seen in this place. There is also a relief of a person on horseback, with his garment flowing behind; before the horse there is a cypress tree; a serpent is represented twining round it, which with its head makes at the horseman; and a dog at the tree, is in a posture as leaping towards the serpent. To the north of the Circus there are remains of a very large and magnificent building, with a road or street between it, and the Circus; the ground is raised on each side of the road, as if there had been steps there, or some other buildings, the ruins of which have raised the ground, especially on the side of the Circus, and I saw several pedestals on each side of the road. The great building mentioned to the north of the Circus was raised on high arched rooms, which open to the north, where, I suppose, the city wall run; to the north of it the ground is very low, and possibly a canal might be cut from the river to this place, and they might land their goods before these arched places, which might serve for warehouses; and the magnificent building above might be a forum for the merchants of this city, which was the greatest mart on this side mount Taurus;

this building seems to have consisted of large pillars of hewn stone, on which arches of brick might be turned ; in the middle the architecture is different, where it is probable there was a statue ; there appeared to have been a wall on the north side of this building, probably to secure it from the cold wind. Beyond this to the east there is a high ground, which extends near as far as the Circus ; this ground was supported by the city wall, which went near the end of the Circus ; and one of the city gates was, without doubt, between this high ground and the Circus. Going to the south, along the plain, I observed a large basin fifteen feet diameter ; it is of one stone of red and white marble, and is shaped within in a particular manner, and, as I remember, is something like that of St. Victor at Marseilles, and doubtless was used for sacrifices, though they have a tradition that St. John baptized in it. This vase lies on the ground, which has grown up round it, though doubtless it was somewhat raised ; and a vase of such great weight must have been placed on a strong foundation to support it ; near this vase there are remains of a small semicircular building for some large statue. To the west of this there are ruins of a stone building, which I concluded was a church, because the east-end of it is semicircular ; and to the west of it there is a brick building of the same kind, with large open arches on each side ; probably it was designed for the same use as the other. Returning to the large basin, and going along to the west of mount Lepre, we came to the remains of a very considerable building, mostly built of brick. It is possible this might be some public building belonging to the people of the asylum, it may be their forum, as it very much resembles the building I have already described near the Circus. Between this and the temple of Diana there is a hollow ground, in which there is some water ; this might antiently serve for a basin. Further south, is the great theatre facing to the west, and hollowed into the hill ; by the manner in which the ground lies, one may see that there have been great buildings to the west of the theatre, and to the south of them there is a square, which is sunk down, and has a hanging ground all round within, as if there had been seats, which gave me reason to conjecture that it might have been a naumachium, and particularly, as I observed to the west a hollow ground, like the bed of a canal, extending towards the lake near the temple of Diana, by which the water might be let into the basin. There seems to have been a colonnade round at the top of the seats, and I saw several rough pedestals, and pillars of grey granite lying about the place, and a broken capital, which was either of the Corinthian or Composite order ; near it, on the foot of mount Corissus, there is a small heap of ruins, in which there are some of the finest pieces of architecture I ever saw ; the columns are fluted, and measured thirty feet in length ; the entablature is cut in very large pieces of marble, and adorned with carvings, which shew it was of the Corinthian order. By the best judgment I could make there were only four columns, which probably supported a pavilion, under which some colossal statue (perhaps that of Diana or Ephesus) might be placed, and as it was probably at the end of the streets, and commanded all these buildings, it was a very advantageous situation ; and I observed in a line from the road or street, at the end of the Circus, some columns of grey granite standing, as if they had formed a colonnade on each side of a street, which passed to the east of the stone basin of the great building near the theatre, and of the naumachium, and crossed the street that went under the pavilion, and continued along eastward to the hills.

The temple of Diana is situated towards the south-west corner of the plain, having a lake on the west side of it, now become a morass, extending westward to the Cayster. This building, and the courts about it were encompassed every way with a strong wall ;
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that to the west on the lake, and to the north was likewise the wall of the city; there is a double wall to the south, and within these walls were four courts, that is, one on every side of the temple, and on each side of the court to the west, there was a large open portico or colonnade, extending to the lake, on which arches of brick were turned for a covering. The front of the temple was to the east. The temple was built on arches, to which there is a descent; I went a great way in, till I was either stopped by earth fallen down, or by the water; they consist of several narrow arches one within another; it is probable they extended to the porticos on each side of the western court, and served for foundations to those pillars. This being a morass ground, made the expence of such a foundation so necessary, on which, it is said, as much was bestowed as on the fabrick above ground; it is probable also that the shores of the city passed this way into the lake. I saw a great number of pipes made of earthen ware in these passages; but it may be questioned whether they were to convey the filth of the city under these passages, or the water from the lake to the basin, which was to the east of the temple, or to any other part of the city. In the front of the temple there seems to have been a grand portico; before this part there lay three pieces of red granite pillars, each being about fifteen feet long, and one of grey, broken into two pieces; they were all three feet and a half in diameter; there are four pillars of the former sort in the mosque of Saint John, at the village of Aiafalouk; I saw also a fine entablature; and on one of the columns in the mosque there is a most beautiful composite capital, which, without doubt, belonged to it. There are great remains of the pillars of the temple, which were built of large hewn stone, and probably cased with marble; but from what I saw of one part, I had reason to conclude that arches of brick were turned on them, and that the whole temple, as well as these pillars, was incrustured with rich marbles; on the stone work of the middle grand apartment there are a great number of small holes, as if designed in order to fix the marble casing. It is probable that the statue of the great goddess Diana of the Ephesians was either in the grand middle compartment, or opposite to it.

To the north of the forum I saw an old channel, which made me think that a canal might be brought from the Cayster to that part, and so along by the city walls to the lake, by which means they could always command the water for their boats and shipping, if this really was the port.

The present village of Aiafalouk appears to have been a considerable Mahometan town from the great number of mosques about it, which are mostly built with cupolas. The tradition of two or three churches, that particularly of the seven sleepers with their grot near it, shew that old Ephesus was inhabited before the Saracens conquered this country, though the large mosque of Saint John at the village is falsely said to have been a church; the front is of white marble polished, and it is a stately building covered with lead. An aqueduct of many arches, which seems to have been built in the middle ages, goes from the eastern hills to the castle; there are several inscriptions on it; and over the old castle-gate there are two very fine reliefs.

All the way from Ephesus to Scala Nuova (which is south south-west of it) one sees on the side of the hills to the east, another antient aqueduct; it consists of a very low wall on which the channel was made for the water; there are remains likewise of two parts of the aqueduct across two valleys; that which is nearest to Ephesus is the longest; it is in a fine vale, about two miles from the city walls; the arches, which are low, extend about a furlong in length; as they are ill built of rough stone, I concluded that the old aqueduct had been ruined, and that this might be a building of
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the middle ages; to the north of this aqueduct one sees some ruins, and particularly on an advanced ground, which supposing this to be Pygela, might be the temple of Diana Munychia, built by Agamemnon. This situation of Pygela agrees best with the order of Strabo's account, who goes from that place to the port of Panormus and the temple of Diana, and then to Ephesus; for afterwards, as if returning towards the sea shore, he mentions Ortygia as near the sea, where there was a fine grove, through which the rivulet Cenchrius ran; this possibly might be to the west of those hills, on which the fourth wall of Ephesus was built, between which and another hill to the south, there is a small bed of a winter torrent, which passes also by Pygela, and possibly might be the Cenchrius. There are several fables of this place in relation to the delivery of Latona, the mother of Apollo and Diana, and of the nurse Ortygia, who gave occasion to the name of it. Mount Solmissus, which was over the grove, I suppose to be the hill to the south of it, and to the west of the road; on this, they say, the Curetæ stood, and frightened Juno with their arms, who lay in wait to disturb Latona at the time of her delivery, being envious of her happiness, in bringing forth two such children as Apollo and Diana; a story that would be well worthy of the ridicule of such a pen as Lucian's. Continuing in the road to Scala Nuova, I saw the other part of the aqueduct on the south-west side of the same vale, there being a hill in this vale between these two parts of the aqueduct; I could see no sign of arches in it, being only a solid wall, with a channel towards the bottom of it arched over; this channel is four feet high, and two wide; the ground here is rather high; but whether this large channel is a part of the other aqueduct, or more antient, and that another channel run on the top of the wall, joining to the other parts of the aqueduct, in order to convey the water to the higher parts of the city, may be difficult to determine; only, I observed, that the wall, though of rough stone, is well built, and seemed to be very antient. Crossing over a hill, we came to another vale which leads to a little bay, within which there is a small lake: to the south of this bay there are some ruins on a hill, and a high wall, which has two or three arches in it, crosses the road; it seems to have been an aqueduct to convey the water to this town or village, from the aqueduct of Ephesus, which runs near it on the side of the hill. This place is about two miles from Scala Nuova, thought to be Neapolis, which probably was somewhere near it, and as I supposed, might be on the small peninsula near the town; for they have a tradition that this town is not above two hundred years old, and it is not unlikely, that the town of Aiasalouk or Ephesus declined on the trade taking a turn this way.

About sixteen miles to the south of Scala Nuova there is a Christian village called Changlee, to which I did not go; it is supposed to be the antient Panionium, where the meeting of the twelve cities of Ionia was held, and a solemn sacrifice performed to Neptune Heliconius, in which the people of Prienè presided; it was at the foot of mount Mycalè, to the north of which was mount Pactyes in the Ephesian territory. There are some ruins at an uninhabited place called Saplo, which is also the modern name of that mountain; this is supposed to be Prienè, the native place of Bias, one of the seven wise men. The country at the foot of mount Mycalè, which was nearest to Samos, belonged to that island, and so did the city Neapolis, by an exchange with the Ephesians for Marathesium.

CHAP. VI. — *Of Guzelhissar, the antient Magnesia, on the Mæander.*

AFTER our return from Ephesus we went to Samos; I stayed there sometime waiting for a passport from Constantinople, and returning to Scala Nuova, where the plague raged at that time, I set out on the thirteenth of February for Guzelhissar; which is twenty-four miles south-east and by east from Scala Nuova. Having travelled twelve miles we came to the east side of the mountains, which extend from north to south, and join to mount Sapsou, which is opposite to Samos. These mountains must be the antient Pactyes, mentioned as stretching from the territory of Ephesus to mount Mycale, to which the mountains Mefogis joined, being those which run from east to west on the north side of the Mæander, as mount Latmus does on the south of it. We lay the first night in a coffee-house at Jermanseik, which is nine hours from Scala Nuova. Having passed the mountains, we came into the fine plains of the Mæander; this river rises in Phrygia at the mountains of the Cæleni, and runs into the sea at Prienè. The southern hills come very near it, but the northern mountains in many parts are at the distance of two or three leagues; at first it runs in Phrygia, then divides Lydia from Caria, and afterwards is the boundary between Caria and Ionia; it is well known that the many extraordinary turnings of this river has given the name of Mæander to all such sort of windings.

Guzelhissar [The Fair Cattle] is the antient Magnesia on the Mæander, which Strabo describes as on a plain spot*, as mount Thorax; but it was on a hill level at the top, about three miles in compass, having a steep hanging ground all round; it is indeed very plain ground, except that on the east side there are some eminences, from which there is a very steep precipice down to the deep bed of a stream, that runs to the east of the present city, which is at the south foot of the hill. Magnesia was about half a league from the Mæander, and is described as nearer to the river Lethæus; which probably is a large stream about two miles to the west, that runs between the mountains Mefogis, and, I suppose, rises at mount Pactyes, as it is described. The situation of this place is very delightful, commanding a view of the fine plain of the Mæander, which is broad towards the west; the view extends to the sea, and from the height I saw the Agathonisi islands, which are near Patmos. Mount Thorax is to the north, which is covered with snow; the foot of that hill extends to the city, being divided only by the bed of a torrent. Adjoining to that mountain there is a situation of the same kind, except that to the north it is contiguous to the hill, and is not altogether so strong; what adds to the prospect of this place, is a most beautiful enclosed country to the south and west, and the fields are planted with fig and almond trees; the modern city also adds to the beauty of the view, which being large, and there being courts and gardens to the houses, improved with cypresses and orange trees, and some of the streets also planted with trees, it makes it appear like a city in a wood; and round it there are a great number of gardens, divided into squares, by rows of orange trees in a more regular manner than is commonly seen in these parts. This is one of the first of those cities between Ephesus and Antioch on the Mæander, which were of a mixed race, and not properly Ionians, being composed of Lydians, Carians, and Greeks; for antiently the people were ranked according to their different tribes, till the Romans divided the country into dioceses, which consisted of such a number of neighbouring cities as could most conveniently go to the city where the conventus or meet-

* Strabo, xiv. p. 643.

ing for distributing justice was held, by which they broke that union which was among particular cities, by taking away all distinctions of people, and united them very politically all together under the Roman government: the Magnesians were of Greek original, and thought to be Delphians, who inhabited the mountains Didymi in Thessaly. Magnesia, probably a city still older, which might be in another situation, was destroyed by the Treres of Cimbria, and was afterwards possessed by the Milesians. There was a slight wall round the city, only four feet thick, as they were so well defended by nature: on the hills to the east there were many buildings now entirely destroyed, and probably they have had there a strong fortress. There are signs of many great buildings all over the city, but they are ruined in such a manner, that, except two or three, it is difficult to judge of what nature they were. Towards the south-east corner of the city there are very imperfect remains of a theatre, hollowed out of the hill to the east, which by its height, I judged could not have less than fifty degrees of seats; all that remains of it is an arched entrance on each side. Near the theatre there is an aqueduct under ground, by which water is conveyed to the present city, as it was, without doubt, to the old one. The water is brought from the mountains at some distance, and crosses a narrow vale on some high arches. To the west of the theatre there are a great number of large pieces of marble entablatures, and other remains of buildings: here the Armenians have an altar and a burial place, and there might have been a church on this spot built with the materials of some other great edifice, which seems to have been there. Further west, at the Jews burial-place, there are more ruins; and to the west of that, there are two or three very thick walls, which are not of the best workmanship: to the north also there are remains of the east end of a large church; and a furlong more to the east are very great ruins, which seem to be of some magnificent large palace. At the foot of the eastern hills are several arched rooms. On the north side of the city there are ruins of a very grand temple, which must be that of Diana Leucophryne, and was the largest in Asia after the temples of Ephesus and Didymi; and though it yielded to Ephesus in its riches, yet it exceeded it in its proportions, and in the exquisite architecture: it appears to have been arched underneath mostly with large hewn stone; the principal front seems to have been to the south, where there are remains of a colonnade; it seems to be a portico made with a particular sort of pillars, often seen in these parts, which may be either called oval, or considered as a semicircular pilaster on two sides of a square pillar, which sets out about an inch beyond the pilasters. At the Franciscan convent of Trinita de Monti in Rome, there are likewise two oval capitals; and in the Massimi palace at Rome, there are two modern pillars of the same figure as these of Magnesia. On the north side there are three very massive entire arches, which are about forty feet high; the work over them is brick, from which an arch seems to have been turned to the south, probably to three other arches of the same kind; to the west of these, at some distance, there is a thick wall, which probably enclosed the whole; and to the north of them are arches under ground, over which there might be a portico. On the south side of the hill, in the way to the present town, there are some walls which appear to have belonged to a very magnificent building of great extent: and I observed among them some pieces of pillars of verd antique; and in this place, and in another part of the town, I saw the capital of a square pilaster, which is of a particular kind. In the side of the hill there are many sepulchral grotts to the east. The present city is to the west of the stream I have mentioned before; it extends up the side of the hill to the north, and is encompassed with very slight walls; it has a large suburb to the south, and another to the east: the other side of the rivulet is inhabited mostly by Christians; the Greeks and Armenians have their churches there,

and the latter a bishop, who, I suppose, is archbishop of Ephesus. The town is not less than four miles in compass, and the streets broader, and better laid out than commonly are seen in Turkish cities. There are also many Jews here, and it is a place of great trade, especially for cotton, and cotton yarn, which are sent to Smyrna, and exported to Europe: they have also manufactures of coarse calicoes; and their merchants are generally rich; it is likewise a mart for all such things as are imported from Europe, Egypt, and other parts, for the use of the country, for sixty miles eastward, near as far as those parts that are supplied from Satalia, and other southern ports. There are also several great families of Turks who live here, many of them are Beys, a title they give to sons of pashas; these have their estates about the city. The pasha of this country resides here; so that altogether it is one of the most considerable places in Asia.

CHAP. V. — *Of Caria in general, and of the antient Alabanda.*

• FROM Guzelhislar I crossed the Mæander on the fifteenth into Caria. The Carians were first called Leleges, inhabited the islands, and were subject to Minos; they possessed themselves of the continent, which belonged both to the Leleges and Pelasgi, and were drove out of it by the Greeks, Ionians, and Dorians. The river Mæander is here about half a furlong broad; it is a rapid stream, and the bed of it was at this time full; the rivulet at Guzelhislar, and some others that run into it overflowing, make the country a morass for a mile from the Mæander. There is a large causeway across this low ground, and even that is overflowed in winter. The banks of the Mæander are sloping, and they cross it on a sort of a boat, like a sledge in shape of a half lozenge, the sides of it not being above a foot high: they tie vine boughs together, which are about an inch and a half diameter, and from ten to fifteen feet long, which are fixed across the river; a post in the boat rests against it, and keeps the vessel from being carried down by the stream, and by the help of this three men pull the boat from one side to the other. About half a mile lower the river China, which is a very considerable stream, falls into the Mæander on the south side of it; it rises in the south-east part of Caria beyond Aphrodisias, and passing through the valley which is near Stratonicea and Lagenia, turns to the north a little before it falls into the Mæander. Between these two rivers there is a chain of mountains, which, though rocky, afford fine herbage for sheep and black cattle, in which this country abounds. About eight miles further east we crossed the China on a wooden bridge, which is built on nine or ten large stone piers, and is about three hundred feet long. We went a league further to Salashtar, to a miserable kane, no better than a stable, where it was difficult to lie free from dirt and water; the caravan lodged without with their baggage, and made fires. On the sixteenth we went about a league and a half between little green hills, and came to a small fertile plain about a league over; it is encompassed for the most part by high hills; this country is called Carpoufley; it has in it five or six villages, and is governed by an aga under the sangiac of Smyrna, as it belongs to the waladea or sultanne's mother. The aga was not there, so I delivered my letter to his deputy at the village of Demerjê.

On the south of this little plain there are ruins of an antient city, not mentioned by any modern writer, and exactly answers to the situation described of Alabanda. The founder of it is said to be Alabandus, whom they worshipped as a God*; and in the Roman division of the country, Mylasa was made the head city of a jurisdiction, and

* Cicero De natura Deorum.

the judicial *conventus* was held here. The town was situated on the east side of a very high hill, and on a little hill to the east of it; it was encompassed with strong walls, cased with hewn stone within and without, and filled up in the middle with rough stones; in the casing of the wall one tier of stones lies flat, and another is set up an end alternately; and in some places this casing is fallen down, and the middle part is standing; the most easy ascent is from the north side by a paved way of very large stones of an irregular shape, having the town wall on the right. About a third part of the way up the hill, there are great ruins of a most magnificent palace, to which there was an entrance by a colonnade, leading to an oblong square court; to the right of this there was a portico of twenty oval pillars of the same kind as those already described; they are of a very rustic order, and the capital is more simple than the Tuscan. Under it there were apartments with entrances from without, and over that another colonnade, which is almost destroyed, as the floor of the grand gallery that belonged to it is entirely ruined; this gallery seems to have had a colonnade all round. Opposite to this, on the west side of the court, there appear to have been three artificial terraces, or galleries, one above another, with colonnades to them, and small apartments within them, and above this is another plain spot, where there appear to have been great buildings. Ascending the steep hill, another third part of the way we came to a beautiful theatre, which for the most part is hollowed into the hill; and all but the front is entire. The top of the hill is level, and there is a little rocky mount in the middle of it, on which I saw the foundations of a circular building; and to the west of this mount there is a square building entire, which probably was designed for a house of pleasure; from this, the wall seems to have extended to the south, and then turned eastwards down to the low hill. From the south-west corner there was another wall, which was carried about a furlong south to another summit of the hill, where there are remains of a strong oblong square castle, and adjoining to it to the south are the walls of a smaller castle. On the little hill, or rising ground below, are remains of two buildings, one like a square castle, with a round tower at each corner, the other is built like a palace, with several doors and windows; these buildings are of a red granite in large grains, all the mountains here abounding both in the red and grey sort; and probably, if quarries were dug down, many beautiful veins might be found. To the south of the city, at the foot of the hill, there are a great number of sepulchres made in different manners; some are hewn down in the rock like graves, others are cut in the same manner into small rocks that rise up above the ground; some are built like pedestals, with two or three steps round them, and covered with large stones; I saw others like an oblong square rock above ground, without any visible entrance, but by a small hole that appears to have been broke in, and one would imagine that there was some passage cut under ground to them.

From the south-east corner of the plain we ascended southwards about three miles to the top of mount Latmus, where they say there are not only wolves, wild boars, and jackals, but also tigers and bears; there is a plain on the top of the mountain about a league broad; here we staid all night, and made large fires to defend ourselves against the wild beasts, as well as the cold, and I reposed under the shelter of a large rock of granite, part of which lay hollow to the ground. There are many herdsmen on these mountains; and they have begun to plough some of the plain parts, making enclosures with large trees laid round the fields. There is a low, easy descent from the mountain into that vale of Caria, in which the city of Mylasa stood, which is now called Melasso by the Greeks, and Millefs by the Turks. This vale is about four leagues long and a league broad; towards the west it winds a little to the south,

turns again to the west at Mandaleat, about two hours or four miles from Melassô; that place is more infested with scorpions than any other in these parts, inasmuch that several die every summer by the sting of this animal; the sea at Joran, the ancient Jaius, is five or six miles to the east of Mandaleat. To the south of the hills which bound this valley, there is another vale which extends to the bay on which Myndus was situated, not far from Helicarnassus, and to the south of that there is another bay opposite to Stanchio, made by cape Criu to the south, on which Cnidus was situated, at the south-west corner of Asia Minor.

CHAP. VI. — *Of Melassê, the ancient Mylasa.*

MELASSO, the ancient Mylasa, is situated at the foot of a high mountain about the middle of the south side of the plain of Caria. Strabo * seems to be mistaken in saying, that Phycus was the nearest sea port to Mylasa, for Melassô is twenty-four miles from Marmora, about which place Phycus must have been situated; whereas Cassideh, which is at present the port of Melassô, is not above ten miles from it, and seems to be the place mentioned by Pausanias at that distance. The Greeks are grossly mistaken, in imagining that Melassô is the ancient Miletus which was at Palat, near the mouth of the Mæander. I could not trace the city walls of Mylasa, but on the west side there is a magnificent gate entire, of the Corinthian order. The old city seems to have extended chiefly to the east of the present town; what has been taken for the city walls is evidently nothing but the enclosure of some public buildings, which were mostly on a rising ground towards the west end of the ancient city, where the present town, or rather large village, is situated. There seem to have been two ancient temples to Jupiter in this city, one properly belonging to the people of Mylasa, dedicated to Jupiter Ologus; the other of Carian Jupiter in common to the Carians, Lydians, and Mysians. That to Jupiter Ologus, I suppose, was situated on the summit of the rising ground on which the city stood, where there are remains of a large enclosure; part of the present town is built about it, and to the south there are two fluted Ionic pillars standing, each consisting of five stones. The members of the base are fluted like those of the temple of Juno in Samos, but in a much finer taste. On the north wall of the enclosure there is a beautiful fluted Corinthian pillar, with an inscription on it to the honour of Mæander. To the south of this there is another enclosure, and to the west of it are some small remains of a theatre, built of white marble, which appears to have been a very beautiful fabric. At some distance to the east of the temple, in the gardens belonging to some houses, there are ruins, which I have reason to believe belonged to a prætorium, or some other public building, from an imperfect inscription I found on a wall, which seemed to be of a public nature; at the foot of the hill to the south-east are remains of a long colonnade, like the avenue to a building, and near it there is part of a thick wall built in the ancient manner with stones or five sides,

* Artemidorus, quoted by Strabo, makes Phycus one hundred and fifty miles from Tralles; and it must have been about Marmora, where they now embark for Rhodes, Phycus having been opposite to that island; but by the most exact computation I could make, it is not above fifty miles, and the maps make it about a degree. The same author computes the distance from Tralles to Phycus by Alabanda and Lagena, by which must be understood the entrance into the territories of those cities, and not the cities themselves, because Lagena, either at Lakena, or Chima, was much to the east of Alabanda; so that there seems to be some great error, probably in the manuscript, in making Lagena to be above a hundred miles from Phycus, and above fifty from Tralles, for it is not above twenty miles from the latter, or fifty from Phycus, so that the number of miles computed by Strabo, seem to be double of what they really are.

which appears like a city wall ; but not seeing any signs of a wall extending from it I took it rather to be the enclosure of the building to which that colonnade belonged. The magnificent gate of the city is adorned with pilasters of a particular Corinthian order, which appears to have been much used in Caria ; they had likewise a singular manner of fluting the base of the Ionic order. This Corinthian order consists of one row of leaves, about half the length of the capital, the upper part being fluted to the abacus, and in some I have seen the abacus itself fluted, and likewise capitals entirely fluted without leaves, which seems to be rather in a Gothic taste. To the south of this gate there are remains of an aqueduct, which has no marks of antiquity ; but the antient aqueduct seems to have been carried the same way, and it may be probably on the city walls ; for to the north of this gate, there is a small low hill, near which there passes an antient aqueduct which conveyed the water across the plain, and ended at a small hill towards the other side of it. Most part of this aqueduct seems to have been destroyed, and rebuilt, but not in the best manner ; I saw in it several pieces of entablature of the Doric order, taken from the ruins of some building. Where the ground is low, there are two rows of arches one over another, the upper arches being double the number of the lower. To the east of this there are remains of another colonnade, which seems to have led to the town ; on this side I saw some marble coffins ; and near the city there are three or four very massive buildings, which seem to be of the middle ages ; they are raised on large open arches, and seem to be remains either of palaces of the middle age, or it may be of reservoirs of water.

But the great curiosity of Melassô is a temple which was built to Augustus and Rome, and is a most exquisite piece of architecture. The temple itself was very small : in the front there is a portico of the Composite order, and on the other three sides an Ionic colonnade. At the entrance of the temple, on each side of the door, there is a foundation of large stones, on which probably there were pedestals for the statues of Augustus and Rome. The pillars are fluted, and the temple is raised on a basement, the cornice of which is only to be seen ; there is also a sort of plinth about it that ranges round like a step, and has three faces like an architrave ; every particular pillar has likewise a plinth, and the base is fluted, as mentioned above. The frieze is adorned with tripodes, bulls heads, and pateras ; the cornice and the pediments at each end are very richly ornamented with carvings. What the architect seems to have designed as an ornament to the building, may be rather looked on as a bad taste, that is, putting the Composite order in the front, when the other three sides are Ionic. The capitals are indeed fine, except that the curled leaves, and the abacus seem rather to project too far at the corners, in proportion to the size of the capital. About two feet below the capital there are four festoons round the shaft ; but what is most particular, and has the worst effect, is a work like a capital on the base of the pillar, the shaft resting on it in a sort of a socket, from which the leaves turn outwards ; this is executed in a particular manner. The top of the leaves are broken, from which one might at first conjecture that the pillars had fallen down, and had been set up again on old capitals ; but by examining the work, I saw that the pillars were made so originally. This building, when Christianity prevailed, was doubtless converted either into a church, or some other public building ; for on the stones of the temple I saw several defaced inscriptions, with the crosses on them.

About half a mile to the west of the town there is another very extraordinary building ; it cannot very probably be called a temple, for it consists of twelve pillars on a basement, with a front every way of four pillars, supporting an entablature, on which there is raised a very grand covering of large stones laid across in four tiers one over another,

another, every tier setting in so as to make a sort of a cupola within, which on the outside appears like four steps, in manner of a pyramid; the whole soffit is finely carved with flowers in lozenges. The corner pillars are square, the others are oval, and are such as have been described at Guzelhissar; two thirds of the shafts are fluted. There is an entrance through the basement on the west side, and within there are four square pillars to support the floor above, which is composed of large stones; there are two steps round the building; I conjecture that this was a very magnificent altar of the Taurobole kind, and what induces me to think so, is a round hole in the pavement about eight inches in diameter, which below lessens to three inches, under which, I suppose, the sacred person stood, that the blood of the sacrifice might run on him, after which he wore the garment till it dropped from him; a ceremony which rendered his person most sacred among the Heathens; I saw afterwards exactly such a hole at Stratonicea in a large altar made like a basin, which doubtless was for that purpose, and another at Eleusis; there is also a basin of the same kind at Ephesus, called St. John's font; but if there was such a hole it has been filled up; there was an arched place under it, now almost full of earth. There is another of this shape, as observed before, in the abbey of St. Victor near Marfeilles, which is supposed by many to have been an altar; but I do not know whether there is any hole in it. Prudentius, indeed, describes this sacrifice as performed on boards, through which the blood run on the person who was destined to this honour; but possibly this might be the original way of performing the sacrifice, which probably was afterwards improved, though it might always be continued in the same manner in some places: all which is submitted to the judgment of others, being founded only on conjecture, and on the tradition that a vase of this kind at Marfeilles was an altar. It appears by a groove on each side of the pillars, which is four inches broad, that this building was enclosed on three sides, and probably with stones set up an end; but it was open on the north-side where the hole is; that side also fronts the hill, from which the people might behold the ceremony. If there were any ruins near, I should have thought that the temple of Jupiter Carius was here, which at first was at a village separate from the city; so it seems Strabo ought to be understood in speaking of this place; though this small pavilion, when enclosed, might possibly be called a temple. In a wall near a bridge there is a fine relief, which seemed to be part of a frieze; it was a Cupid, holding on each side a festoon loaded with fruit, which looked like peaches; on one side was a Medusa's head, and there seemed to have been one between every festoon. As to the temple of Jupiter Labrandenus, it was sixty stadia from the city, on the hills towards Alabanda, and there was a paved way to it; this might be on a hill which I saw in the way to Eskihissar; the top of it is encompassed with a ruined wall, and is about that distance from Melassio to the north-east. Opposite to it on the hills, on the other side of the plain, there is a ruined Mahometan town called Paitthin; it is very strong by nature on three sides, being situated on a hanging ground over the plain; there is a castle in it, which was repaired as a defence against Soley Bey, and is naturally very strong. I saw here some steps up the rock like the seats of a theatre, but in a strait line, which together with a marble pillar, much resembling porphyry in the colour, but not so hard, are the only remains of antiquity which I saw there. It may be carrying my conjectures too far, to suppose that Mylasa was in very antient times, either here, or on the opposite hill before mentioned, and so to account for a quotation in Strabo, that Mylasa was situated on a strong hill, at which he seems much to wonder, when the city in his time was in the plain. The present town of Melassio is small and ill built, but there are two very good canes in it; there

there is also a large old mosque that seems to have been a church, and a new one in a very good taste; it is the residence of a sangiac, who is not a pasha, and so has only the title of aga. The country produces the best tobacco in Turkey, except that of Iatichea, and exceeding the tobacco of Salonica; this, together with cotton and wax, is the principal trade of the place. There are about thirty Greek families here, who live together in a kane, and in one house, a room of which serves for their church; the Armenians live in the same manner, who are not fixed here, but come and stay at some seasons on account of merchandize. I was recommended here to the great aga, who received me as civilly as I could expect without a present, which he seemed to look for from the physician at Guzelhissar, who recommended me to him; but he gave me leave to see every thing, and promised me a letter to Paitschin. A Greek priest, to whom I was recommended, was of no service to me, being afraid to send any one to accompany me; so I went every where with my own janizary; the aga's son came sometimes, and talked very civilly to us; and the aga sent a relation of Mahomet with me to Paitschin.

CHAP. IX. — *Of Eskihissar, the antient Stratonicea; of Legena, and Alinda.*

I SET out on the twentieth of February for Eskihissar, and crossed the mountains to the north-east about twelve miles; there are two or three little plains on the hills, and a ruined church, where, they say, there was a Christian village.

Eskihissar is a poor village built on the ruins of Stratonicea, which was inhabited by a colony of Macedonians; both the situation and inscriptions, that mention the temple of Jupiter Chrysaoreus, which was here, prove it to be that city; it is on a level spot between the hills, which opens to a large plain, in which the river China runs. By the ruins of a very grand enclosure to the north-east of the town, and from the inscriptions there, I concluded that the famous temple must have been in that place, though I could not trace out the foundations of it. At the north part of the enclosure, there is a grand gate of a plain architecture; there was a double row of large pillars from it, which probably formed the avenue to the temple; and on each side of the gate there was a semicircular alcove niche, and a colonnade from it, which with a wall on each side of the gate might make a portico, that was of the Corinthian order; fifty paces to the north of the wall there are remains of another colonnade, which seemed also to have made a portico with a wall to the north of it. This temple was in common to all the Carians, where they met to sacrifice and consult about the commonweal, in which the cities had votes in proportion to the number of their villages; and it was called the Chrysaorean meeting. To the south of this, at some distance, are ruins of a building of large hewn stone; it is twenty-five paces wide, and seems to have extended about a hundred paces to the town wall, some part of which is built in the same manner; I conjectured by an inscription on the wall that it might be a temple of Serapis. To the south of this, on the side of a hill, there is a large theatre, the front of which is ruined; there are in all about forty seats, with a gallery round in the middle, and another at top. In this, and many other theatres, I observed the inner half of the breadth of the seats to be cut down about half an inch lower than the outer part; the seats are generally about two feet six inches broad.

The people of this place, though all Mahometans, were very civil and obliging the first evening; and an empty house being allotted me, many of them came and sat with me, brought medals, were very ready to assist me in my design, and to shew me every thing. When I was going to see the theatre, the deputy governor came to me,
and

and told me, that the theatre was on his ground, and asked me what I would present to him to see the antiquities; I gave myself no trouble about his demand, but examined it thoroughly. When I returned to the town, the aga's man came, and told me that the aga was arrived, and desired to see me; when I came to him, he asked me what was my business, which I told him; and that I had a firman or passport; he said, it was the padshaw's or grand signior's firman, and not the pasha's, and therefore he would not regard it; but if I would make certain presents to him and his cadi, I might view what I pleased. I gave him to understand, that by virtue of my firman I could see the antiquities, and that he must answer it, if any harm happened to me there. I left him, and pursued my observations as before. Some people came from the aga, but I shewed no fear, which I knew by experience was the best way. There was an inscription on an old ruined house, which I had a desire to copy, and the possessor of it demanded a sequin for his permission; however, I went in the afternoon, and began to copy it, though the janizary refused to go with me, so that I was accompanied only by my slave; the man that owned the house soon came to me, and, to pacify him, I told him I would pay him when I had done; but not being satisfied, I gave him what he demanded, with which he seemed well pleased; and put his hand to his mouth and forehead, as a mark of gratitude and fidelity. The deputy came soon after, made signs to me to go away, but not regarding him, he began to disturb me; on which I pulled out my firman, and ordered the slave to hold it; he went to take it out of his hand, but when I laid hold of it, and held it fast, he seemed to be very cautious not to tear it, forbore using any violence, and soon after went away. Whilst I was absent the aga came to the house I was lodged in, and talked to the janizary, who informed him that I was gone to a private house, by the permission of the owner, and assured him that I would not go any more abroad. I ordered every thing to be got ready for our departure. The aga sent word that he desired to speak with me; and when I did not go to him, he said he would not permit us to go away, and threatened particularly to detain the janizary. We mounted our horses, and the janizary, contrary to my repeated orders, was for going to him again as we passed by, and left us for that purpose, but thought better of it, and returned to us: we put on pretty fast; the janizary, and guide to whom the horses belonged, frequently looking back in the utmost consternation, lest they should send after us, and injure us some way or other. But the aga could not have stopped us, without bringing himself into trouble, for the guide and horses were of another pashalic, so he could not meddle with them; I was no subject, and the slave was my property; and if he had stopped the janizary, a detachment would have been sent by the janitzer aga at Guzelhissar to have delivered him, and would have levied damages and expences on the village.

We descended from Ekihiissar. Opposite to it, towards the north, on the other side of the vale in which the China runs, there is a village called Aharer; and to the right on another side of the plain, at about a league distance, is the village of Bopeck. They go to market from Ekihiissar to Gulsuk, which is about six hours. Mulla, where the pasha of the country resides, is about fifteen hours from Ekihiissar. We went a league to the north, and afterwards about two leagues to the west, and ascended near a league to a village called Lakena; about a mile from it, on the top of the hill, there is a ruined castle, strongly situated by nature, but it did not seem to be a very ancient place, nor do they find medals in that part. The name, however, would incline one to conjecture that it might be Lagenæ in the territory of Stratonicea. We were here conducted to a house built by a public spirited Turk for the reception of strangers, where he constantly prepares lodgings and provisions for all comers; he

seemed

seemed to be a good man, and was there to receive us; he supped and spent the evening with us; and on our going away the next morning, the twenty-second, he seemed much pleased when I expressed my gratitude, and told him, I should be glad to shew him the same hospitality in England.

We went about two leagues north to the river Paieslu, which runs into the China, and crossed the hills to the west for three leagues, to one of the villages called Ak-thouieh; we went on a league to the west between low rocky hills, by the side of a rivulet, which we passed on a bridge, and saw the remains of an old aqueduct across the river, consisting of one arch; which seems to have conveyed the water from a rivulet that runs from the hills. We came into a very fine plain, and crossed it, travelling northwards two miles to the village of China, which is situated near the east end of the plain, and to the south of the river China. I lodged here in the coffee-house; and when the people knew my business, they informed me of the antiquities of the place, and half the village accompanied me up the hill, laughing and jesting with much good humour; and afterwards many of them came and sat with me in the coffee-house. The top of the hill had been fortified, and I saw there two or three sepulchral grotts; I observed also a cistern built above ground in two oblong square compartments, and cased with brick. As there are so many antiquities, I should rather take this to be Lagenæ, where there was a temple to Hecate, in which there were yearly very considerable meetings; and it is very probable that the old name of the China was Lagenæ, that the town and country had its name from it; and that when Lagenæ is mentioned in the way from Physcus to Tralles, the country is meant and not the town.

From China, we crossed over to the south side of the plain, and came to the ruins of an antient city called Arabihissar, which may be Alinda, the place of residence of Ada, queen of Caria, who had nothing left her by the Persians but this city; and probably her kingdom was confined to this small plain; but this queen going to meet Alexander, gave her city to him, and adopted him for her son, who left the place under her government, and afterwards restored all Caria to her*. The city was on two high hills; from one of them the eastern walls went down to the plain, and were carried on to the north for near half a mile; then turning to the west for a quarter of a mile, passed to the north of a remarkable building, which I shall mention; they then turn to the south, and go to the top of the other hill, from which they come down on the east of it, and join the walls on the first hill. On the south side of this hill there is a theatre, the inside and the front are almost entirely destroyed; there was an arched entrance into it on each side near the front; and I observed that the wall in the front of the theatre was built in a very particular manner. In the plain towards the south side of the city there is a building, the grand front was to the south, and from the plainness of the base, I suppose it was of the Doric order. There are heaps of ruins within on every side, except to the front, as if there had been seats, built after the theatrical manner like steps, which is a reason to conjecture that this place served for some public meeting; there appears to have been a grand colonnade to it from the east, and probably there was another from the west, both running parallel with the front; there are many ruins about this building, which seems to have had an enclosure round it; and between it and the hill are ruins of a strong built church. All these works are of a brown sort of granite, which is not beautiful.

* The supplement to Quintus Curtius, Strabo, xiv. p. 657. and Ptol. v. 2.

From this place we went about a league south-west in the plain, crossed some low hills to the west, and came again to the bridge over the China, which we had passed to Melasso, and returned to Guzelhislar the same way we came; I was here recommended to a Sciote, a physician settled in this city, who assisted me in every thing which lay in his power, and conducted me to the moslem or governor, to whom I had a letter, who treated me with much civility, and offered to send a man with me to Sultanhislar and Nasley.

CHAP. X. — *Of Tralles and Nyfa in Caria.*

I SET out on the twenty-eighth of February from Guzelhislar, and went ten miles eastward to a village called Sultanhislar, near which, on a height at the foot of the mountain, the antient town of Tralles was situated; it was divided into two parts by a stream that runs in a very deep bed. This city is said to have been built by some Thracians and people from Argos; there are appearances in it of very great buildings, especially two in the highest parts of the city; that to the east seems to have been a large temple, and the other a castle to defend the ascent, with some large public building adjoining to it. On the eastern part also there are remains of a grand portico of two rows of pillars round an area, which is about a hundred paces square; and on the east side of the western part is a theatre, built on the side of the hill, and fronting to the south; it is very large, and seems to have had fifty degrees of seats in it; there are arches above it to the west, which probably belonged to some grand building, and further west there are ruins of a suburb, extending a considerable way, where the ground is not so high.

We went the same evening to a town called Naslee by the Greeks, and Nassalee by the Turks, which must have its name from the antient city Nyfa, that was at some distance between the hills to the north. I saw, in the way between Sultanhislar and Naslee, many stones of antient buildings, set up in the Turkish burial places, which may be the remains of the temple of Pluto and Juno, that were at a village called Acharaca, where there was also a grove dedicated to Pluto, and an extraordinary cave called Charonium, the air of which, in some parts, was good for several diseases; though in one spot it was mortal to any animal that breathed it: I could learn nothing concerning this cave, only on my departure I was informed that there is a cave there, which went a great way under ground. I was here recommended to the aga, and to one of the Greek church.

To the north of Naslee the high mountains of Mesogis retire to the north, and form a semicircle, in which there is a ridge of high sandy hills that run from east to west: about half a mile in between these hills are ruins of some antient town, which, I suppose, to be Nyfa or Nyssa, said to have been inhabited by people of Lacedæmonian extraction; there are very little remains of it, except several well-built arches, mostly under ground; it appears that the city was on both sides of a stream, as it is described; on the west side of it there are remains of a building, which seems to have been a temple. On a very high summit of the hill, over the city, there are some walls, which may be Aromata, said to be on the mountain over the city; this place was famous for good wine. The town of Naslee being near, and the hills being so sandy, without any stones for building, seems to be the reason why there is so little to be seen of this city, in which there was a theatre, gymnasium, forum, and senate-house. The village of Mastaura was probably near the city; for there is one now, which is at the entrance in between the hills, called Mastauro, and these ruins, from the village near, are called

Maftaura-Kalefi [The castle of Maftaura]. I met with an infcription, in which mention is made both of a perfon of Maftaura, and alfo of the Nyfeans. Strabo fays, there was a place called Limon, thirty ftadia from Nyfa, going acrofs mount Megofis to the north, where the Nyfeans, and the people of fome neighbouring places had their meetings, that there was a cave near it, which went to that of Acharaca, and that fome thought this place, called Limon, was the meadow Afius, mentioned by Homer. Strabo is very particular concerning thefe parts, having ftudied here under Menecrates. Some fay Saint Gregory Nyffenus, brother of Saint Baſil, was biſhop of this place; I know not on what authority, for the place of which he was biſhop was Nyſſa, probably the city of that name on the weſtern bounds of Cappadocia; and the people of this place writ themſelves Nyſſeans [*Nyſſiens*] and not Nyffenians.

Six miles to the eaſt is a large village, called Iack-Cui, which, poſſibly, might be Bula, another village mentioned by Strabo. The preſent town of Naſlee conſiſts of two parts, half a mile diſtant from each other; that to the north is the place where the market is held, and where they have their ſhops. it being uſual in ſmall places to hold the markets at ſome diſtance from the town or village, probably for the greater ſecurity of their families; and there being two kanes here, and ſome houſes as well as ſhops, it is grown into a ſort of town called Naſlee-Bazar, as the other is called Naſlee-Boiuke [Great Naſlee]; there are three or four hundred Armenians, and about thirty Greeks, who live in the kanes, and are merchants.

CHAP. XI. — *Of Antioch on the Mæander, and Aphrodiſias in Caria.*

I SET out from Naſlee on the ſecond of March, and went about four miles ſouth to the Mæander; the river being neither large nor deep in this part, has only a ſlight wooden bridge over it. About a mile to the ſouth of the Mæander, directly oppoſite to Naſlee, there is a ruined place called Arpas-kaleſi, which probably is either Coicinia or Orthopia, which were great villages on the ſouth ſide of that river; it is walled round, and ſituated on a hill, over a little plain, between the mountains to the ſouth. Turning to the eaſt, we ſtopped at the houſe of the great aga of this country, who was taking the diverſion of lawking; we went to him, and he deſired us to go to his houſe; when he came home, he ordered a man to go with me to Geyra. We went to a village two leagues further to the eaſt; it is at the entrance of a narrow vale that extends ſouthwards between the hills: to the eaſt of this place there is a low hill, which ſtretches from eaſt to weſt, and is called Ianichere, on which there are ruins of the walls of a town, and a great number of arches under ground; I take this place to be Antioch on the river Mæander, which is mentioned as ſouth of the river, and that there was a bridge over it near the city; the territory of which was on both ſides of the river; it was formerly famous for figs, in which the country on the other ſide of the Mæander ſtill abounds, as far as Guzelhiſſar. The rivulet, which runs from the valley to the eaſt, is probably the Orſinus mentioned by Pliny, as waſhing this town. This place is remarkable of late, as it was the ſpot on which the famous rebel Soley Bey Ogle was cut off in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-nine, with four thouſand of his followers, by about forty thouſand ſoldiers of the Grand Signor. Going about eight miles to the ſouth, along this narrow vale, we left to the weſt a town or large village, called Carjeſu, which belongs to the Boſtanjees, and is ſo defended by the deep beds of mountain torrents, that Soley Bey could not make himſelf maſter of it: there are ſome Chriſtians in the town. Turning to the eaſt, and going four miles in a plain, which is about two leagues long from eaſt to weſt, and a league broad, I came

to a village called Geyra, towards the east end of it: this place is situated on the spot of the antient Aphrodisias. The walls are about two miles in compass, of an irregular triangular figure, the east side of the town being very narrow; they seem to have been for the most part destroyed, and rebuilt out of the ruins of the antient fabrics, which appear to have been very magnificent; there are three gates of the city remaining; one to the west, and two to the east. In the middle of the city there is a small hill, in the side of which there was a theatre, now almost entirely ruined; there are remains of an arched entrance to it, about the middle of the north side, and of some arches at each end of it, on which the seats were probably built. The very summit of the hill seems to have been a fortress; for this hill, and some public buildings near, appear to have been enclosed with a very strong wall, cased with small hewn stone, which might be designed for the greater security of their gods, and their treasures. To the north-west of this hill are remains of a building, which I take to have been a temple built to Aphrodisia or Veuus, from which this place might have its name; and I collected from an inscription, that there was some goddess particularly worshipped here. This temple is built something after the manner of that of Ephesus, with large piers of hewn stone, on which, it is probable, arches were turned; and, by the holes in the stones, the building appears to have been cased with marble; it may also be concluded, from some remains near, that this temple was of the Corinthian order. About a furlong to the north-east, there are ruins of another most magnificent temple, which, I conjectured, was dedicated to Bacchus, from an inscription there, mentioning a priest of Bacchus, and from a relief of a tiger, and a vine, which I saw among the ruins: the walls of it are destroyed, and the stones were probably carried away to build the town walls; but there are two magnificent rows of fluted Ionic pillars of white marble, which are almost entire; there are nineteen on each side, four feet in diameter, and about five feet apart, each consisting of five stones; there were five entrances at the west end, three of which are to the middle part between the pillars, and one on each side; from the front there was a colonnade of Corinthian pillars of grey marble, one foot six inches in diameter, but it could not correspond with the magnificence of the lofty temple; there was a door place at each end, about thirty paces from these pillars, with which, it is probable, another colonnade ranged; and some paces further, at the east end, there are two fluted Corinthian pillars of grey marble, two feet in diameter, which support an entablature. It is probable that a row of pillars went all round at this distance; and I have great reason to think, that between these and the temple, there were continued colonnades of Ionic pillars, two feet and a half in diameter, two-thirds of which were fluted; for there are a great many of these pillars standing, particularly to the south. I concluded, that there were above fifty from east to west, and between twenty and thirty from north to south, by supplying such as had fallen down between others that were standing; and on all sides I saw remains of such pillars extending to the theatre and the other temple, all which were, probably, covered, and made spacious shady walks for the great number of people that resorted to this place to their public games, as it appears they did by some inscriptions there; and when it was all entire, it must have made a most magnificent appearance. The middle part of this temple had been converted into a church, there being a semicircular wall at the east end, built in a different manner from the rest. On the north side of the temple of Bacchus there is an altar of grey marble, like that at Ephesus, resembling a large basin with a hole through it in the middle, cut exactly in the same manner as that in the pavilion before mentioned, near Melassô. A furlong to the north-west there is a Circus, which is semicircular at both ends; it is entire within, had an entrance at each end, and consisted of twenty-five

degrees of seats: the city wall is built against it, in which there are some very fine capitals of that sort of Corinthian order which was used in Caria. Towards the east end of the Circus there is a semicircular wall, very ill built, like that of Ephesus, which makes a circle with the east end; which confirms the conjecture that it was not originally in the Circus; possibly the Christians might make such an inclosure, and use it for a church. In the walls of the city, towards the south-west corner, there are some very fine reliefs, which seem to have been part of a frieze; they are mostly Cupids or winged persons, encountering the giants with spears, bows and arrows; the latter are represented below with two serpents instead of feet, turning up like the tails of tritons; at one end, Jupiter, in a small figure, has one under his feet, and is levelling his thunder at another; a person near is drawing a bow at them, and there is a trophy near Jupiter. There are a great number of marble coffins in this place, some of which are fluted, others have figures of persons round them in mezzo relievo, with pilasters on each side; and there are inscriptions on some; two of them, which are in the best taste, and are set in the wall near the top, have on one side two festoons of very excellent workmanship; in one they are supported in the middle by a naked person; in another by a body wrapped up like an Egyptian mummy. I found an inscription here, which calls Antioch a colony; and another makes mention of the Parasentes, as united with the Aphrodisians, though I cannot find any such people spoken of by antient authors. The village is a poor place; the Turks here make a very strong, well flavoured white wine, and drink of it very plentifully. These vines may be of the race of those which they had here when they were worshippers of Bacchus. It is probable they formerly had some staple commodity here, and that they bestowed great expences on their public games, in order to make people resort to a place which was so much out of the way; for I found by a curious inscription, that great number of cities, even as far as the Euphrates, were partakers of their sports; and in another there is a sort of table of the fees or salaries due to the several officers who were employed about the games.

At Gera I went to the house of the aga, a venerable old man, who was one of those public spirited Turks that entertains all strangers. I went out every day to see the antiquities, and in the evening the inhabitants of the village came and sat with us; they were a very squalid poor tribe of people, among whom I should not have thought myself safe if I had not had a letter from the great aga. I set out on the seventh on my return to Naslee; the first night I was generously entertained by a Turk, at a village called Chislic, and arrived the next day at Naslee.

CHAP. XII. — *Of Laodicea on the Lycus.*

WE set out from Naslee on the ninth of March, and went eastward near the Mæander. About sixteen miles from Naslee the hills on both sides come near the river, and opening again gradually, about three leagues farther there are several sources of hot water rising on the south side of the river, and in the very bed of it, which exactly answers to the description of Carura, a village on the bounds of Phrygia and Caria, which was formerly full of inns, for the convenience of travellers, and of those who frequented the waters, which are only bathed in, and not used for drinking. This place, as well as the country about it, was, and is still, much subject to earthquakes. Strabo observes, that a whole company of people that lodged here were swallowed up by an earthquake, in the night. Opposite to it, on the side of the hill, is another hot water, from which a smoke or steam arises as from the others; the hills are of a red colour,

colour, so that, probably, they contain some iron ore. Two leagues further the river first begins to run near the southern mountains, and so continues till it falls into the sea; we crossed it in this place on a wooden bridge, the hills open, and make a large plain four leagues wide every way, in which the river Lycus falls into the Mæander. Towards the south-east part of this plain is a town, called Denizley, situated on a low hill; the old town was destroyed about twenty-five years past by an earthquake, in which twelve thousand people perished; the town extended also to another rising ground south of it. After the earthquake the people began to live at their gardens and farms, and there are only very mean shops in the town, which are built of unburnt brick and boards. There are about forty Armenians here, who live mostly in a kane together; there are also several Greeks. The country near the town is much cultivated with vineyards, they make raisins of the grapes, and a sort of syrup like treacle, which they call Becmefs, and it serves on all occasions instead of sugar. There was a temple of the month Carus, between Laodicea and Carura, and a famous school for the study of physic, which might be at this place, where I saw some stones which had marks on them of the ancient workmanship. To the south and east of Denizley there are very high mountains, covered with snow, called Dag-Baba [The father of mountains]; they run eastward from the neighbourhood of Geyra, and, turning to the north, bound part of the east end of this plain; they then extend again towards the east, and from that corner a chain of low hills runs to the west, and joins other hills, which extend to the high mountains further to the west than Denizley; among these low hills, a league directly south of Denizley, is Eskihissâr, the old Laodicea on the Lycus, one of the seven churches, which is frequently mentioned in the Revelations, and by St. Paul in his epistle to the Colossians, whose city was near unto it. These high mountains are the ancient mount Cadmus, and where they begin to bound this plain to the south the hills end, which had run all along from the sea to the south of the Mæander, and, I suppose, were all comprehended under the name of mount Latmus. The ruins of Laodicea are on a low hill, about half a mile long, and a quarter of a mile broad; to the south of it there is a narrow vale, which is to the north of the plain and the Lycus, that runs in a deep narrow bed, about half a mile from the town. The city was distinguished by the name of this river, from others of the same name, by the title of Laodicea on the Lycus. To the east there is a small rivulet, that may be the Afopus, which is said to fall into the Lycus at this place: to the west there is another small stream, which is, probably, the Cæprus; for Pliny says, that it was washed by these two rivers; the latter appears to have been a considerable stream from four large piers of a bridge, built of hewn stone, which are now to the east of the river; so that, probably, its course has been diverted another way by earthquakes. The top of the hill, on which Laodicea stood, is somewhat uneven, entirely uninhabited, and appears like a green field, except where there are remains of ancient buildings. It was at first an inconsiderable city, and began to flourish after the time of the Roman conquests in these parts; and notwithstanding its miserable desolation, there are remains in it of very great buildings.

The eastern part of the hill is lower than the rest, and towards the north-east corner there appears to have been an entrance up to the city, and a gate; for there are ruins of a building on each side of the way, which seems to have been a tower to defend the entrance; and, in order to strengthen the place on this side, a second wall was built across: at the west end there seems to have been another entrance between two heights: the north-west corner is the highest part of the hill, and there are foundations of walls, which, probably, were those of a fortress, as it is the strongest situation in the whole city. Further east, between this building and the theatre, I suppose, there was another entrance

entrance, as there was on the opposite side to the south, a little more to the west than the Circus, where there is now a road across the hill. There are remains of three buildings along the middle of the hill, two of them appear like temples, built with large piers, on which arches were turned; the whole was cased with marble; and part of one of the piers is still covered with white marble; in the eastern building I saw an Ionic entablature; the other, which is to the west of them, was an oblong square building, which for the most part seems to have been open, and had a colonnade on each side, there being great remains of an entablature, and no signs of a wall, except at each end; it is fifty feet wide, and a hundred and eighty paces long. The Circus is on the south side of the town, and appears as if it was hollowed down into the hill; it is not much ruined; the area within is three hundred paces long, and ninety feet wide: there are twenty-three seats remaining, and the ground, probably, has covered two more, the usual number being twenty-five: there was an arched entrance at each end, eleven feet wide. Towards the east end of the Circus are remains of a very grand building, with doors from it, leading to the galleries round the top of the Circus, I saw in it two pillars, about a foot and a half in diameter, which appeared to me to be of oriental jasper-agate, and if so, must be of great value. There was an enclosed area to the north of it; on a lower ground, to the west of this building, there are remains of a colonnade leading to it. North of this are the ruins of a building like a theatre, which, from the dimensions, I take to be an odeum, or music theatre. I could see but eight degrees of seats, though I have reason to think there were twenty; the diameter between the seats was but seventy-seven feet and a half, and the space which the seats took up on each side was thirty feet; so that the whole diameter was a hundred and thirty-seven feet six inches: there were three entrances in the front, that in the middle was twenty feet wide, and the other two twelve, and were divided by two piers about six feet high, on which there were two Corinthian pilasters on every side; there is a relief of a head, in the middle of the capital, instead of the rose; I should conjecture, that a couplet of pillars was erected on each of them, as well as on two others, on the sides of the narrow entrances; they were probably of the Composite order; for I saw near this place a Composite capital, finely wrought, representing a vase covered with leaves, and fruit round at the top of it like peaches, instead of eggs and darts. From the carvings which I saw about the building, it appears to have been adorned in the highest manner.

On the north side of the hill there is a theatre, fronting westward to the street that led into the city; there are no remains of the front of it, and the seats are broke down at both ends; the other parts are not much ruined, being built up the hill; the diameter of it within the seats is sixty-seven feet; there were about forty-three degrees of seats, and eleven descents down from the top, which are two feet wide, and the uppermost are about fifty-five feet apart; those descents are made by dividing each seat into two steps. To the east of this is a very grand theatre, the seats being about three quarters of a circle; it seems to have served for the uses of an amphitheatre, and so, probably, did most of the theatres in the east; for I do not remember ever to have seen in these parts what is properly called an amphitheatre, that is, an entire oval, or round building. This theatre is every way cut out of the hill, except the part to the front, which opens to the north; the area within the seats was about a hundred and ten feet in diameter; there were fifty degrees of seats above the podium, or gallery at the bottom, which is fifteen broad, and is now only four feet above the ground; there are seventeen descents, like those in the other theatre. There seems to have been much art bestowed on the front, which was of the Corinthian order used in Caria;

there was a descent down from it of above twenty feet ; and, as well as I could judge, the steps made a circle with the seats of the theatre, to which I imagine they might join ; for the entrance being eight feet wide, the wall, thirty-five feet on each side of it, is built like a pedestal, and makes a segment of a circle, the die of which pedestal or basement was richly adorned with reliefs ; from this there extended, on each side, in a straight line, a colonnade of square pillars, nine in number, covered with semicircular pilasters, being about two feet thick, and five feet two inches apart ; this seems to have been a grand portico on each side of the entrance : before the front there lies a statue of a woman ten feet long ; the drapery of it is very fine ; the garments, being long, almost covered the feet ; and three feet below the neck the vest hangs over, as if tied about the loins ; and six inches lower the garment hangs over again in the same manner ; the whole is beautifully executed ; the head seems to have been of another piece, there being a socket for it to go in, and, probably, it was of a more costly material. At the south-west corner of the city there are some small ruins of a church, in which are fragments of a pillar or two of dark grey marble, of the Cipolino kind. Below the church, to the south, are remains of many stone coffins, where, it is to be supposed, they deposited their dead.

There being no water on this hill, the city was supplied by an aqueduct, which run along the side of the hills from the south, and conveyed the water from some streams which come from mount Cadmus ; it was carried through a valley on some arches, which are now ruined, and crossing a hill, partly on the ground, and partly on arches, it was carried through the vale, and up the hill on which the city stands. The water runs in a channel two feet in diameter, bored through stones, which are about three feet square, being let into one another, and the reservoir of water seems to have been at the end of the grand building over the Circus ; for a wall remains there, which is incrustated with petrifications from the droppings of the water. Strabo says, he was informed, that the waters of Laodicea were of the nature of those of Hierapolis in making these petrifications, which is also seen in the arches and pipes ; the latter have an incrustation on the inside, three or four inches thick, and the arches are loaded with this rock-work. Strabo also takes notice, that the sheep about Laodicea are exceedingly black, which is very true, three parts of them being black in all the country from Naslee to this place, and some of them are black and white like the Ethiopian sheep.

CHAP. XIII. — *Of Hierapolis in Great Phrygia.*

OPPOSITE to Laodicea, about a league to the north of the river Lycus, are the remains of Hierapolis, mentioned by Saint Paul, in his epistle to the Colossians, which had its name from the great number of temples that were antiently in the city ; it is now called Pambouk-Kalefi [The Cotton Castle] : it is situated on a flat spot on the foot of a mountain, the walls of it extending up the side of the hill, and is about a mile and a half in circumference. This city is placed by Ptolemy in Great Phrygia, though Strabo speaks of it under Lydia, among those cities which were of a mixed race. Philadelphia, now called Allacshahar, which is about thirty miles to the north, was in Lydia. Tripolis, which was between Hierapolis and Philadelphia, is placed by Ptolemy in Caria ; and on a medal published by Spanheim, it is called Tripolis on the Mæander ; so that, probably, it was on the north side of this river, where it runs between the hills ; and as Laodicea, on the south side of the Lycus, is in Caria, and Hierapolis in Phrygia, it is probable that the country between the Lycus and Mæander

was in Great Phrygia. Tripolis is put down in the Tables as twelve miles from Hierapolis, in the road to Philadelphia; and, I suppose, it was at Oltraven, which is about that distance, where, I was informed, there are some ruins. Tripolis was no inconsiderable place; for there are several medals of it found in these parts. Between Hierapolis and Philadelphia was the country called Catakekaumenè, reckoned to be a part of Mysia, or Mæonia; it was a sandy burnt soil, producing only vines; it is supposed to have suffered by volcanos, and was computed to be sixty-two miles long and fifty broad.

At a small distance to the east of the walls of Hierapolis there is a deep bed of a winter torrent, over which there are ruins of a bridge built on the rock, which seems to have served for an aqueduct, and to have consisted of two arches, one over another, twenty-five feet wide. At the ascent between this and the town there are some stone coffins and sepulchral buildings; most of the latter are small, having a door at the end, and a pediment in front; so that they appear like little temples; within them, about half way up, are stone benches to lay the bodies on, which were also deposited under them; one of the sepulchral monuments, which is more grand than the rest, consists of a wall built to a rising ground, and adorned with five pilasters, supporting a grand entablature; on the other side the ground is as high as the entablature, on which there is a Greek inscription; two of the spaces between the pilasters, half way from the top, are cut in holes in figures of lozenges and half lozenges, like windows, though there does not appear to be any apartments within, nor is there any visible entrance.

At some distance from the west side of the town there are a great number of sepulchral buildings, and stone coffins, extending for half a mile. A hundred and sixty paces from the west gate of the city there is a colonnade of pillars, two feet square, on which there are semicircular pilasters; it extends a hundred and fifty paces, and leads to a building which is in a bad taste, and I suppose to be a triumphal arch, from an inscription over it, in honour of some emperor; it consists of three arches, and a round tower on each side of it. To the north and south there are two or three small buildings, and several others in a line from them towards the east; they extend about a hundred paces to the remains of a very magnificent church, to which there is no entrance on that side. I conjecture that these buildings are also sepulchral. The church is built with large piers, on which there are arches turned, as in the antient temples; and from this building the sepulchres extend westward; some of them are built like those already described; others like large square pedestals; and the tops of several of them are covered with stone coffins, of which likewise there are a great number. I saw also two or three circular inclosures, with an oblong square room built under ground, like those near Smvrna, and covered over only with three long stones; and so are many of the other buildings; some being worked like an arch, others like a roof, ending in an angle at top; on many of these there are inscriptions, but being built of a freestone, they are for the most part defaced. There are also ruins of another magnificent church to the east of the hot waters.

On the side of the hill which is to the north of the city, there is a very beautiful theatre, which fronts to the south, and is the most perfect I have seen; for though the front of it is a little ruined, yet so much remains, that one may judge in what manner it was built; it had thirteen arched entrances, five of which opened to the front of the area, and four on each side in the semicircle. There is a gallery round the theatre, above which there are twenty-five seats, and I suppose that there were as many below it; though the ground is so much risen, that there are but few to be seen at present: the

the theatre is not entirely hollowed into the hill; and there are two entrances from the gallery on each side near the front to the arches on which the seats are built, and from one of them on each side, there is a descent down to one of the doors in the front; and there are seven descents down the seats from the top, as described in some other theatres; the door frames within, which are of white marble, are beautifully carved, and there are fragments of fine reliefs cut on white marble, in which combats are represented, which confirms the conjecture, that the theatres served for such diversions as well as for acting.

The warm waters here are the greatest natural curiosities in Asia; they rise to the south of the theatre in a deep basin, and are very clear; they are only tepid, have the taste of the Pyrmont waters, but are not so strong, and must have in them a great quantity of sulphur; they do not drink them, though I could not perceive either salt or vitriol in the taste of them to make them unwholesome. The springs flow so plentifully that they make a considerable stream; it is observed by the ancients, that these waters were excellent for dying, and that the roots of the trees at this place gave a tincture equal to the scarlet and purple, and now there are shrubs growing about the hill, the roots of which are incruited with a petrification of these waters, which might be used in dying. The water now runs in channels about three feet wide, which are incruited on each side to the thickness of about half a foot. The side of the hill, where the water runs, is covered with a white incrustation, and the channels which conveyed it through the city into the plain are entirely filled up, as well as the arches of the aqueduct, all appearing like the solid rock; and I observed, towards the brow of the hill, some hollow parts, where the rain water has settled, round which there are partitions of a white sulphureous incrustation, probably occasioned by the motion of the water in windy weather; and in some parts there are little heaps, which appear like white salt, but are solid stone. In one part, where the water runs down the hill, it forms a most beautiful hanging petrification like rock work; the side of the hills below appearing as white as snow; and possibly they might call this place Pambouk-Kalefi [The cotton castle], from the resemblance of its whiteness to that of cotton. There are ruins of walls, and a colonnade round the basin of water, and remains of porticos, and other buildings about it: and to the north of the water there is an oblong square building, which seems to have had an open colonnade to the basin; it is built in a very particular manner, as if it was designed for the reception of statues, and is, without doubt, the temple of Apollo mentioned by Photius, as built near the lake or basin. To the south of the waters there are great remains of most magnificent baths, consisting of a large court, with a portico of square pillars at each end; these pillars, and some others which I saw, are very curious; they resemble the Jallo Antico, or that of Siena, and seem to be a natural composition of pieces of marble, and of this yellow petrification; this mixture may be accidental, or might have been made by putting marble in places where this water run, in order to be inclosed by this curious petrification. The rooms for the baths to the south of this area are very spacious, and covered with arches. Another great curiosity here was what they called Plutonium, a cave, out of which a vapour exhaled, that was mortal to animals, like that at Pierrmount, and, I suppose, for the same reason, the waters here being of the same nature. They promised to shew me this place, but brought me to a deep hole full of water near the basin, which was more strongly impregnated with the mineral; but it had no manner of effect on a bird which I put on the water. They say the water is exceedingly deep, and that formerly it was noxious. If it agreed with the situation described by Strabo, I should have thought that this was the cavern, and that it had been filled with water, by a spring

breaking into it; but as he describes it under the brow of the hill, in a square inclosure of about half an acre, it might be a place to the south-west of the baths, where, below the brow of the hill, there is a high wall, which runs from the hill to the south, and then turns to the west, the water having been diverted to it, probably, on purpose to cement the building, which looks like the natural rock, though, when I was on the spot, as this did not occur to me, so I did not examine into the truth of it; and if it was here, it is probable the hole is either filled up, or that such a vapour does not at present proceed from it, as it is a thing that is not known.

I went from Denizley to see Laodicea and Pambouk, having taken up my quarters there in one of the most private coffee houses. The officer here came to demand the harach, or yearly tax upon Christians, on which I produced my firman, which, according to custom, was carried to the cadî, who said, if I would pay him a sum, amounting to about as much as the harach, I should not be obliged to pay that tax, and, on my refusal, he gave orders that I should not be furnished with horses to go on; upon this I applied to the aga, who did me justice, and was so generous as not to accept of a present which I sent to him as a mark of my gratitude.

CHAP. XIV. — *Of Celeffè, Apamea, Cibotus, and Synnada, in Great Phrygia.*

FROM Denizley we continued on our journey to the north-east, and went by a large stream called Sultan Emir, which I take to be the river Cadmus; it runs near that corner of the mountains, from which the hills of Laodicea begin, and falls into the Lycus, about a league to the east of that city. At the bridge, where we passed over the Lycus, there is an antient well-built kane, called Accan; it is of white marble, and was, doubtless, built out of some antient ruin. I saw a head of a statue in the walls, a relief of Medusa's head, and another stone with a relief on it of two dragons. Mount Cadmus turns here to the east, and runs so far about six miles; at the northern foot of it there is a rock with a castle on it, which, with a village below it, has the name of Konous. This was the strong hold of Soley Bey, where he generally resided, and had eleven cannon for his defence: it is thought to be Colossè, mentioned as near Laodicea; to the inhabitants of which city Saint Paul's epistle to the Colossians is addressed. All over the plain there are small channels made for the water to pass, which are now dry, but they are incrusted like those of Pambouk; they are on a high ground over the vale, which extends to the hills; this high ground, in one place, makes a semicircle over the valley, and the bed of a river, which runs in it; across this spot there is a row of stones set up an end for about half a mile, which could not be for defence, for there are no ruins of a wall; but finding to the north of them graves made in the ground, with stones like these set up an end at them, and some little pillars crowned with pyramids, I conjectured that such tombs were likewise under these, which might be made in a line in this regular manner. To the south of these and of the rivulet there is a high square piece of ground, which seems to have been regularly laid out for a fortification, the banks all round being like a hanging ground; and there is an ascent to it on the north side, over which there is a raised work; it is a plain spot, on which there are no ruins, and the people speak of it as an unfinished fortress; which, if Colossè was near, might be designed for a place of defence; though I could not be informed of any other ruins here.

A little further the hills run for about two leagues to the north, and then turning east again, they are the southern bounds of a fine vale about a league wide, and four leagues long, in which, possibly, the town Themisonium might be situated. On the

South side of the above-mentioned hills there are waters like those at Hierapolis, rising on the side of the hill, and running down in the same manner; they incrust it with a white petrification; and on the opposite side there are other hot waters. We came to the foot of the high hills to the north of this vale, where there was an encampment of Turcomen, who breed camels and other cattle; they spoke kindly to us, but we were sensible that we were in great danger from them: when we ascended the woody mountains, the janizary looked pale, and owned he never was in so great a terror; for these Turcomen, when they attack people, shoot from the woods, and travellers are wounded or murdered without seeing any enemy. We crossed over the high hills to the north-east, and came to a village, where we were conducted to an uninhabited house, and two green heads soon brought us a hot supper, and I treated the village with coffee. On the fifteenth we went on in this small plain, which leads to the north-west into the great plains of the Mæander, which are from two to three leagues wide, and above twenty miles long; the Mæander runs along on the west side of them for about twelve miles, and goes in between the hills, going, as I suppose, about south-west, and comes into the plains of Laodicea; and, it is probable, that between these hills were the ruins of Tripolis, as well as that lake, which Strabo mentions between Laodicea and Apamea. The Mæander runs to the west, at the distance of eight miles from the north end of the plain, turning south when it comes near the west side of it; it before runs through a plain joined by this, which extends to the east; that plain is about two leagues wide, and four long; at the east end of it there is a high hill, and a village called Dinglar, where the Mæander rises, and, as they say, falls down a hill from a lake at the top of it, where, as I was informed, there are some ruins, but could not have the opportunity of a caravan to that place, having travelled so far in safety without company. Strabo says, the Mæander rises from a hill of the Celæni, where, according to Livy, there was a strong fort. Metropolis seems to have been between this place and Apamea. Going over the Mæander, where it crosses the large plain, we lay at a village on the north side of it, and having travelled eight miles, came to a town called Ishecleh, under the hills which are at the north end of the plain, and, according to Pliny, had the name of Signia. This place is situated at the rise of a river, which must be the ancient river Marfyas, now called Ochiese, and consequently this must be Apamea Cibotus. A more delightful scene cannot be imagined than the rise of this river, which flows out of the foot of the mountain in eight or nine streams, some of which are large; the water is very clear, and all the streams soon unite, and run through the plain into the Mæander. The place is so pleasant, that the poets say, the nymphs, taken with the beauty of it, settled on the rock over the rise of this river. Here also, they fix the famous contention in the art of music between Apollo and Marfyas. These fables Strabo seems to place at the rise of the Mæander; and Quintus Curtius also describes the rise of the Mæander, and applies it to the Marfyas, in saying that it rises from the top of the hill, and falls down the rocks with a great noise. On the whole, it is probable Celæne was here on the hill, and Apamea on the plain, and being a place of great trade, the suburbs of it might extend near as far as the Mæander; and some authors might choose to distinguish it as being on the Mæander, which was a noted river; and when that river is said to rise at Celæne, it must be understood of the mountain of that name, though Strabo seems to place the town Celæne at the rise of it, which, by a small correction, may be understood, that Celæne was somewhere on that mountain. There are many difficulties in relation to the account which different authors give of the rise of these rivers, and of the towns about them; the greatest is to reconcile the account they give of them as rising from the same sources,

as they seemed to be fourteen miles apart; but Maximus Tyrius, who was on the spot, seems to reconcile them; for he says, that they rise from the same fountains, which, by others, are called a lake over the head of the Mæander; so that we are to suppose, that the Mæander rises at the lake, and that another stream is lost under the hills, and afterwards comes out here at the foot of them. There are many pieces of pillars and wrought stones here, and some few inscriptions; but most of them are imperfect. At the south side of the town there are foundations of some large buildings, where they lately dug out a stone, on which there is an inscription that mentions the council and people. Over the town is a very high steep hill, on which are some little remains of the antient fortrefs, which was so strong by nature, that the people of the town going to it for refuge, Alexander the Great could not take it; and the people agreeing to surrender, if Darius did not come to their succour in sixty days, Alexander thought proper to wait so long to have it on those terms: it was a satisfaction to buy at this place the medals of that great man, though I had them before, supposing they might be left here by his army. The second name of this city seems to have been Cibotus; and Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, founded Apamea, and brought the inhabitants of Celæne to it, which, probably, was on the hill over the present town; and he called the new town Apamea from his mother; which, to distinguish it from other cities of that name, had the name of Apamea Cibotus. Possibly the passage of Strabo may be corrupted, which mentions Apamea at the mouth of the Marfyas, which should have been said to be at the rise of it, because he says immediately after, the Marfyas rises at the city, runs through it and the suburbs, and falls into the Mæander; and Curtius says, that, after it has passed the city, it was called the Lycus. This place has often been destroyed by earthquakes, and I felt one there which continued a considerable time. Strabo supposes that they were antiently worshippers of Neptune, and had their name from his son Cælanus by Celæna. This river produces great plenty of large cray fish and fine carp of an extraordinary size, both which are sold at such low prices, that the common people eat them as the cheapest food: there are no Christians in the town, except a few Armenians, and two or three Greeks who come with their goods, and lodge in the kanes. I saw here some fragments of pillars of Cipollino marble, being of a most beautiful pale green, with a variety of shades; I had seen of the same sort at Alexandria in Egypt, and it is probable the quarry is in this country.

Soley Bey was so absolute a master of Ishecleh that he put an aga into it. I thought it proper to make a small present to the governor, and the people were very civil. An eifendi of the law came and sat with me, and was very inquisitive about the age of these antiquities. Another Turk came and informed me where all the antiquities were, and one of them sent to me to copy an inscription that was in his house; and I made this observation in general, that the Turks are commonly a better people where they are at a distance from the sea, being much exasperated on the sea-coasts by the treatment of the corsairs.

The plain between Ishecleh and the rise of the Mæander is bounded to the north and south by high hills; in this plain there is a river that falls into the Mæander, called Bouarbasha, which, probably, is the river Orgas, that is said to have fallen into the Mæander above the Marfyas; and Apollonias Metropolis might be about that place, as Sanaos probably was towards the south end of the great plain we came through, where I saw many stones of antient buildings in the Mahometan burial places. I make this conjecture from the order in which Strabo mentions the places to the south of the Mæander, going from west to east. Ishecleh is about fifty miles from Satalia in Pamphilia, the old Attalia,

To the east of the rise of the Mæander is that part of great Phrygia, called Phrygia Parorius from the mountains of that name, which run across it from east to west; on the north side of them was Philomelium, which I take to have been at Sparta; on the south was Antioch of Pisidia, which probably was at Bourdour, where there are great ruins; it is twelve miles from Sparta in the way to Satalia, these being about eighteen miles apart; these places are on the borders of Lycaonia and Isuria.

On the twentieth we set out with the caravan from Ishecleh, crossed over the mountains to the north, and came into a large plain; towards the north-east corner of it is Sandacleh; this plain opens into another to the south-east, which seems to extend a great way, and which I take to be the north part of Phrygia Parorius. I conjecture that Synnada might be situated in this plain of Sandacleh, though it is rather too large for that which Strabo describes, as only sixty stadia, or eight miles probably in length. There are not the least marks of any antiquities at Sandacleh, except on a hill to the west of the town, where there are ruins of an old castle, on which there is a Turkish inscription, and probably it is a building of the middle ages. A league before we came to this town we passed by springs of hot waters, and three baths built at them; there are here some little ruins of buildings; but I think not considerable enough for such a city as Synnada must have been, where the Roman conventus was held. The hot waters before mentioned have a strong chalybeate taste, seem to be very good, and are greedily drunk by the people of the caravan who pass by; Synnada was famous for a quarry of alabaster*, and I saw in these parts some few pieces of the whitest kind. We stayed that night at Sandacleh, and on the twenty-first crossed over the mountains into a small plain that would better agree with the description of that in which Synnada stood; but I could not be informed of any antiquities about it. It was very cold frosty weather, and we ascended with great difficulty some low mountains covered with snow, being obliged to walk great part of the day; and not having water with us, I was so exceedingly thirsty that I drank of the snow water wherever I could find it, which, without any other effect, in about three days, as I imagined, caused my arms to break out in blisters in several parts, something in the manner of St. Anthony's fire. We came much fatigued to a village, where they very officiously supplied us with fuel, and provided a plentiful supper, without expecting any return. On the twenty-second we descended the hills for two hours into a large plain, extending beyond view to the east, and at the foot of them came to Carahissar, towards the south-west corner of the plain.

Of Carahissar, the ancient Prynnesia; and some other places in Great Phrygia.

CARAHISSAR is distinguished among the Turks by the name of Aphium Carahissar, on account of the great quantities of aphium or opium which is made here. I had great satisfaction in finding by an inscription that Carahissar is the ancient Prynnesia of Ptolemy, because it is of great use in making conjectures as to the situation of other places mentioned by that author. This city is commonly said to be half way between Smyrna and Angora, being seven days journey from each, though it is computed to be a hundred and forty miles from Smyrna, and only a hundred and four from Angora; it is situated at the foot of the mountains round a very high rock, about half a mile in circumference, on the top of which they have built a fortress; the rock is a sort of battard brown granite; it is of a black hue, from which the town is called

* White marble spotted with red. See Pliny. The alabaster was probably Italicum.

Carahissar [the black castle]; it is so very steep that it would be impregnable if supplied with provisions and water, and it seems to be half a quarter of a mile in perpendicular height. The town is near three miles in circumference, and it is a great thoroughfare, has much trade, and good shops provided with all sorts of things, being in a plentiful country, and many caravans pass through it. It is the residence of a pasha. There are in the city ten mosques; one of them is a noble building, with a portico before it; the whole being covered with domes. There are neither Greeks nor Jews in the city, but about fifty Armenian families, besides several merchants and tradesmen, who stay here part of the year, as they do in other towns, living in kanes; they have two churches, and of late they have had a bishop, whom they call metropolitan. In the country between this and Smyrna, they make most of the Turkey carpets, particularly the largest at Oushak, three days journey from Carahissar, and at Goula two days journey further, and about a place called Goirdas, twenty miles to the south west of Goula, and towards Akissar, the old Thyatira; but further east they make mostly that sort, which are called Turkomen carpets, without nap, and in broad stripes and figures.

At this place they came to demand of me the tax which is imposed on Christians; and my firman or passport was carried to the judge, who had the high title of mulla, in order to convince him that I was a Frank; he told them that they could take no harach or tax of me, but very coolly laid my firman by him, and said, I must pay him a certain sum, and then he would return it to me. I refused to present what he requested, and sent him word that if he would not return my firman I would complain to the pasha; to which he replied, I must make the pasha a present of a greater value than what he demanded. I accordingly dispatched the janizary to the pasha, who sent one of his servants to desire the mulla to let him see the firman, and the pasha gave it to my janizary. I afterwards, out of gratitude, presented his caia with coffee, and the pasha with some sweetmeats I happened to have by me for such an occasion. Whilst I was at Carahissar, a young Bohemian made a slave at Belgrade came to me, who had turned Mahometan on his master promising him a wife.

Achshaher or Oxshaher, is situated about thirty miles east north east of Carahissar; there are some ruins at that place, which I take to have been Eumenia, and that this plain is the country of Eumenia mentioned in Great Phrygia*. We

* As the road from Aleppo to Constantinople passes through this country, I shall give some account of that road, which I received from a friend who travelled twice that way, as it will give an opportunity of explaining many things relating to the geography of Asia Minor. He went from Aleppo twenty miles to a hamlet called Cassine, where there are several Greek inscriptions; thirteen miles further is Teseen, and thirty-three miles beyond that is Antioch, from which it is twenty-seven miles to Baylane, and twenty-four further to Baias, though the last computation seems to be rather too great; it is seven miles to Curteula, and thirty-three further to Adana, most of which places have been mentioned before. From Adana there is a pleasant road over small hills, and through fine valleys on the banks of a river, which, I suppose, is the Cydnus. Twenty-two miles from Adana there is a ruined kane called Chockel; from this place the road begins to ascend mount Taurus, called by the Turks Hagem-Dagli. The way is very rocky, and there are several narrow passages in it; over one of them there is a fortress called Dulack or Daverent, conjectured to be Fort Davara, mentioned by Tacitus; it is about a mile from Ramadan-Ogli, which is twenty-seven miles from Chockel; the air of Adana being very bad, the people of that city remove to this place, and live here in the months of June, July, and August; they dwell in huts built of mud and stone, covered with boughs. The road continues through the narrow vales between mount Taurus, and leads to a river called Carasu [the black water], supposed to be the Cydnus: here it is conjectured Cyrus had his camp, mentioned by Xenophon; the road crosses the river, and leads to a large village called Olusia, twenty-four miles from Ramadan Ogii. This place is remarkable for nothing but a breed of large mastiff dogs, which the people take out with them to destroy the boars and other wild beasts. The road is mostly over hills, almost as far as Eraglia, which is in a large fruitful plain, and seems to be part of Lyeaonia; this town is

We set out on the twenty-fifth with the caravan, which was going from Smyrna to Angora, and had frost and snow, and a very severe wind. We crossed the plain about two leagues to the north-east, passing over a large stream, which possibly may fall into the Halys, and so into the Euxine sea. We went over some low hills, and among them came to a ruined village, where there are many sepulchral grots, and some signs of antient buildings; among them I saw a fine capital of the Ionic order. We lay at a village in a large kane built like a barn, about eighteen miles from Carahissar. On the twenty-sixth we came into a small plain, and going between other hills to the north-east, we crossed another plain about a league over, in the middle of which there is a tower, well built of brick and stone, there being one tier of hewn stone, and five of brick alternately; it seems to be a building of the time of the first eastern emperors;

on a river, which I suppose falls into the Halys, being to the north of mount Taurus; it is twenty-four miles from Olusia. The soil of the plain is salt, and there is a very salt lake towards Carabonar [the black river], which is thirty-three miles further; it is a barren sandy plain, in which the road continues twenty-four miles to Iffrit, and thirty-three to Cognia, the antient Iconium, which is about three miles from a part of mount Taurus, called Gaur-Dagli. Cognia is situated on the small river Mariam, which is lost in the gardens, and does not extend as far as Curchumbahr, supposed to be Palus Trogilus; it is about eight miles to the north-east of the city, and is dry in summer. This city is large and ill built; there are a great number of Greek and Latin inscriptions in the walls. From Cognia, the road is through the same kind of country ten miles to a ruined place, where there is an imperfect Greek inscription, and twelve miles further to another ruined place called Cursunnu, where there are some Greek inscriptions, and the head of a colossal statue, of a black stone, about two feet in length. A mile further is Latic, conjectured to be Laodicea Combusta, where there are a great number of Greek inscriptions; passing by a town called Arcut, thirty-three miles further, there is a large town called Ulgun; beyond it is a considerable stream, which pours down from the mountain, and soon afterwards makes a lake twenty miles in circumference, called Chiaur-Ghiol, and was conjectured to be the lake Caralitis of the antients. The road afterwards is through plains, and over small eminences, for thirty-three miles to Oxshahar or Achshahar, which I suppose, may be Eumenia in Great Phrygia. A river runs through the middle of it, which is probably that which I passed to the north of Carahissar, and supposed to fall into the Sagaris; there are many Greek and Latin inscriptions here, some ruins, and a relief of a Roman eagle in marble; a pasha resides in this place. The road is very pleasant for sixteen miles to Seleuchtiar under the mountains, which was conjectured to be Seleucia or Saglassus, there being some ruins there; the country abounds in apples, pears, and other fruit, more than any other part of Turkey. Here the road to Smyrna continues on directly west near the foot of the mountains, the way to Constantinople being to the north-west; from this place the road to Constantinople crosses a plain, and over a river on a bridge made of some ruined buildings; this, I suppose, to be the river which I passed two leagues to the north of Carahissar, and about these parts a castle was seen to the south on a high rock, which I conjecture might be Carahissar. After sixteen miles the road to Constantinople passes through Belawoden or Bilezigan, a large town, and three miles beyond it, comes to the mountain called Emir-Dagli, Anadoli-Dagli, and Ketchier-Dagli, in which there are several grottos that seemed to be catacombs. The road was pleasant for thirty-three miles to Shroff-Pasha-Kane, where there is a large village; the way is good through a barren country for twenty-four miles to Saida Gazell, where there is a large convent of Dervishes; from this place the country is uneven for twenty-four miles to Eki-Shahar; about half way there are some ruins, and Greek inscriptions at a place called Angura, which was conjectured to be Ancyra of Phrygia. Eki-Shahar is a large city at the foot of a stony mountain, probably Sipylus; a river runs near it, which was conjectured to be the river Hermus, and if so, this must be the beginning of the plain Hyrcanus. There is a delightful road for twenty-four miles through a pleasant wood called Surmines, and by many springs to a small town of the name of Seguta; the road is then through a country, partly woody, and partly improved with mulberry gardens for the silk, there being great plenty of water; we went afterwards for five miles down rocky mountains to Vizier Han, on a river called Secler Yerderefu, which runs between rocky hills; the road is mountainous, but affords a great variety of beautiful views, and at the end of eleven miles is Lesskey, situated on the river Gatipo, the antient Gallus, which falls into the Sagaris; there is a large bridge over it. From this place the road is bad for three miles, but afterwards it passes for nine miles through a most agreeable country, full of delight, and seems to be the valley of Ilnic, till it comes to Ilnic the antient Nicæa. From this place to the bay of Nicomedia the road is pleasant for nineteen miles, and the passage by sea to the north-west is about eight miles; six miles beyond it is Gavde or Gebse, which was supposed to be the antient Lybyssa, where Parmenides ended his days, and was buried; from this place, it was computed to be thirty-five miles to Scutari, from which town they cross over to Constantinople.

there

there are in it two or three imperfect sepulchral inscriptions on stones wrought like folding-doors; and I saw many of the same kind at Carahissar. These stones probably stopped the entrance of their vaults or grotts. Near it there are very large Mahometan burial places, in which there are many stones with reliefs in the same manner, a great number of broken pillars, and other pieces of marble. This place is called Eski-Jeldutch [Old Jeldutch] from a village of that name, which is to the east; I could not conjecture what place this was. Going over a hill, we came into a large plain; that hill ends about three leagues further to the east, where both the plains join; this great plain in some parts is at least twenty miles broad, and extends beyond view to the north-west and south-east: it is an uneven down, of a very barren white clay, which produces little herbage, not being improved, except where it is watered by streams, on which the villages are situated; it is all an open country, without trees, and so are all the plains after we left Konous. Having travelled about eight miles in this plain, and thirty-six from Carahissar, we came to a village called Alekiam, where we lay; here are some ruins and a few inscriptions; one of them in Latin is of the time of Constantine*. Going on about four miles we passed a bridge over a large stream, on which, and in a burial-place near, are some fragments of sepulchral inscriptions. Travelling six miles further on the twenty-seventh, we came to an ill built town called Sevrhissar, situated at the north-east side of the plain, at the foot of a long rocky hill of a bastard grey granite. There are ruins of a fortress on the hill over the town, and in the Armenian burial-place are several antient sepulchral stones, many having two sets of folding-doors cut on them in relief, and on some there there are Greek inscriptions of no importance; there are also here three or four statues of lions; and I saw four or five in the town; on one I found a sepulchral inscription. This I conjecture, from Ptolemy, might be Abrostola. This town is governed by a mosolem sent by the kiser-aga, or black eunuch, to whom the town and a territory about it belong. There are here about five hundred Armenians, who have a large church under the archbishop of Angora. It is probable, from the ruins that are seen, and which the people give an account of, that there were many considerable antient villages and some towns in this plain, one of which might be at a place called Balahazar, four miles to the south-east, where I heard there were several remains.

CHAP. XVI. — *Of Galatia in general; and of Angora, the antient Ancyra, in Galatia.*

WE set out on the thirtieth, and went only four miles, where we first saw the fine Angora goats. On the thirty-first we had snow all the morning, and went only eight miles to the river Sacari, having travelled east north-east from Sevrhissar. The river Sacari is the old Sagaris or Sangarius, which at this place is very small, not being far from its rise.

We here entered into Galatia from great Phrygia, this river being the bounds between them as well as between Galatia and Phrygia Minor, or Epictetus, and also between Bithynia and the Mariandyni. We came into the south part of Galatia, which

* In this inscription I found the word *Amorianorum*, so that probably *Amorium* was in these parts; and this plain might be the country of *Amorium*, mentioned by Strabo. I conjecture that some antient monastery might have been at this place, that the stones were brought to it; and that the town of *Amorium* was probably at a place called *Heriar*, about six miles to the south-east of *Jeldutch*, where I was informed there are antiquities. According to the *Tables Abitrostole* was eleven miles east of *Amurio*, which agrees with the order in Ptolemy, who goes from the north-west to the south-east, and then begins again at the north-west; for his longitudes and latitudes are not to be regarded as to these places.

was inhabited by the Tectosages, the eastern part, being the seat of the Trocmi, and the western of the Tolistobogii, all originally Gauls, the first being so called from a people of Celtic Gaul; the two others had their names from their leaders, who, after they had for a long time ravaged Bithynia, and the neighbouring parts, they had this country allotted to them, which was called from them Gallo-Græcia, and afterwards Galatia; every one of these three people were divided into four parts called tetrarchies, each governed by its tetrarch, judge, general, and two lieutenant generals. The council of these twelve tetrarchs consisted of three hundred persons, as may be supposed a hundred of each tribe, who met at Drynæmeton, and had the sole power of judging in all cases of murder. About the time of Augustus this country was subject to three governors then to two, and immediately afterwards it was put under the government of Deiotarus, and afterwards made part of the kingdom of Amyntas, and after his death it became a Roman province.

We were obliged to stop at the river Sacari, because the waters were high; they have great plenty of very large carp in this river, which the Turks skin, and throw away the head before they dress them. They are very much distressed in these parts for fuel; and commonly make use of dried cow-dung. On the first of April we crossed the river on floats of timber, the horses swimming over; the rest of the way was mostly over uneven downs to the east north-east. On the second we travelled sixteen miles to a village which is twelve miles from Angora, where we were met by the broker janizary and servant of the English gentleman of that city, to whom I was recommended, and we lay at the house of the aga, who was a relation of Mahomet. On the third we proceeded on our journey, and about a mile from Angora I was met by all the English, and most of the French; and after having taken a collation that was prepared in a house near the road, I was mounted on a fine horse, and went to the house of my friend in Angora.

Angora is called Angara by the Turks, and by the common people Engureh; it is the antient Ancyra, which was the castle or fortress of the Tectosages: it was made the metropolis of Galatia under the reign of Nero, and so it is called in the inscriptions that are found here. The emperor Caracalla having been a great benefactor to the city, it was called Antoniniana. The antient city seems to have been on the same place as the present, except that in some parts it appears to have extended somewhat further to the west. On the east side of the plain, near the mountains there are four or five hills; Angora is on the west and south sides of one of the largest of these hills, which is furthest to the south; on the summit of which there is a large castle; the city also extends a little to the north-west of the hill, and stretches on the north side to another small hill, or rather rising ground, on the top of which is the principal mosque called Hadjee-Biram, near which is the temple of Augustus, and the famous inscription of Angora: the walls extend further north, and go up the middle of a small high hill called Orta Daug, from which they come down to the small river Tabahanah, which runs east and north of the castle hill, where they are joined to the castle walls by a wall twenty feet thick, built across the river with two or three holes in it, through which the water passes: this seems to be designed to keep up the water, in order to supply the castle in a time of distress; for there is a private passage down from the castle, by which they could take up the water that comes from the river. The walls of the town are about a mile and a half in length, and extend near half a mile up to the castle, which cannot be much less than a mile in circumference; it has a wall across the middle of it, and a strong tower at the summit of the hill, which to the north and east is a steep precipice. The castle itself is like a small town, and is well inhabited both by Christians and Turks. The river, which runs by the castle, together with another

rivulet called the Infueh, which runs to the west of the town, falls into a larger stream called Chibouk-Sueh, which passes near the Armenian convent a mile to the north of the city, and runs into the Sacari; and though there are so many rivulets near the city, yet it is ill supplied with water, which for common use they carry from the river to the higher parts of the town on horses, either in leather bags, as at Cairo, or in earthen jars, put into a box or frame on each side of the beast; but they have water conveyed by an aqueduct to the lower parts of the town from the river; and all the people of any condition send for their water half a mile to a fountain. The air of this place is esteemed to be very dry, and good for asthmatic constitutions, but pernicious to the sanguine. There being no wood in the country about it, fuel is exceedingly dear, and the common people are obliged to make use of dried dung: the present walls of the city are very ill built, and consist chiefly of the stones of ancient buildings put together only with mud, so that a great part of them are fallen down; they were built about sixty years ago against the rebel Gadick, who ravaged the country with twelve thousand men, and was afterwards made a pasha. Though many of the houses of the city are very good within, yet the buildings on the outside make a very mean appearance, being all of unburnt brick; the streets are narrow, and the city irregularly laid out: they have, however, a handsome stone building covered with cupolas, which is a bezeftan for rich goods; these are buildings only of one floor with shops in them, like the exchanges in London; they have about twelve large mosques with minorets, and several small ones, near a hundred in all.

As to ancient buildings there are very few remains of any. To the west of the walls there is a small ruin which is built of brick and stone, and seems to have been part of some ancient temple, but it is so destroyed, that no judgment can be made what sort of a building it was. The most curious piece of antiquity is near a mosque called Hadjee-Biram, which belongs to a college for Mahometan sophists: it is an oblong square building of white marble, about ninety feet long, and fifty broad; it stands north and south; the walls are three feet three inches thick, and the stones are channelled at the joints. It is built on a basement; and there is a cornice round at the top, both inside and out, adorned with sculpture. At the distance of twenty feet from the south end, which is open like a portico, there is a grand door, the frame of which is very richly carved; at the same distance from the north end there appears to have been another partition; and it is very probable that there was such another door, and that there were four lofty columns to each portico; so that the middle room is about forty-four feet long, and has a second beautiful entablature seven feet below the upper one, which is adorned with festoons, and on each side below it there are three windows with semicircular tops, about four feet wide, and five high, which have before them a grate of marble; it is supposed to have been a temple to Augustus. On the inside of the portico, to the south, is that famous inscription, which is the second volume, that Augustus left with his will in the hands of the vestal virgins*, and ordered to be cut in two brass plates in the front of his mausoleum in Rome. The inscription consists of six columns, three on each side of the portico, each having between fifty and sixty lines in it, and each line about sixty letters; on the outside of the eastern wall I saw part of it cut in Greek, and part might be on the west side; I have reason to believe that it was in about twenty columns; I copied part of it: the letters appear to have been gilt on a ground of vermilion: some houses are built against the other parts of it.

* De tribus voluminibus, uno, mandata de funere suo complexus est: altero, indicem rerum à se gestarum; quam vellet mendi in æneis tabulis, quæ ante mausoleum statuerentur. Sueton. Octavius 101.

The title of the Latin inscription is in three lines over the three first columns, as that in the Greek appears to have been in one line on the east side; which is a good reason to suppose that the whole Greek inscription was on that side, because the Latin begins on the west side. The greatest part of the antient buildings were of an ash-coloured marble, with veins of white in it, which are brought from the mountains to the south-east, where I saw also a great quantity of red marble streaked with white: most of the capitals here are of the Corinthian order; and I took notice of the capitals of some pilasters, consisting of a cymatium, two lists, and flutes about a foot long, and under them a quarter round, adorned with eggs and darts. Towards the north-west corner of the city there is a very extraordinary pillar, the pedestal of which is raised on a stone work about ten feet above the ground: that work probably was cased with marble, which might have an inscription on it, and be adorned with reliefs; the shaft is about four feet in diameter, and is composed of fifteen stones, each being two feet deep; it is worked all round horizontally with convex and concave members, which are about an eighth of a circle, divided by lists, all those members being three inches wide; the capital consists of four plain circles something like pateræ, with leaves on each side of them, the work above this somewhat resembling a Tuscan capital: the style of the shaft has no bad effect; but the capital is rather in a Gothic taste: it may be supposed that this pillar was erected to the honour of the emperor Julian, when he passed through Ancyra from Parthia, there being an inscription to his honour in the castle walls. There are many stone pipes of aqueducts about the town, such as are described at Laodicea, by which the water ran along on the ground, as it does at present from the river, there being towers at certain distances, in which the water ascends and descends in earthen pipes, to make it rise to the higher parts of the town, which is a method much practised in these countries.

The city of Angora is governed by a pasha and cadi; some compute that there are a hundred thousands souls in it, ninety thousand of which are Turks, and about a thousand of those janizaries. The Christians are thought to be about ten thousand, of which three hundred families, or about fifteen hundred souls, are Greeks, the rest Armenians; two-thirds of the latter are of the Roman communion, and have four churches, the other Armenians have three: in rebuilding one of their churches not long ago, they found the bodies of seven children uncorrupted; I saw the head and hand of one of them; they were like the bodies at Bremen, and at Venzoni in Friuli, but rather more fair and entire. They suppose that these are of the twelve children who were martyred when Saint Clemens Ancyranus suffered. The Armenians have a large convent a small mile to the north of the city; here their archbishop of Ancyra resides, with his suffragan; they are not of the Roman church. The Greeks also have an archbishop here, who is one of the twelve great metropolitans under the patriarch of Constantinople, is the fourth in rank, and has the title of Primate of all Galatia; [*Ἐκκλῆσιάρχης πάσης Γαλατίας*] he has now no bishop under him, nor have any of the archbishops of Asia Minor. In a Greek church in the castle there is a transparent piece of alabaster of a yellowish colour; many authors make mention of it, and the Greeks imagine it has some miraculous effects, though there is a much finer piece of the same sort in the church of the convent. There are in Angora about forty poor families of Jews. The city was formerly very fruitful in heretics, among whom was Photinus. In the year three hundred and fourteen a council of eighteen prelates was held here, under Vitalis patriarch of Antioch, and they made twenty-four canons relating to the penance of apostates, and some other points of discipline.

They have a trade here of the hair of common goats, which grows short under the long hair; it is taken off from the skin after they are dead, and is sent to England, and other parts to make hats; the French also of late buy up yarn of sheep's wool, in order to send it to France; but the great staple commodity of the place is the yarn of the fine Angora goats wool, and the manufactures of it. These goats are peculiar to the country for about thirty miles round Angora, inasmuch, that if they are carried to another place they degenerate; as to the east of the Halys, and on the other side of a river that runs from the north into the Sagari, and also to the south of Sevrihissar: they are very beautiful goats, mostly white, but some are of an ash colour, and very few black; the hair or wool grows in long curled ringlets; some of it is even a foot in length, the finest is that of kids of a year or two old, and when they are about sixteen years old, it grows coarse, and in a manner turns to hair; it is so exceedingly fine that the most experienced persons could not know it from silk, but by the touch; they are shorn without washing about the month of May, and the wool sells for two dollars an oke; the common sale of yarn is from two and a half to six dollars, though they make it even to the value of thirty dollars. They here weave of it fine camlets of three or four threads, which they sometimes water, and they make a stuff they call shawl of two threads, which is like our finest ferges; it is either plain or striped, and both are worn by the Turks for summer garments; they make also camlets even to thirteen threads for European clothes. The export of the wool out of the country is strictly prohibited, because the inhabitants live by the spinning of it; every thing that we call mohair, camlets, and prunellas, are made of it, and also the best plushes, of which great quantities of the flowered sort are made in Holland. The export was pretty near equal to England, France, and Holland, amounting to about five or six hundred camel loads to each, yearly, every load being one hundred and fifty okes; but I have been informed, that the trade to England is sunk, and that the greatest export now is to France, and next to Holland; what is exported being from three to six dollars an oke. This country produces a very good red wine; and they have excellent rice on some rivers not a great way from Angora*.

CHAP.

* At Angora I made the best enquiry I could about those places, to which I did not find it convenient to go. Cogni, about four days journey, or seventy miles to the south south-east, is the antient Iconium in Lycaonia: there are in it about fifty Greek families, who have a church, in which, they say, St. Paul preached; near the town there is a Greek convent called Xyli, in which there are only four or five caloyers. About twelve miles nearer Angora is the salt lake, now called Cadoun-Toussler, which is the antient lake Tatta, mentioned by Strabo; they say now that a body, or any other thing thrown into it, turns salt, that is, I suppose, is incruited over with salt: all these countries are supplied with salt from this lake; it is brought in small white pieces, which are hard, and consequently must incrust into a solid cake. The country about Cogni is called upper Haimana, and that to the north north-west is called lower Haimana, where there is a great scarcity of water; and it answers to the description which Strabo gives of that part of Lycaonia: both these are governed by a waiwode, and did belong to the sultane's mother.

Cæsarea in Cappadocia is about a hundred and eleven miles to the west south-west of Angora. The road goes over mountains called Almadaug for eight miles to Petzeh, then passing Curckdaug [The Spade Mountain], which may be mount Magaba, in sixteen miles it brings to Caragikilieh, two miles from which there is a ruined convent or church called Tetzeh, and at the door of it there are two statues of lions: half an hour further is a bridge over the Kisilermack, the antient Halys, which is built with seven arches. The road, I suppose, after this continues on near the Halys: fourteen miles further is a village called Camana, and at the end of eight more, is the city Kirsaer, situated in a valley. Sixteen miles further is a large village called Hadice-Bertas, where there is a kane, with a charitable foundation to give food to all persons and their beasts who travel that way. Twenty-four miles further is Biram-Hagilech, where there are no houses, but some grottes inhabited by about two hundred families. Ten miles further

CHAP. XVII. — *Of some places in Galatia, and Paphlagonia, in the road to Constantinople.*

AS I found that there was nothing very remarkable in the direct roads to Constantinople or Bourfa, I determined to go three days journey to the north of Angora, into the

is Achmes Kalify, which is a castle on a high hill over the river; opposite to it is a high mountain, from which there falls a great cascade of water: here is a bridge of one arch over the Halys, the bridge is called Ialenes-Kous [The Single Arch]. This bridge is five paces broad, and about a hundred and fifteen feet high from the water to the top of the battlements, and a hundred and sixty paces over. I was informed that there was a Greek inscription on it: the Christians call it St. Helen's bridge, being, as they say, built by her. Twelve miles further, over the plain, is Cæsarea in Cappadocia, called by the Turks Kaifar. This town is divided into a hundred and eighty Mahometan parishes called Mahalleh, to each of which there is a mosque, with a minoret called Jammè, or a sort of chapel without a minoret, in which they cannot pray on Fridays at noon, and to these they give the name of Maichif. There are in the city one Greek and three Armenian churches, and the Greeks have lately founded a convent near the town. They have a manufacture here of striped calimancoes, used by the common people for garments; and they have also a trade in that sort of goats hair, which is used to make hats. About an hour to the north of the city is the mountain of St. Basil, called by the Turks Ali-Daug; it is an ascent of five hours. Half way up there is a magnificent cistern, to which there are four entrances, it has fish in it, some of which, they say, weigh thirty okes, which is above a hundred weight. On the top of the hill there is a church, in two parts, one dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and the other to St. Basil, who was archbishop of Cæsarea. An hour and a half, or a league to the west of the city is the cemetery of St. Gregory: near the city also is mount Argias, the antient Argæus, which is always covered with snow; it is of a soft stone, and full of grottos, which are said by some to have been the habitations of hermits, but it is more probable that they were the places in which the inhabitants of Cæsarea deposited their dead. Towards the foot of it there are several monuments, which consist of a cupola, built on four pillars; there are inscriptions on them in a character not known, which, they say, is Persian, and they call them the monuments of the Persians. Three days journey from Cæsarea is Adena, the antient Adana near Tarsus.

Tocat is about a hundred and seventy-two miles to the west-north-west of Angora; and Changreh is about thirty-eight miles from Angora in that Road, which, I suppose, is the antient Gangra; and I was informed that there are remains there of an old building, it having been the place of residence of some of the kings of Paphlagonia: twenty-four miles further is Tocia, which I imagine might be Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia, because the Tables place it in the way from Gangaris to Sinope, though the distance of thirty-five miles seems to be too great: here also, they say, there are some antiquities. Thirty miles further is Osmanjeck, which, if I mistake not, is at the passage of the Halys: twenty-four miles further is Mafouan, which must be in Galatian Pontus. Here also, they say, there are some signs of antiquity, but what place it was I cannot conjecture, unless it might be Virasia of the Tables. Sixteen miles further is Amasia, which retains its old name, and is on the river Coderlick, the antient Iris; this is the birth place of Strabo; here are likewise some ruins. Tocat is forty miles further, which I should take to be Neocæsarea; it is situated on a hill, and has seven Armenian churches in it, and one Greek church; there are some Jews in the city. About four days to the east of Tocat there is a great convent called Pfulema, in which there are about forty monks; the convent has great privileges, and pays no harach or poll tax; this, and three more I have mentioned, being all the monasteries that I could hear of in Asia Minor. This town has a traffic in copper vessels: eight miles east of this place is Gumenack, where, they say, there are some ruins: twenty-four miles from it is Siwas, the seat of a pasha, which might be Sebastopolis, there being some remains of antiquity about it; it is only four or five days journey from Malatia on the Euphrates. Tocat is twenty days journey from Aleppo, and forty from Jerusalem, and the road to it from Constantinople is one of the great roads into Persia. From Angora to Sinope, where Diogenes the Cynic was born, it is near four days journey, about sixty-four miles; no caravans go to those parts, the Euxine sea being dangerous, and the ports of it are bad, which is the reason why there is little trade that way; and if the Black sea was much navigated, it would hurt both Constantinople and Smyrna, though the danger of it must be the principal reason why goods are carried such a long journey by land from Constantinople to Tocat, which cannot be above four or five days journey from the sea.

Angora is computed to be about a hundred and seventy miles from Constantinople. In that road, eighteen miles from Angora, near a place called Ais, there is a very hot bath, which people can bear but a short time; and it is chiefly used for ulcers and scrophulous disorders. Sixteen miles further is a town called Baybazar, situated on some small hills, and, as well as I could learn, is not above seven or eight miles to the north of the Sagaris; if it was not a place that is very destitute of water, or if there

were

the great road from Persia, which is by the way of Tocat, Amasia, and Toccia to Constantinople.

We left Angora on the twenty-ninth of April, and, according to the custom of these countries, almost all the Europeans did me the honour to accompany me a mile or two out of the town. We made a cavalcade of between thirty and forty horse, and taking a collation on the side of a stream, two of the English gentlemen went on with me to the northward, and we lay at a place about twelve miles from Angora. On the thirtieth we went about twenty miles through an uneven country, and came into a narrow vale between the mountains, which much resembles Savoy: at the first entrance into it I saw a bath called Kisdje-Hamam; they are chalybeate waters, not very strong, but tepid, and are used both for drinking and bathing, chiefly the latter; but they are not much frequented, because there are other waters near which are more esteemed. We lay at a village in which the houses are made of entire fir-trees; I saw gooseberry-trees grow wild in this country. On the first of May we went about four miles to some waters, which are stronger and hotter than the others, insomuch that the first entrance gives some pain; they are called Sha-Hamam; among many other virtues, they have performed wonderful cures in the dropsy; and it being a cool retirement, the Europeans sometimes go there from Angora during the hot season. A league further there is a village called Cleficui [Church Village], from a ruined church which is there: from this place my friends returned to Angora.

Four miles further we crossed the mountains to the west into a fine country, which, I suppose, must be the antient Paphlagonia, and that these mountains were the bounds between it and Galatia. We lay here in a wooden village, where the people were very civil, and came and drank coffee with us. Paphlagonia was between the rivers Halys and Parthenius, having Pontus to the east, and Bithynia to the west, and was antiently governed by its own kings. On the twenty-second we proceeded on our journey, and I saw a town called Cherkes to the north, which is in the Tocat road, and is about sixty miles to the west of Toccia before-mentioned; this may be Anadynata of the Tables, and is the residence of the pasha of this country. Eight miles from the mountain we passed over the small river Cherkes which runs near the town, and came into the great road to Constantinople, and about six further to a larger stream called Gerede Su, which runs east, and, I suppose, it is the antient Parthenius; on the other side of

were any antiquities there, I should have thought it was Pessinus; concerning the situation of which place I could get no information, though it was so famous a city near the Sagaris; but as it was in the road of the Tables from Nicæa to Amurion, which was in Great Phrygia, it ought to be looked for farther to the south; it may be about the place where we passed that river to Angora: it was a city of great trade, and famous for the worship of the mother of the gods, called here Angideitis, who is the same as Cybele; it was adorned with a temple and portico, by the kings of the race of Attalus. There was a statue here of this great goddess, which they pretend fell down from heaven, and that this gave occasion to the name of the place; the statue was brought to Rome in the time of the second Punic war, on account of a prophecy of the Sibylline oracle, in order to facilitate the conquest of the Carthaginians. The prophecy of the Sibylline oracle is thus related by Livy: "Quandoque hostis terræ Italiæ bellum intulisset, eum pelli Italia vincique posse, si mater Idæa à Pessinunte Romam advecta foret." Liv. xxix. 10. Juliopolis, the old Gordium, is situated farther to the north on the river Sagun; this place was famous for the Gordian knot cut by Alexander the Great; but the city was destroyed before Strabo's time. Twelve miles beyond Beybeyzar is Sarilar; a river runs by it; and to the west of this river the Angora goats degenerate. About sixty-six miles further, at a village called Gaivey, is the passage over the Sagaris, which runs a great way to the west near to this place, and then turning north, falls into the Euxine sea. This river would be navigable a considerable way up, if there were not some rocks that run across it; and methods might be found to make it navigable. Thirty miles further is Ismit, the antient Nicomedia, which is thirty-six miles from Scutari. Bourfa is about the same distance from Angora as Constantinople.

it, about six miles further, is a large village called Bainer, which is fourteen miles from Cherkes, and may be the antient Flaviopolis. This country is called Varanchahere [the Ruined City]. I saw the ruins of an antient bridge below this, where I first came to the river; near Bainer the river Cherkes falls into the Geredy-Su. The river Parthenius is said to have its name from a fable that the virgin Diana used to hunt about it; and the city Amastris was at the mouth of it. From the name of this country of Varanchahere, I had hopes given me that I should find some antiquities there, and had a letter to the waiwode, who is the governor of it under the sultanness mother, to whom it belonged; but I found nothing except a small enclosure near the waiwode's house, about thirty feet long and ten wide; in the middle of the further side there is a stone set up an end, like the top of an antient stone coffin, and one on each side of it, as if it had been designed as a place for a statue; the enclosure round consists of stones set up an end about three feet high, as described near Konous the supposed Colosse. I conjectured that there might be a sepulchral vault under it, unless the place, which seemed designed to receive a statue, might incline to conjecture that it was an open temple, in the manner of that near Tortosa in Syria; there runs a small river near it to the north-east, which may be the Billæus, near the mouth of which was Tios on the Euxine sea; Philetærus was of that city, from whom the kings of Pergamus descended. When I went to the house of the waiwode, I was conducted to the apartments allotted for strangers, and sent my letter and a small present to him: he was very civil, but I could not find that there were any antiquities to be seen. Having gone out of the great road to this place, I returned to it on the third. In this country of Varanchahere is a famous water at a place called Sugergick; for, as they tell the story, when a country is infested with locusts, if this water is carried to the place by an unpolluted person, when they observe the locusts have laid eggs, it always brings after it a great number of speckled birds as big as sterling, who laying and hatching their eggs, they and their young destroy the locusts which are produced by the eggs laid the year before; a story that seems very improbable, but it is firmly believed in these parts, and is related with all its circumstances by many travellers; but it is to be questioned, whether these birds would not come and destroy them, though the water was not brought.

Having gone out of the great road to this place, we returned to it again on the third to Geredy, which is fifty-six miles from Angora; it is situated on a high ground on each side of the river Geredy. I did not see the least remains of antiquity here; the houses of this town, as well as all the others which I saw, after I came to the baths, are built of fir-trees squared out, laid one on another, and joined at the corners; the roofs are covered with boards; they have in this town a manufacture of ordinary red leather; and the Angora goats are kept so far to the north and west; and the wool of them is bought at this town, and sent to Angora, for they do not spin it in these parts. This place is about fifty-four miles from the Euxine sea, the nearest place on it being Eliry, which may be Heraclea; this river passes by two places, Mangeri and Dourleck; Ciniata is mentioned in Paphlagonia under mount Olgastrys, it was used as a fortress by Mithridates Cistes, and may be Anadynata of the Tables; it is not known where any of these antient places were.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Of Borla, Nicomedia, and some other places in Bithynia; and of the Princes Islands.*

THAT part of Bithynia inhabited by the Mariandyni and Caucones was between the rivers Parthenius and Hippius. On the fourth we travelled sixteen miles through a very pleasant country, and came into a village in a beautiful vale, where I went to the house of the man of whom I had hired horses, and had my carpet spread in a grove by a stream. I observed that they make ropes here of hemp, without beating it, but only pick off the rind with their hands. On the fifth we went four miles further to Borla, through a pleasant woody country, and near a lake, which is about four miles in circumference, called Chagah-Guel; this lake abounds in a sort of fish that are looked on as unwholesome.

Borla is towards the west end of a fine vale, which is about a league broad, and four leagues long; it is a most beautiful spot, much resembling the country about Padoua, and the low mountains on each side are well improved, having villages on them, and are like the Euganean hills. This place is situated in the plain, and on the south and west side of a hill, on which there are some little remains of the walls of the antient town, which was situated much like Old Sarum. There are also about the town, and in the road to it, several sepulchral inscriptions cut on stones, which are like round pedestals, about two feet in diameter, and four feet high. It is probable this was the antient Bithynium, afterwards called Claudianopolis, which was the birth place of Antinous, and might receive a third name from him, and be Antiniopolis of the Tables. A pretty large stream runs through the vale to the north-east, which, I suppose, is the old Elatas, near the mouth of which was the city Heraclea. On the sixth we went eighteen miles further, through pleasant woods, mostly of hornbeam and beech; the country being almost entirely uninhabited, we came to a river, running in a deep bed, which is called Lanfu, and I take it to be the river Hippius; when we had crossed it, we passed through a village called Lasjah, with many houses and kanes in it, built chiefly for the convenience of travellers. I saw here a great deal of hewn stone, and a round altar adorned with festoons, and conjecture that Prusa on the Hippius was situated here, supposed by some to be the antient city Hippia, and that it received a new name from being rebuilt or enlarged by Prusias king of Bithynia. Near this place they turn all sorts of wooden vases, and those Turkish oval tables with one foot, like a falver, which are made of one piece of wood: the situation of it agrees with the distance of Cepota in the Tables, from Antiniopolis or Borla. We went on and lay in a meadow near the banks of the river; I observed this day a great variety of trees of almost all sorts, (except birch and elm), and particularly apple, pear, medlar, acanthus, what I took to be the Roman laurel, and a dwarf shrub with a pale green flower like the lilach. It is probable the Mariandyni inhabited on the sea as far as the mouth of the Sagaris, and that Bithynia Proper, being to the south of that country, was divided from the Mariandyni by the Sagaris, both to the east and to the north, being bounded in other parts to the east by Phrygia Minor, to the south-east by the river Æsephus from Mysia, to the west by the Propontis, and to the north by the Euxine sea; this part of Bithynia was inhabited by the Chalcedonii. On the seventeenth we went fourteen miles, the latter half of the way being through delightful woods of tall oaks. On the eighth we came to a small town called Handakè, at the west end of the wood, which may be Manoris of the Tables; it is chiefly supported by the caravans that pass through it; we then came into the most beautiful plain enclosed

country I ever beheld; it is about three leagues broad; there are large horn beam and walnut-trees all over the fields, without any regularity, low hills to the north, and higher to the south, covered with woods, between which the Sagaris runs through this plain, and we passed that river on a large wooden bridge a hundred paces long: Duseprofolimpum of the Tables, might be about this place. We lay at a village a little beyond it, having gone about five leagues in this country; we soon came to some low hills covered with wood and corn, which divide the plain into two parts, and render this country still more delightful, inasmuch that it is the most beautiful spot that can be imagined. To the south of these hills I saw a large arch built against the hill, and at a little distance a piece of a high wall remaining; but as we were with a caravan, I could not satisfy my curiosity in going to see it. This may be Demetrium of the Tables, though the distances do not well agree; they call it now the bridge of the old Sacari, as if the channel of the old Sacari had formerly run there. There is one thing I observed in all this country; almost all the people who cultivate the land are janizaries, for being near Constantinople, many of that body have, without doubt, settled here, all whose descendants are janizaries; they distinguish themselves by an unbleached coarse linen sash, which they wear about their turbant. We proceeded in our journey on the ninth; the large lake of Sabanjah is on the south side of those hills which divide the plain, it extends about half a league in breadth from these hills, to those on the north; and it is above two leagues long; there are fish in it, especially a large carp, which they fish for in boats, hollowed out of one piece of wood; there is a little town called Sabanjah on this lake, where all the roads meet that go to Constantinople; and this great concourse is the chief support of the place; this may be Lateas of the Tables, which is but twenty-six miles from Nicomedia, though this place is but sixteen; I saw here some stones that were of antient work. We went on near the lake through this delightful country, which exceeds any that I have seen; the soil is very rich, and there are no stones in it. We stopped in a beautiful meadow, where I made balm tea of the herb, which grew on each side of my carpet; we went six miles further, and on the tenth travelled six miles to Ismit, which is the antient Nicomedia, said to be first built by Olbia, and had its first name from him; it was afterwards rebuilt by Nicomedes king of Bithynia, though Olbia seems rather to have been near it, and that the inhabitants of it were transplanted to this place. That range of hills which divide the plain, as before mentioned, extend along to the north of the bay on which Nicomedia stood. The present town is situated at the foot of two of these hills, and all up the south side of the western one, which is very high, and on part of the other; it is near the north-east corner of the bay. All the houses have small gardens or courts to them, especially those on the hills; the gardens are planted with trees, and the vines being carried along on frames built like roofs, make the city appear exceedingly beautiful; and indeed the situation of it is very fine; the country is well improved all round it; the little hills on each side are covered with gardens and vineyards, and the country on the other side of the bay has a beautiful appearance; the shops are in four or five streets next to the sea, built round many large kanes; their houses are mostly up the side of the hills, and the Christians live towards the top, as it does not suit so well with the Turkish indolence to take the pains to ascend so high. They have no quay to the town, but a sort of wooden piers like bridges built out into the water, and the great boats come up to them, it being a place of great concourse, in order to embark for Constantinople; though, they say, it is a hundred miles by sea, yet I think it cannot exceed fifty, measuring round by the coast, as it is but thirty-six miles to Scutari by land; but here the caravans end their journey, and no

people go to Scutari by land, except those who travel on their own beasts; they have also a trade in building large boats; and a great commerce in timber, brought in boards and rafters from the woods, in which the country abounds; they have also an export of salt, there being salterns at the east end of the bay; the residence of the pasha of the country is in this place. There are about two hundred Armenian families with their archbishop, who has a monastery five or six miles to the north-east, where he sometimes resides; they have one church in the city, to which there belongs only one priest; there are about a hundred Greek families here, who have likewise an archbishop, and a church out of the town called St. Pantaleon, in which there is the tomb of that martyr; but I could not be informed any thing concerning S. S. Barba and Adrian, who were martyred here, as well as St. Gorgon, whose body is said to be in France; there are very few remains of the antient Nicomedia. On the top of the highest hill is the principal piece of antiquity that is to be seen, which are remains of very strong walls, with semicircular towers at equal distances; for about a third part up it is built with hewn stone, every stone being encompassed with brick, which seems to be a proof that the walls are not of very great antiquity, but probably after Constantine; the upper part of the walls is built with brick; there are also some remains of them at the bottom of the hill which extend to the south-west, from which it is probable they were continued down to the sea, turning, as I suppose, to the east, at the bottom of that part of the hill, where I saw remains of thick walls built against the hill so as to keep up the earth; and on the east side they seem to have come down along the side of the high hill; to the east of this there is another hill, where the Jews have their burial place; there are remains here of a very magnificent cistern built of brick, which seemed to have had in it four rows of pillars, six in a row, about fifteen feet apart; and there are arches turned from them every way; the arches which cover the cistern are very flat, and made of bricks set round in an oval figure; the bricks in the walls are an inch thick, and the mortar between them is three inches thick. It is probable that there was antiently some great building over this cistern, and that it was made before the water was brought in a great stream along the side of the hills by a channel, as it is at present: there are a few Greek inscriptions about the town: it is thirty-two miles from Ismit to Iznick, the antient Nicæa, by way of Sabanjah before mentioned, which is twelve miles from the former, and twenty from the latter, and, I suppose, it is Lateas of the Tables, probably the same as Libo in the Itinerary, which is in the road from Nicomedia to Nicæa. The gulph of Ismit was antiently called Astacenus and Olbianus, and the head of land to the south of it was called the promontory of Neptune. The bay of Ismit is about thirty miles long. Pronectus is mentioned on it as a place of great trade opposite to Nicomedia, which might be where Boissis Scale now is, directly opposite to Ismit. Drepane also is mentioned on this bay, which Constantine called Helenopolis, in honour of his mother; but I had no grounds to conjecture where it was, nor could I learn any thing about Acuron, where it is said Constantine died when he was going to the river Jordan to be baptized, only that there is a place of that name about fourteen miles to the north-east of Ismit. Arrianus the historian was of Nicomedia; and near this bay lived the famous prince Tekely or Thokoly, at a country-house, which he called, the Field of Flowers; he was buried in the Armenian cemetery at Ismit, and there is a Latin epitaph on his tomb.

We left Ismit on the eleventh, and went out of the road three miles to the north to an alum water, which is called Chaiesu; on the hill over it are the foundations of a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to which the Christians resort at a certain season of the year; this water has no particular taste, but has alum in it, and is

sent in great quantities to Constantinople ; it has been thought to be good for the stone ; and, they say, that it is an approved remedy for a dysentery.

Ten miles from Ismit, in the road to Constantinople, there is a very small village on the sea, called Corfau ; to the west of it is a hill, on which there are ruins of walls on the north and west sides, which coming down to the plain make an enclosure above half a mile in circumference ; it seems to have been an antient town, and probably was Astacus, from which the bay had its name. On the twelfth we went six miles to a little port called Mahollom, where the caravans of Boursa land from Dill on the other side of the bay. Eight miles further we came to a country town called Gebseh, situated on a height about a league from the sea. It is thought that the antient Libyssa was about this place ; but as I saw no marks of antiquity, I concluded it was nearer the sea : at that place, or near it, Hannibal lived after he had fled to Nicomedes king of Bithynia, and here he poisoned himself when he found he was betrayed ; it is said that he built a tower, with entrances on the four sides, by which he might escape, in case he should be surprised ; this building was probably on some advantageous ground, where he might always see at a distance any persons that were coming ; as we find they deserted the Romans, who were sent to take him. About a league to the south-east of Gebseh, on the highest ground in those parts, there is a small mount, which commands a view of the whole country, and there are some cypress trees near it ; it is possible that the tower in which that great general lived might be on this spot, and that this barrow might be the heap of sand under which it is said he was buried. Eight miles further is Pantik, a small town on the sea, which must be Pantichio of Antonine's Itinerary, fifteen miles from Chalcedon, and twenty-four from Libyssa, which latter distance is much too great. I saw near the town a large round basin built of brick, and a smaller arched place near it, both of which seem to have been cisterns for water, the latter serving for that use at present. We lay in the fields beyond this place ; and on the thirteenth we found the country much improved in gardens and vineyards, for the use of Constantinople. We saw the Princes Islands, which are at the entrance of the gulph of Ismit, and are inhabited by the Greeks.

I sailed from Constantinople to these islands, in company with some English gentlemen ; we went first to the largest and most eastern island, situated opposite to Cortal, towards the mouth of the bay of Ismit, and about a league from the continent ; it is called by the Turks Boiuk Addah [The Great Island], and by the Greeks Principè ; it is about a mile long from north to south, and half a mile broad, and consists of two hills and a plain spot to the north, on which the town stands by the sea-side ; it was tolerably well built, and is about a quarter of a mile in length, but is now in a ruinous condition. The island belongs to the archbishop of Chalcedon, and is inhabited by Greeks, who all live in the town, and in two monasteries that are in the island ; there are four churches in the town ; according to their tradition, it antiently stood at the northern foot of the hill which is to the south about the convent of saint Nicholas ; where there are remains of a round cistern built of stone and brick, sixty feet in diameter and fifteen deep ; and there are some ruined arches to the east near the water. There is a third convent in the island, which is ruined. The French used formerly to have country-houses on this island, and retire to them, as the Greeks do at present ; but they have now left them on account of the inconveniences of the water, and the danger of being detained by contrary winds. The chief subsistence of the inhabitants is fishing and selling wine (brought from the continent, and the island Alonia) to the people of Constantinople, who frequently come to these islands for their pleasure. This island produces some corn on the north and east sides ; there are olive and

fir-trees on the hills, and it seems naturally to run into wood, especially the juniper: there is a sort of stone in it, which looks like iron ore; and they have a tradition, that there were antiently iron mines in the island; there is a well near the town, the water of which has no particular taste, but is purging, and esteemed good in venereal cases. About half a mile to the east, there is an uninhabited island called Anderovetho, which is near a mile in circumference, and serves for pasture. We sailed half a mile to the island of Halki, [Χαλκή] called by the Turks Eibeli; it is directly south of a village on the continent called Maltebè or Maltapè. This island is about four miles in circumference, and consists of two hills; at the eastern foot of the northern hill is the small town, consisting mostly of taverns and shops; it has only one church in it; on the top of the hill there is a convent of the Holy Trinity, with great conveniencies for receiving strangers; and there is a remarkable Latin inscription at the well. We went southward to the delightful convent called Panaiea, which is situated between the two summits of the southern hill, where I saw Paisius, the deposed patriarch of Constantinople, whom I had met at Famagusta in Cyprus; for he had been recalled, though not restored. We went to the north-north-east to saint George's convent, on the eastern foot of the northern summit of the hill, where they have large buildings for strangers, who come to these islands in great numbers when the plague rages at Constantinople. The town belongs to this convent, which is the property of the archbishop of Chalcedon; the other two convents belong to the patriarch of Constantinople. This island produces a small quantity of good strong white wine, and some corn.

To return to the continent; about a league beyond Pantek we came to another small town called Cortal; two leagues from it is Cadicui, a small town or village on the west side of the promontory, on which the antient Chalcedon stood.

CHAP. XIX. — *Of Chalcedon, Scutari, the Euxine Sea, and some places on it.*

THE promontory on which the antient Chalcedon stood is a very fine situation, being a gentle rising ground from the sea, with which it is almost bounded on three sides, that is in part on the east side, as well as on the south and west; further on the east side of it is a small river which falls into the little bay to the south, that seems to have been their port, and I find is called by a certain geographer Portus Eutropii; as the point opposite to the east, where there is a light house, was called the promontory Heraeum; so that Chalcedon would be esteemed a most delightful situation, if Constantinople was not so near it, which is indeed more advantageously situated; for this place must be much exposed to the wind in winter, and has not a good port. The cape is about half a mile broad, and a mile long, commanding a full view of the Propontis, of the Thacian Bosphorus, and of Constantinople. There are no remains of this antient city, all being destroyed, and the ground improved with gardens and vineyards; the Greeks have a small church here, which carries no great face of antiquity, and yet they pretend to say that the council of Chalcedon was held in it: the church is in a low situation near the sea, though it is more probable that the cathedral church of Chalcedon was on a more advanced ground; and I find some travellers have placed it at a distance from this, though I could get no account of the ruins of any church on the height.

This part of Bithynia is hilly to the east, and the hills approaching near the Bosphorus to the north-east of Scutari, the foot of them extends away to the south towards Chalcedon, and ending at the sea, makes a little bay, with the point of Chalcedon,

opposite to Constantinople, where probably the arsenal was, which is said to have been at Chrysopolis. Over the north part of this bay is the seraglio of Scutari, where the grand signor commonly passes some days in the beginning of summer; it is a delightful place, and commands a fine view of the city. To the north-east of it there are beautiful open fields for pasturage, and beyond them the burial places of Scutari, which being planted with cypress and other trees, are very pleasant; and from both these places there are some of the finest views that can be imagined; from one part, particularly, the land appears as locked in, in such a manner that the sea opposite to Scutari looks like a lake, and that city, together with Tophana and some villages to the north, appear like a beautiful city built round the lake, which has the finest effect that can be imagined.

Scutari is called by the Turks Scudar, and is supposed to be the antient Chrysopolis; the south part of it is opposite to the point of the seraglio, and the north part to Tophana and Funducli. The situation of Scutari is very beautiful, of which I should not have been sensible, if I had not seen it from a minaret in the town: the hill is shaped in a semicircle like a theatre, a little hill on each side of the entrance to it adds to the beauty of it. The city is built all round up the sides of the hills, and in the area between; it is planted with trees rather thicker than Constantinople; and though I had seen it from several places before, yet the view from the minaret was one of the most surprising and beautiful sights I ever beheld; the town cannot be less than four miles in circumference, being the great resort for travellers from the east. The waladea motque here, though not large, is very fine, and built in a good taste, and beautifully adorned. The Persian ambassador resides at the skirts of the town in a well situated palace; he did not care to see any Franks, the porte being very suspicious, and the minister very wisely avoided giving umbrage without any reason; though the Persians have a much greater regard for the Franks than the Turks, and accosted us in the streets with much civility. There is a hill over Scutari to the north-east, which has two summits, from which there are very extensive and delightful views of Constantinople, and the adjacent places; the beauty of which indeed cannot be conceived without being on the place.

There are near twenty villages on each side of the Thracian Bosphorus, or The Canal, as it is called by the Europeans. The hills coming very near the sea on the Asia side, for this, as well as for other reasons, the villages are small; but on the Europe side they are so large that it appears almost like one continued city for about three parts of the way towards the Euxine sea, as far as a village called Boyucderry, where the French and Venetian ambassadors have country-houses: on both sides, the grand signor has a great number of seraglios and kiosks, or summer houses, many of them built by viziers, and other great persons; all whose estates are seized on by the monarch, whenever they are disgraced or die. The canal is very pleasant; the villages all along, and the hills over them covered with wood, make the view very delightful. The Bosphorus, now called, The Canal, is, according to the antients, fifteen miles long; they computed it to be seven stadia in width from Chalcedon to Byzantium; but in other parts only four or five stadia broad. The narrowest part is thought to be between Rumelli Hisari [The castle of Romelia], and Anatole Hisari [The Eastern or Asiatic castle], and consequently it must have been there, at the temple of Mercury on the Europe side, that Darius built a bridge, in order to lead his army against the Scythians. The castle on the Asia side was built by Bajazet the first, when he besieged Constantinople about three hundred and fifty years ago; that on the Europe side was the work of Mahomet the second, before he laid siege to Constantinople:

Constantinople: here, all ships that go to the Black sea are examined, and mutinous janizaries are often imprisoned, strangled, and thrown into the sea. Opposite to Scutari, there is a small rock or island, on which there is a tower called Kisculi, or the virgin tower, and by the Franks the tower of Leander; there is a little turret disjoined from it, on which there is a lanthorn for a lamp, which they keep burning in it by night for the direction of shipping. Under the tower there is a cistern of rain water: this tower was built by the emperor Emanuel, and it is said that there was a wall from it to the Asia side. Towards the mouth of the Black sea there are two other fortifications called Anatole Kala [The Asiatic fort], and Rumeli Kala [The Romelia fort], and by the Franks they are called the new castles, as those before mentioned are distinguished by the name of the old castles; these near the Black sea were built in one thousand six hundred twenty-eight, by Amurath the fourth, in order to hinder the incursions of the Cossacks, who had come into the canal, and burnt many of the villages. Near the castle, on the Asia side, which they look on as the entrance into the Bosphorus from the Black sea, there was a temple to Jupiter Urius, which was five miles from the port of Daphné, probably the bay at Boyucderry on the European side, which was ten miles from Byzantium. Some think that the name of a place called Amur Ieri, which is near the castle, was derived from this temple; opposite to it there was a temple of Serapis. It is said that Jason returning from Colchos sacrificed here to the twelve gods, and probably in particular to Jupiter Urius, or Jupiter that gives favourable winds. In the temple of Jupiter Urius there was a bronze statue; and the inscription, supposed to have been on the pedestal of it, was found at Chalcedon, is explained by the learned Chishul, and the original inscription has been since brought to England, and is now in Dr. Mead's most curious collection of antiquities. Opposite to Boyucderry there is a hill on the Asia side, where they pretend to shew the tomb of Nimrod; it is a spot railed in, and a piece of ground is laid out like a garden bed, four feet broad, and forty-four feet long; and the Turks have some devotion for this place: to the south of it, in a very pleasant vale, there is a summer house of the grand signor's, which is known by the name of Tocat; it is about a mile from the canal. Five miles further at the entrance into the Bosphorus were the Cyanean rocks or islands, called also the Symplegades, one, on the Europe side, the other in Asia; that on the Asia side lies further out of the canal to the east; on both sides, at the entrance of the canal from the Euxine sea, there is a tower for a lighthouse. The Euxine sea is called by the Turks Caradenize [The Black Sea]; It is looked on as a very dangerous sea, by reason that it is subject to violent winds, especially from the north, and has very few good ports; it is navigated mostly by small vessels, which import provisions to Constantinople, and some larger that are employed in bringing timber and wood: it is probable now the Muscovites have Asoph, some other trade may open from those parts, especially that of furs, which, during the war, had in part been carried on from Sweden by ships of that nation. The sea is said to be three hundred and fifty miles broad from north to south, and nine hundred long from east to west; it is supposed to have some subterraneous passages, as so many great rivers fall into it, and yet it has only the small outlet of the Thracian Bosphorus. The northwardly winds which blow from it most part of the year bring clouds with them, and these cool refreshing winds make the climate of Constantinople very temperate and cool in summer, whilst other places in the same latitude suffer much from the heat.

CHAP. XXI. — *Of the Dardaneli, Ilium, and Old Troy.*

WHEN I left Constantinople, I went to Adrianople, Rodosto, Gallipoli, and some other places in Thrace; and on the twenty-fourth of July embarked at Gallipoli, and sailed to the Dardaneli on the Asia side; it is called twelve leagues; but is no more than twelve miles, being so far by land from Lamsac near opposite to Gallipoli. The Hellespont was so called by the antients, because Helle, attempting to swim over here on the ram with the golden fleece, was drowned: the Europeans call it the Dardaneli, as well as the castles about the middle of it; the Turks give it the name of Bogas [The mouth or entrance]. The entrance to the Dardaneli is now to be computed from the Asia light-house, about a league without Lamsac, and from the Europe light-house, half a league to the north of Gallipoli; the whole length is about twenty-six miles, the broadest part is not computed to be above four miles over, though at Gallipoli it was judged by the antients to be five miles, and from Sestus to Abydus only seven stadia; they also computed it a hundred and seventy stadia from Lampfacum to Abydus, seventy from that place to Dardanus, the distance from which to Rhæteum is not mentioned, which may be twenty, but from Rhæteum to Sigeum was sixty, in all thirty miles and a half, excepting the distance between Dardanus and Rhæteum; so that it is probable they measured round by the bays on the sea. The land on each side the Hellespont is mostly hilly, especially to the west. About three leagues from Gallipoli the passage is wide, and the land locking into the south, it appears like a large basin; then follows the narrow streight, which is about a league in length; at the south end of it are the Dardanel castles, near the middle of the Dardanel passage; they have been thought by many to be on the site of Sestus and Abydus; though some have conjectured that these places were at the north entrance of this narrow passage, where, on the Asia side, there is a long mound or rampart, with a barrow at each end, like the remains of a castle: on the Europe side there is a hill; and to the north of it is a ruined castle, called Acbath, which at present is the habitation of a Dervise, and may be some remains of Sestus; though the passage over the streight might be to the south-east, at some little distance from it: what induces me to think that those towns were here, is the distance mentioned between Abydus and Dardanus, which is eight miles and three-quarters; for the promontory Dardanium, and the city Dardanus, must have been the cape, called by the Franks cape Berbiere or Berbieri, only a league from the present castle, which some suppose to have been Abydus; the river Rhodius also is said to have been between Abydus and Dardanus, which seems to be the river called Chaie, that falls into the sea at the castle, washing the walls of it when it overflows; so that if Abydus had been there, it would have been said that the river, though south of the town, fell into the sea at Abydus, and not between that place and Dardanus. Strabo also says, that Abydus is at the mouth of the Hellespont and Propontis; from which one may argue, that it was rather at the north end of this streight towards the Propontis: wherever it was, it is remarkable on account of the bridge which Xerxes made there from Asia into Europe. The Rhodius therefore falling in at the old castle of the Dardaneli on the Asia side, we are to conclude that Cynosema, the tomb of Hecuba, was at the opposite castle, being described to be over against the mouth of the Rhodius. Abydus was built by the Milesians with the permission of Gyges king of Lydia, to whom it was then subject. The people of this place made a stout resistance against Philip the First of Macedon, and destroyed themselves when they could hold out no longer.

The

The castles are sometimes called by the Turks Bogas Hisar [The castles of the entrance]; but that to the east is called Natoli Ekihisar [The old Asia castle]; it is a high square building, encompassed with an outer wall and turrets; there are fourteen large brass cannon without carriages on the sea shore; they are always loaded with stone ball, ready to sink any ship that would offer to pass without coming to anchor, in order to be searched: they fire likewise with ball, in answer to any ship that salutes the castles; as this does much damage where they fall, so the lands directly opposite commonly pay no rent: there are eight other cannon towards the south; I saw among them two very fine ones, one is twenty-five feet long, and adorned with flower-de-luces, which, they say, was a decoration antiently used by the emperors of the east before the French took those arms, and I have seen them in many parts; the other cannon is of brass, twenty feet long, but in two parts, after the old way of making cannon of iron of several pieces; the bore of this is about two feet, so that a man may very well fit in it; two quintals and a half of powder are required to load it; and it carries a ball of stone of fourteen quintals*. The town on the north side of the castle is a mile and a half in circumference, and has in it twelve hundred houses, two hundred of which are Greeks, a hundred Armenians, and fifty of Jews. They have a great manufacture both here and on the other side, of cotton and sail-cloth; and they make here a sort of ware like that of Delft, which is exported to the value of fifteen thousand dollars a-year; they also send out some wax, oil, wool, cotton, and cotton-yarn; and build small ships. The town is situated in a plain, which begins about two miles to the north, and extends to the promontory Dardanium, being about a league broad; I crossed it going near to the east by the river, and went in between the hills to Jaur-Kala, situated on a high hill; it is said to have been built in haste, and did not appear to be of any great antiquity. A French consul resides at the castle of the Dardanel's, and a droggerman for the English and Dutch, who is a Jew. The other castle, called Rumeli Ekihisar [The old castle of Romelia], has in it twenty large brass cannon, one of which is of a great size; but not so large as that on the other side. The town is near a mile round in compass, stands on the side of the hill, and is inhabited only by Turks, who carry on a great manufacture of sail-cloth.

At the castle I was with the English droggerman, who set out with me to the south on the twenty-seventh, in order to see the situation of old and new Troy: we went by the sea-side, and in an hour came to the cape, called by the Turks Kepos-berneu, and by Europeans Cape Berbier or Berbreri, which I take to be the promontory Dardanium of the antients; and I observed on it a rising ground, which seemed to have been improved by art, and might be the spot where old Dardanus stood, which was but a small town. Here Sylla and Mithridates met, and made a treaty of peace; some say, that Ganymede was taken from this cape; others, from Harpagia, on the confines of Cyzicus and Priapus; there was here also a cape called Gyges, probably some small head of land that might be a part of this promontory. To the north of the supposed Dardanus there is a vale, extending some way to the east, where, probably, was Ophrynum, and the grove of Hector, mentioned near Dardanus, as well as the lake Pteleus; for I observed that way some water, which makes it a sort of a morassy ground. Further to the south the high white hills, which run along to the north of the plain of Troy, end at the sea; on some of these eminences near the sea Rhæteum must have been, which was situated on a hill; I concluded that it was near a Christian village

* A quintal is one hundred and ten rotoli of one hundred and forty-four drams.

called Telmefh, and more commonly Jaurcui, which is fix miles from the old caſtle, and about three from the ſuppoſed Dardanus. When I had paſſed theſe hills, I ſaw from the ſouth a high pointed hill over the ſea, which looked as if it had been fortified, and I judged that it was near weſt of Telmefh. The Aiantium, where the ſepulchre and ſtatue of Ajax were, is mentioned as near Rhæteum on the ſhore; and I obſerved at the deſcent to the plain of Troy a little hillock, on which a barrow was raiſed, and there were ſome broken pieces of marble about it; but whether this was the tomb of Ajax, would be difficult to determine: we at length came into that famous plain, juſt within the mouth of the Hellespont; it is about two miles broad and four long, from the conflux of the Simois and Scamander, to the ſea. To the eaſt of this plain is that hill, which, as Strabo obſerves, runs along to the eaſt between the Simois and Scamander; two chains of hills end on the north ſide of the plain, one between the Simois and the river Thymbrius, the other between the Thymbrius and the ſea, where the plain ends to the weſt at the ſea; within the entrance to the Hellespont there are ſaltens; and in the plain near the ſea, one paſſes over ſtanding waters on two or three bridges, which are the marſhes that Strabo mentions; as the others are the ſea lakes, all which, he ſays, were made by the Scamander; he obſerves, that this river brings much mud along with it, and has a blind mouth or outlet, which is very true, for the ſea fills the mouth of the Scamander with ſand; ſo that, as in many rivers in theſe parts, there is no viſible outlet, but a bank of ſand being at the mouth of the river, the water paſſes through it; unleſs when they are overflowed by great winter torrents, which riſe above it; and this is what ſeems to be meant by a blind mouth; for the Scamander is a very ſmall rivulet in the ſummer, though the bed of it is wide, and is filled with the winter floods. To the ſouth-weſt a ridge of low hills runs near the ſea, from the Sigean promontory, now called cape Ienechahere, which is at the entrance of the Hellespont: the ancient Sigeum was on this cape, which was deſtroyed by the Trojans, on account of ſome jealousies they had conceived of the inhabitants: there is now a village on the ſpot called Ienechahere [The new city], or more commonly Jaurcui; and there are two Greek churches in it; at one of them I ſaw the famous Sigean inſcription. There is a piece of a ſarcophagus of white marble near it, on which are ſome reliefs of fine workmanſhip; there is alſo here a mezzo relievo, as big as life, broke off at the hands, and is very finely executed; it is a young man who holds in his hand ſome inſtrument, which being broke off, appears only as the end of a ſtick, which might be the handle of a ſpear, on which he is repreſented as looking with a melancholy aſpect. This, poſſibly, might be deſigned to repreſent Achilles (who was had in great veneration here) looking on that ſpear with which he had been mortally wounded. To the north-weſt of this place, a little lower on the hill, is a large barrow, and eaſt of it a leſs, and to the ſouth of that another ſmall one; and though it is certain that the ſultans and their viziers have ſuch barrows made by their ſoldiers in many parts where they paſs, the larger fort for the ſultan, and the leſs for the viziers; yet, notwithstanding, I cannot but remark, if I may not be thought to give too much into conjectures, that theſe, poſſibly, may be very extraordinary pieces of antiquity, and the great one might be raiſed over the ſepulchre of Achilles, as the other two might be on thoſe of Patroclus and Antilochus, who were buried here; and to whom the Trojans paid a ſort of divine honours. To the north-weſt of theſe, under the hill, is the new caſtle in Aſia, on the ſouth ſide of the mouth of the Scamander, with a ſmall village about it, and a little town in it, being about a quarter of a mile in compaſs; in time of peace it is open and neglected, and any one may enter; it has about it ſome very fine large braſs cannon, the bores of which are not leſs than a foot in diameter; there are

twenty-one of them to the south-west, and twenty-nine to the north; but in time of war with the Venetians a pasha resides in each of the four castles; there are a hundred and thirty men belonging to this, who follow their trades and employs.

I hired two janizaries to go with me the next morning, on the twenty-eighth, towards old Troy, and to the mines, the road being very dangerous. The low hill which runs to the south-east from the Sigeon promontory has three summits or heights, divided by small vales, or rather hollow grounds; on that next the cape was Sigeum, about a mile in compass; on the second there is no village; but to the south-east of it there is a barrow, and in the hollow between it and the third are two small rising grounds; on the third hill is Ienecui [The new village], inhabited by Christians: to the south-east of this there is a fourth, which extends to the north-east towards the conflux of the two rivers. Ascending this height towards the north-east end of it, I came to a village called Bujuk, where there are great heaps of ruins, many broken pillars, and pieces of marble; and at the burial place of Boscui, about three quarters of an hour further, there are a great number of hewn stones, columns, and pieces of entablature, and this I take to have been Ilium, which was once a village, and famous for an antient temple of Minerva; it was afterwards made a city by Alexander, when he came to it upon his victory at the Granicus; and after his death it was improved by Lysimachus. The Scamander and Simois are said to meet under this place; and old Troy is supposed to have been at the Ilian village on the height directly over the meeting of these rivers. On the north-east end of this rising ground or hill, on which Ilium stood, there is a barrow, which might be the tomb of Aisyetes, said to be five stadia from old Ilium in the way to the modern city. In this plain of Troy most of the battles mentioned by Homer were fought. It is probable this whole chain of low hills from Sigeum were formerly called Sigia; for Strabo says, that was the name of the place where Ilium was built, by order of Alexander, after he had gained that signal victory on the Granicus. Achæum was adjoining to it, that is, its territory bounded on that of Ilium, and the town might be where Jenicui is now situated, and its port, towards Sigeum, was twelve stadia from Ilium: adjoining to this was Larissa, which might be between Ilium and the sea; and also Colonæ, which, probably, was in the valley towards Eski-stambole, which is supposed to have been Alexandria, or Troas. On my return, going further east, I travelled by the Scamander, some miles before it joins with the Simois, where it is called Gofdah-su, as it afterwards has the name of Mandras-su. I crossed from it to the south-west, over that high ground which is between the two rivers; descending a little above the confluence of the waters: I thought it would be in vain to search on this height for the ruins of old Troy, where it is supposed to have been; all this part being now covered with wood; and the site of it was not known seventeen hundred years ago. I then crossed over the river Thymbrius, called Gimbrick-Chaie; the vale through which it passes must be the Thymbrian plains, mentioned as near Troy, in which the Lycians were encamped: this river fell into the Scamander at the temple of Thymbrian Apollo, mentioned as fifty stadia from Ilium. Under the height of the supposed antient Troy, the country abounds much in a low shrub wood, which, probably is that rough spot mentioned by Homer under old Troy, and called Erineus.

From the supposed ruins of Ilium, I went about six miles eastward to a village called Eskiupjee at the foot of mount Ida, where I was recommended to the aga. There are mines here of silver, lead, copper, iron, and alum, of which very little profit is made, though any one may have leave to work them, paying only a fifth of the produce to the governor: those who undertake this work are mostly Greeks, who have been obliged to fly from the islands or other parts. The mines are dug like rabbit holes, so

as that there is no need of ropes or ladders in order to descend. The alum stone as chalk is dug in pits, and being burnt, and afterwards boiled in water, which is drawn off at a proper time, the alum becomes solid, much after the same manner as they make saltpetre.

Ida is not a single mount, but a chain of hills that extends from cape Lectus to the north-north-east, as far as the country that was called Zelia, bounding on the territory of Cyzicus; all the country to the west of it being the kingdom of Troy. The highest summit of this mountain seems to be that part which is directly east of the place where the Simois and Scamander meet; this, probably, is that part of it called Cotylus, which is computed to be about thirteen or fourteen miles from the supposed Scepſis; the antients say, that it was a hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles from that place. The rivers Scamander, the Granicus, and Æsepus, rise out of mount Cotylus, their sources not being above three or four miles apart; the Scamander is said to rise at Biramitch about six hours, or twelve miles from the mines. Another summit of mount Ida is Gargarum, probably more to the south; there was on it an Æolian city called Gargara. To the south of the mines there is a long rocky mountain called Chigur; on the top of it are ruins of an antient city, particularly of the walls, which are ten feet thick, and built of large grey stone without cement; they are about three miles in circumference, and there are eight gates to the city. I take this place to be Scepſis; and Eskiupjee, the name of the village near, seems to bear some resemblance to it. Old Scepſis was in another place, near the highest part of mount Ida, probably towards mount Cotylus; it was at the distance of sixty stadia from new Scepſis, to which the inhabitants removing, the old place afterwards had the name of Palæſcepſis. Demetrius the grammarian was of this place, who is so often quoted by Strabo in relation to these parts; an author who wrote thirty books, only on sixty lines of Homer's catalogue of the Trojans and their allies; and a very remarkable account is given how Aristotle's library and manuscripts were preserved in this place for many years.

I went to the mines with a design to go to Troas, or Alexandria, opposite to Tenedus; but the aga would not advise me by any means to go to that place, which is now called Etkistambole, or to any of the places in the neighbourhood; because the pasha being in search of rogues, they were skulking about the country, and we should have a great chance of falling into their hands; so I determined to return to the castles by another way: we, however, ventured to go about two miles to the west, to a high rocky hill, like a sugar loaf, called Kis-Kaleh [The virgin castle]; there is a winding way up to it; and on the summit of this hill is a ruined castle, defended by round towers at the corners; it seems to have been built in haste: to the west there is a part of it which is lower than the rest, and fortified; and there are a great number of cisterns cut into the hill in that part. We went on to the tents of the Uruks, who are a poor sort of Turcomen that live among the hills, and are chiefly subsisted by the sheep and goats which they breed.

We set out from the mines on the thirtieth, and after travelling about five miles to the north-west, we came to a town called Enai, a little below which the rivulet Enai-chaie falls into the Scamander; this seems to be the river Andrius, which rose in the country called Carasena, and fell into the Scamander: the pasha was here with his people, in order to clear the country of rogues, and I saw on the outside of the town two of them on stakes who had been lately impaled. From this place I travelled by the Scamander, and crossed the hills, on which, probably, old Troy stood, to the Simois and Thymbrius, and returned in a road more to the east than that in which I came to the Dardanel, or old castle of Asia. It is to be observed, that to the east of the ter-

ritory of the city of old Troy, (which, without doubt, was itself a little principality or kingdom), was the district or principality of Cebrenia to the north of the Scamander, probably extending to the great height of mount Ida before mentioned.

CHAP. XXI. — *Of Troas.*

AFTER I had been at Bourfa and Nice, I returned to the Dardanels, and went by Tenedus to Eliskambole, supposed to be Alexandria or Troas, built by Antigonus, and called Antigonias; and afterwards improved by Lysimachus, and called by him Alexandria, in honour of his master Alexander the Great; it is thought to have been made a Roman colony by Augustus. This place is situated on a rising ground, which ends in high cliffs at the sea opposite to Tenedus; the walls appear to have been about four miles in circumference. At the north-west corner of the walls are the ruins of a tower; under this, to the west, there is a plain spot between the height and the sea, where there are remains of an old port or basin, near half a mile in circumference, and about a furlong from the sea, with which it communicates by a canal. Going along by the remains of the old walls towards the south-east, something more than a quarter of a mile, I came to the remains of the Hippodrome or circus, which is sunk into the ground; at the east end of it there are ruins of some considerable building; and further to the south is a sort of a deep bed as of a canal to the sea, which might serve as a port in order to lay up their galleys in the winter; to the east there is a winding valley, and beyond it is the high ground, on which a large temple is situated; there was a wall carried from the town wall to the Hippodrome, and, probably, this might be the bounds of the old city before it was enlarged; and I observed that to this place the walls were built in the old manner, one tier of stone set up an end, and the other laid flat, the walls further east not being built in that style. I came to the east side, where there had been three or four gates; one about the middle, and opposite to the large temple, near a quarter of a mile from it, of which there are great remains; it was very much after the manner of that building at Ephesus, which was either a temple or the gymnasium; it is a large inclosure built with arches on three sides, which are inclosed except on the north side, where they are open, as they were, probably, on the south; there seem also to have been considerable buildings to the north and south on the outside of this inclosure; the temple itself was in the middle, and was finished in a very magnificent manner, though it is so small that it seems to have been designed only to receive some great statue, which might be the object of their worship; and though there is a very grand entrance into the inclosure at the east end, yet, by what I could judge, the grand front of the temple was to the west, where there are three very large and beautiful arches remaining, which made the front of it; the cornices, at the springs of them, are very richly adorned with sculpture; and it is probable that the whole was cased with white marble: the peasants call this Baluke Serai [The Palace of honey], because, they say, many bees and hornets make their combs in the holes of the walls; but it is more probable that it is derived from Baal, the eastern name of Apollo. On the south side of the city, a little way within the walls, are the remains of a theatre, which is beautifully situated on the west side of the high ground, commanding a glorious view of the sea, of Tenedus, and the islands about it; all the seats and front are destroyed, and there appears to have been only one arch at each end; on the ground to the east of the theatre are remains of a very thick high wall, where there might be a reservoir of water. On the low ground, at a small distance to the north of the theatre, are remains of a temple, or some other building, of a singular structure; they call it

Kisla ferai [The Virgin's palace], which, probably, might be a temple of Diana; it seems to be a building of very great antiquity; the principal front is to the south, which was adorned with pilasters; it appears as a large square building, and every tier of stone sets in on the other three sides at least half a foot; entering at the south front, there is a room which is not large; it is something in the shape of a cross, the part to the north is a passage through the building, as I suppose, though it is now closed up; over this passage, and on each side above, are the apartments to the entrance, which is from the north, and probably there was a flight of steps to it; though the ground is higher there than on the south side; the middle part opens to the room below, exactly over the entrance to the long passage that leads to the north. This whole building is arched over, but flat at top on the outside; and it is very probable, that the grand temple was a room over all these of the size of the whole, and that there were some rooms under this upper story, to which there are now no entrance. The walls of the city seem to be above a mile in length from east to west, and near a mile from north to south: both the walls and these buildings, especially the first great temple, have been much destroyed by the command of the present Grand Signior, on his first accession to the throne, in order to carry the best stones and marbles to Constantinople, to be employed in public buildings; and, they say, he was led to it by a renegade, who persuaded them that they should find great treasures in this place.

About half a mile to the east of the city walls there is a vale, in which there runs a salt stream called *Aiyeh-fu*; on the west side of this stream there are many hot sulphurous salt springs, which seemed to have also something of chalybeat in them; there are two baths built over them on the side of the hills, and ruins of many buildings near it, some of which are very antient, and several arches of them remain, with the walls built of black and white stone set in lozenge-wise; some have thought this to be *Larissa*. At one of the baths I saw a colossal statue of a woman of white marble; the head was broke off, but the drapery is very fine, and one of her hands appears to have been covered by the vest. Returning to the port directly from the baths, and leaving the old city to the south, I passed by some small square piers, which might be part of a portico to walk in.

I took the two Greek boatmen to accompany me, but either out of fear or laziness, both of them soon left me; and I examined every thing without any one to accompany me but my own servant, which they pretended was very dangerous. Going from this place to *Tenedus* by sea, I observed the barrow, mentioned between the second and third hills from the *Sigean* promontory, was very much exposed to view from the sea, and so might, more probably, be the tomb of *Achilles*; that also on the fourth hill, supposed to be the burial place of *Aysetes*, appeared likewise to great advantage. All the country about this city, and the space within the walls also, are under wood, being chiefly a particular sort of oak, with the large acorns, which are gathered by the country people, in order to be exported to Italy for tanning.

CHAP. XXII. — *Of Lampfacus, and the Islands of the Propontis.*

AFTER I returned to the Dardaneli I set out northwards by land, on the thirty-first of July, towards *Lampfacus*. Between that city and *Alydus* some places are named by *Homér*, which were not known by the antient geographers; one of them is *Aribba*, the residence of *Asius*, which was on the river *Selleus*; about two hours, or four miles to the north of the castle, there is a river called *Mullacui-Chaie*, which may be the old *Selleus*, and the village of *Mullacui*, which is a little higher on it, the antient *Aribba*.

Near.

Near four miles further is a larger river called Borgas-Chaie, which may be the river Pactius mentioned by the poet. On the side of the hills, over the plain through which it runs, there is a very pleasant village called Borgas, in one part of which there rise a great number of fine springs, insomuch that it is called the thousand fountains.

Lampfacus, first called Pityusa, on the Asia shore, near opposite to Gallipoli, is about a mile further to the south than that city; this place was given to Themistocles to furnish him with wine. Several great men among the antients were natives of Lampfacus; and Epicurus lived here for some time, and enjoyed the company of the learned men of this city. There is a little current on the south side of the present small town, which is situated on a height, and on the plain near the sea; the antient city seems to have extended up the rising ground further to the east; I saw no ruins, except of an old thick wall in the town; it has two ports, very well defended by heads of land which extend out into the sea: the little hills all about it are finely cultivated, being covered with vines and other fruit trees; I could not go so freely about this place, as the plague was there at that time. About a mile to the north of the town there is a pleasant village called Shardack, from which there is a great export of all sorts of melons and other fruits to Constantinople; and this being directly opposite to Gallipoli, it is the place from which they cross over; a boat going every morning early, and returning before noon. Mount Rhea was five miles from Lampfacus, where there was a temple to the mother of the gods; and in the territory of this city was a place called Gergethium, famous for its vineyards.

On the first of August in the evening I embarked to go to the island of Marmora. Between Lampfacus and Parium was a city called Pæsus, and a river of the same name; when this city was destroyed the people went to Lampfacus. Fourteen miles east-north-east is a village called Kimere, and a small river in a bay on the west side of that cape, on which, I suppose, Parium and Priapus were situated. Kimere is near the north-west angle, which the cape makes with the bottom of the bay; here I found medals were to be met with, and I conjecture that it might be the antient Pæsus, with the river of the same name: returning out of this bay, and continuing along the cape to the north for about two leagues, we saw a small bay in the side of the cape towards the north-west corner of it; and to the north of it there are two small rocks; it is probable that Parium was here, which is placed in the Tables twenty-two miles from Lampfacus: that city was built by the Milesians, Erithræans, and the people of the Isle of Paros; it flourished much under the kings of Pergamus, of the race of Attalus, on account of the services the city did to that house*. On the confines of the territories of Priapus and Cizicus was a place called Harpagia, where, some say, Ganymede was taken; though others fix that story to cape Dardanium. Between Priapus and the Æsepus was the river Granicus, so famous for the battle in which Alexander routed the Persians; and

* There was a place called Pitvea in that part of the Parian district, which went under the name of Pityuns; over it was mount Pityodes, so called from being covered with pines; it was between Parium and Priapus, near a place called Linus on the sea, which was famous for a sort of cockles called Linusian cockles. Between Parium and Priapus also was a city and country called Adraſtea, from king Adraſtus, who first built a temple to Nemesis there; the stones of which, when it was destroyed, were carried to Parium, and there was only an altar made, in the place of it, to the honour of the deity. Here also was an oracle of Apollo, Actæus, and Diana; but where any of these places were is unknown, it not being secure to travel in that part. The Tables place Priapus fifteen miles from Parium, which was also on the sea, and I think must have been about the angle which the cape makes with the land to the north-east; it has its name from that infamous worship which was in vogue in all these parts as far as Lampfacus. The deity, the son of Bacchus and Nympha, according to their fables, being born in Lampfacus. This city had a port, and some say that it was built by the Milesians at the same time as Abydus, others that it was founded by the people of Cyzicus.

for the rout of the army of Mithridates by Lucullus, after he had raised the siege of Cyzicus: and I was informed, that between this cape and that of Cyzicus there are two rivers; the largest discharges itself to the west of a small point opposite to the island Alonia, which, I think, is called Roia, and must be the *Æsepus*, which was the bounds of the kingdom of Troy; and seven or eight miles to the west is another river, which, if I mistake not, is called Teker Chaie, and must be the Granicus. This river ran through the country of Adrastea, and had on it a city, long ago destroyed, called Sidena, and a territory of the same name. The *Æsepus*, after having run about seventy miles, falls here into the sea. Strabo mentions, that towards its rise, on the left side of it, was Polichna a walled city, Palæcepsis, and Alazonium; and on the right between Polichna and Palæcepsis, Neacome, where there were silver mines. The river Carefus falls into the *Æsepus*, rising at Maluns between Palæcepsis and Achæum, which is opposite to Tenedus: from this river the country was called Carasena, to which the country of Dardania extended. The *Æsepus* run through the country of Zelia, which was ten miles from the mouth of it, extending to the foot of mount Ida, where it ends that way. A little above the mouth of the river was the sepulchre of Memnon son of Tithonus, and a village called Memnon; concerning all which places nothing is known, by reason that the country is frequented by a bad set of people, and no caravans pass that way.

On the third, at noon, we arrived at an island to the south of Marmora, which is called in Turkish Ampedes, and by the Greeks Aphsia; it is about a league to the west of the island of Alonia; this island is about ten miles in circumference: we went to a village on the west side of it near a small lake; it is inhabited both by Christians and Turks; and there is a Turkish village on the east side of it; and also a small convent to the south. This whole island is let for six hundred dollars a year: they make some wine in it. We crossed about two miles to the north-west to the island of Cutalli, which is not so large, and has only one village of Christians of about seventy houses: it is a fine spot of ground, and was formerly all covered with vineyards; but now the inhabitants apply more to the fishing trade: this island pays also four or five hundred dollars a year; and these two little islands, with regard to the Christians in them, are governed by two or three of the chiefs, Proto-Iërai [*Πρωτοῖναι*], as are most of the small islands, both in the Propontis and Archipelago; and it is these persons, or one of them, that commonly rent the island, in case it is not taken by a Turk, who comes and resides in them. These islands and Alonia are covered to the north by the island of Marmora; so that, when the winds are northerly, the boats that go to Constantinople sail between them, in order to be under the shelter of that island.

On the fourth we sailed two leagues to the island of Marmora. The antients mentioned the old and new Proconnesus on the sea going from Priapus to Parium. The new Proconnesus I take to be Marmora, because a quarry of fine marble is mentioned to be in it, for which it is at present famous, being a beautiful sort of white alabaster; I observed also here a rock of grey granite, which they have used in building, and is not much inferior to the Egyptian. This is the most northern of these islands; it is high and rocky, about four leagues long and one broad: there are six little towns in it on the sea, mostly inhabited by Christians; there are also six convents in the island, two of which are in ruins, and the others inhabited only by two or three Caloyers. This island is let for five purses a year, which is about three hundred and fifty pounds, by a person who has the title of waiwode. In this island, as well as the others, justice is administered by a cadi who resides here. There is an uninhabited island three leagues to the north-west of Marmora.

¶ We sailed about three leagues southward to the island Alonia, which is a very fine spot of ground, about eighteen miles round; it is covered with vineyards, and is famous for an excellent dry white wine, which is commonly drank at Constantinople; and a great quantity is imported from the neighbouring continent under the same name, especially from the parts about Cyzicus, and is indeed a wine much of the same nature. There is a semicircular bay to the north-west of this island, opposite to which is a small island, and the harbour being covered by Marmora to the north, and by the island Aphsia to the west, it is an excellent port, and appears like a lake from the town. This island has five villages on it; the greater part of the inhabitants are Christians; and it pays nine purses a year: I take it to be the old Proconnesus, the other two islands being very inconsiderable. The bishop of the four islands resides in the town called Alonia, where I was very civilly entertained by him at his house; he has his cathedral in this place, and is immediately subject to the patriarch of Constantinople; he is commonly called the bishop of Alonia, but his true title is bishop of Proconnesus [Ὁ Πρεσβυτήσις]; and I found he thought that no other island went by the name of Proconnesus but Marmora.

CHAP. XXIII. — *Of Artacui and Cyzicus.*

FROM Alonia we sailed on the fifth to the westward of that land, which was formerly the island Cyzicus; and afterwards shaping our course for about two leagues along the south side of it, we arrived at a town called Artacui*. To the east of the town there is a small cape, which was antiently fortified; between this and the land to the south there is a narrow passage into one of the ports of the antient Cyzicus, which is a large basin, about a league in length; and at the east end of it is the isthmus or neck of land that leads to the town of Cyzicus. Artacui is on the peninsula which was formerly the island Cyzicus; the town is a mile and a half in circumference, having in it about fifteen hundred Greek families, and not above four hundred Turkish houses: it is the proper place of residence of the archbishop of Cyzicus; but as he is one of the twelve first archbishops, he usually lives at Constantinople, coming to this place only once in two or three years; there are no less than twelve churches in the town, and one in a small island opposite to it: that island is a rock of marble, and there is a heap of ruins on it, and some pieces of marble finely worked, which shew that there was some antient building on it, which probably was a temple. The support of this place is a great export of white wine, which is very good, and passes for Alonia wine at Constantinople, to which city they carry it.

The hill on the cape to the east was strongly fortified by a very antient wall across the north side of it, about half way up the hill, and it seems to have been built for a defence to the entrance of the port, there being many large hewn stones about a church at the top of it called Saint Simon, which gives name to the hill, and these are, probably, the remains of a strong tower or castle: the wall is twenty feet thick, cased with tiers of black and white marble alternately, the white being set up an end, about eighteen inches deep, and the black laid flat is nine inches thick, after the antient manner of building: towards the east end there is a gateway, with a tower on each side, thirty feet square, and three more towers of the same kind to the west, a hundred paces apart.

* This was, doubtless, the antient Artace, a colony from Miletus. Strabo, xiv, p. 635.

On the seventh we went a league from Artacui, by the western port, to the east to the ruins of Cyzicus; it is situated to the north of the isthmus, or neck of land, where formerly there were two bridges, by which they passed from the island of Cyzicus to the continent: the places where the two bridges were are now to be seen, for there are two passages or causeways, which are used at this time, as roads, all the rest of the isthmus being a morass, except two large sandy banks on each side made by the sea. At the north-east part of the eastern bank there is a height, which seems to have been an island in the antient passage, and opposite to it the city walls are higher and stronger than in any other parts. The island of Cyzicus was about sixty-two miles in circumference, and appears like a broad mountainous cape. The city had a great territory belonging to it, and was governed by its own wholesome laws, such as those of Rhodes, Marseilles, and Carthage. This people was so strong that they sustained, with great bravery, the siege of Mithridates, who had a hundred and fifty thousand foot, besides horse, and four hundred ships, obliging him to leave the place. The hill on the opposite continent was called Adrastea. The city was partly in the plain, and partly on the side of mount Urfus, over which was mount Dindymon, with a temple on it, built by the Argonauts, to Dindymene the mother of the gods. There were two ports to the city which could be shut with chains; the large one, I suppose, to the west, and the other, probably, between the eastern bridge and the entrance to the port; it had also above two hundred covered docks [*νεώσοικοι*] to lay up their ships and gallies in. There are still remains of the walls of the city; those to the south, it is to be supposed, went close along by the isthmus, and extended for some way to the west, near to the western port; though now the sea has retired in both parts. Towards the western port there are remains of two large octagon towers, the one being near to the other, which, I suppose, might defend an entrance from the sea that way: to the north-west of these are ruins of a great building, about a hundred paces square, of which very little remains but the fine arched passages under ground on which it was built, though many of them are destroyed; they seem chiefly to run parallel from east to west, and are from ten to fifteen feet wide, the walls between them being very thick, in which also there are some narrower arches; the large arches are finely built of hewn stone. To the north of this are signs of buildings, which I took to be an oblong square piazza, and that this building was about the middle of the south part of it: the piazza, probably, had a portico round it; because, in digging for stones, they found at the west end sixteen very large square pieces of marble, which, probably, were the foundations for so many pillars; this piazza was about a hundred paces broad, and, as well as I could conjecture, four hundred long. The walls are almost entirely destroyed on the west side of the city, but seem to have run along to the east of a winter torrent, and to have ascended up the hill near the place where that torrent passes a narrow freight between the hills, where there is a building on each side; it seems to have consisted of very high arches, which at first made me suppose that it was an aqueduct; but the city walls being below these, I could not conjecture for what purpose an aqueduct should be so high, unless to convey water to the summit of the hill without the city; the building on both sides seems to make part of an oval; it is, indeed, possible that water might be conveyed from the west side, though I saw no arches any way joining to them; but it might pass over the channel on arches, and be conveyed to the height of the eastern hill; the people call it the Princesses Palace, and say, that it was so high that they saw both the eastern and western bay from it: this building, as well as the town walls, are cased with a bastard grey granite, which, probably, was brought from Proconnesus, as well as the white marble, which they used about finer works; the walls go only about three

quarters of the way up the hill, and turn down on the east side at some distance from the cliffs of the eastern bay. A large theatre was built in the foot of the hill; the stones are all taken away, and that spot is now covered with trees; but I was informed by one well acquainted with the place, that there were formerly twenty-five seats; to the west of it there are some small remains of a circus; I saw the seats at the east end a great way under ground, the people having dug down in order to take away the materials, which are of white marble; as well as I could measure it, I conjectured the area to be about thirteen paces wide and two hundred and fifty long. There are still many medals dug up in this place; and here the famous Pescenius Niger was found, which is in the duke of Devonshire's collection. The land of the peninsula of Cyzicus extending a considerable way to the east as well as to the west, it makes another bay to the east, which has a large opening opposite to the island Calolimno. To the east of this bay there is a small town called Panormo; this place is about four miles from Cyzicus; in the way we saw a rock on the sea called Monastere, there being a convent on it, inhabited by one Caloyer. We crossed a small river, and arrived at Panormo, which is a well situated town, and has a tolerable port for small vessels; but it is not sufficiently secured from the north winds for larger ships; here they export corn, and all sorts of fruit, and wine, to Constantinople.

CHAP. XXIV. — *Of Mehullitch, Bourfa, and Mount Olympus.*

WE set out eastward on the eighth, and travelled over rich downs, and through a well inhabited country; I saw hills to the south, which seemed to be the foot of mount Ida. We passed Fenacui, called in Greek Deloke, and afterwards by Omarcui [The village of Omar], and saw at a good distance to the south-west the lake called Magriaas-Guel, which, for reasons hereafter mentioned, I suppose to be the lake Dascylis. After having travelled five hours from Panormo, I saw a village called Doulacui about a league to the south, and a tower on a height near it; they informed me that there was a ruined town there, which, I conjecture, might be Miletopolis*, and that a morass to the east, covered with water in the winter, was the lake of that name. Having travelled about twelve miles to the east of Panormo, we came to a large town called Mehullitch, which is at least two miles in circumference, though most of it is built like a village; it is on a height, at some little distance to the east of a river of the same name, which is the ancient river Ryndacus, that was the boundary between Mysia and Bithynia, it runs through a large plain, and is crossed in the way from Bourfa to Smyrna. Four miles below Mehullitch is the port to which the boats come up, being four miles also from the sea. The mouth of the river is said to be opposite to the island Besbicus, which must be Calolimno, though I thought that island was rather more to the west: there was a hill in it called Artace, which belonged to Cyzicus; and Strabo says, that near it there was an island of that name, and mentions cape Melanos, either the north-east cape of the island of Cyzicus, or that north of Panormo; they passed by it in the voyage from Cyzicus to Priapus: but as to the island Artace, I find on enquiry there is no island near Calolimno, except that of Monastere, which is at too great a distance, so that, probably, Strabo is here corrupted.

* At Panormo I met with a medal of Miletopolis in small brass; it had on it the head of the empress Lucilla CEBACTHAOYKIAAA ; the reverse is Pallas with a helmet, on the top of which is the head of an elderly man, and round it MIAHTONPOAEITON ; Strabo writes it MIAHTONPOAITIS ; from which one may conclude that the ancients pronounced the diphthong as the present Greeks, that is, only the last vowel in the diphthong, and that Strabo writ it according to pronunciation.

There are in Mehullitch about five hundred Greek and two hundred Armenian families, each having their church: they have a great trade here in silk; the mulberry trees are planted thick like nurseries, and are kept cut in such a manner as to be only about five feet high, as they are also about Bourfa, and in all this silk country. The silk is mostly exported to Constantinople, as it is said, to the amount of a hundred thousand dollars a-year; they also export much fruit and corn to that city. The French buy up wool, which is coarse, as well at this place as at Panormo and Carabor, and carry one half to Constantinople, and the other half to Smyrna, to be sent to Marseilles. A very great aqueduct was almost finished in order to bring water about four miles to the town; it consisted of twenty-seven pillars, built like obelisks, for the water to rise in to keep it to its height, as described before; but the person who was the benefactor dying, these indolent people had not the industry to finish it, though they have only well-water; I observed several of their wells, about three feet in diameter, which, instead of being built of stone and mortar within, have a sort of hoops or tubes of earthen ware, about two feet deep, put one on another from the bottom to the top, to keep the earth from falling in: they have here a stone or marble, which is a composition of red and blue pebbles with a cement of red; some of this I saw very finely polished at a mosque; and though the colours are not the brightest, yet it is a very beautiful and curious marble.

The country between this place and Panormo is a very rich down, well inhabited, and much improved about the villages. A league to the east of the town there is a ruined place, enclosed with a wall called Loupat, on the river Loupat, which, a little way to the east, comes out of the lake Abelliontè, and falls into the Rhyndacus. This lake is about twelve miles long from east to west, and three or four miles broad in some parts; a large arm extends seven or eight miles to the south, being about the same breadth as the other part of the lake. On the north side, near the east end, there is a town on a little high island called Abelliontè, from which they export silk and vinegar to Constantinople. This island is so near the land, that they can always pass to it on horseback, and in summer it is almost left dry; the lake extends southwards to the foot of mount Olympus, and to the east within eight miles of Bourfa; and as it is navigated by boats that go by the Loupat and Rhyndacus to the Propontis and to Constantinople, this makes the situation of all the country about it very advantageous; and yet, notwithstanding, the country on the north side of it is uninhabited, though a very rich soil, both because it is a country often frequented by robbers, and on account of its being a day's journey from Bourfa; so that any villages would be ruined by Turkish travellers, who choose to live on a village at no expence, rather than go to a town that is near. There is reason to conjecture, that this is the lake Apolloniatis, and that the town in the island is the antient Apollonia, because the Greeks at present call it Apollonia; but it being an island towards the east end of the lake, and the antient Apollonia, though mentioned with the lake, being called Apollonia on the Rhyndacus, I should rather take Mehullitch to be Apollonia mentioned by Strabo, though it is a league from the lake; indeed, I found no antiquities there, except two or three sepulchral reliefs and inscriptions; but I heard that there were some antiquities on the island; it is possible, that both the one and the other were antient towns, and might be called by the same name; and so one distinguished from the other by the name of the river it stood on, of which Strabo might not be apprized.

It is said, that the country between the Ælepus and Rhyndacus was inhabited by the Doliones; and from that river eastward by the Mygdones, as far as the territory of Myrlea, that is, Apamea Myrlea, now called Montagna, which is twelve miles to the

the south of Bourfa. There are three lakes mentioned in these parts, Dascylitis, Miletopolitis, and Apolloniatis. In the road from Panormo to Mehullitch, I saw a large lake called Magnias-Guel, which might be about ten miles north of Panormo; this I take to be the lake Dascylitis, on which there was a town called Dascylum; and the Doliones extending from the Æsepus to the Rhyndacus, and to this lake, it must be understood that their country was to the east of the river, and to the south of the lake: in the same road nearer to Mehullitch, that is about five miles to the south-west of it, I saw a tower on a little height, which I was told was an antient ruin; and near it is a village called Dolou-Cui; I observed some water near; the country to the east is all a morass, and I was told that in winter much water lays on it: this I take to be the lake Miletopolitis, and the ruin a remain of the antient Miletopolis; for Strabo says, that above the lake Dascylitis were two other lakes, Miletopolitis and Apolloniatis: he says also, that the lake Dascylitis belonged partly to Cyzicus, and partly to the Byzantines, and that the territory of the Cyzicenes extended to the lake Miletopolitis and Apolloniatis; from all which one may conclude that the lake Miletopolitis was between the two others; it is also to be observed that Doulou-Cui bears some resemblance to the name of the Doliones, the antient inhabitants of this country.

We set out on the thirteenth with a caravan for Bourfa, and came to Lupat, a small ruined place encompassed with walls, which are not well built, but seem to be of the middle ages. We travelled all day through a rich unimproved country on the north side of the lake, till we came opposite to Abelliontè on the island; and lay in the open fields. We went on a little after midnight six hours to Bourfa, the antient Prusa, where the kings of Bithynia usually resided, which is about twenty-four miles from Mehullitch. This city was built by that Prusias, king of Bithynia, who waged war with Croesus and Cyrus. Bourfa was taken by Seifeddulat of the race of Hamadan, in the three hundred and thirty-sixth year of the Hegira, but was retaken by the Greek emperor in nine hundred and forty-seven after Christ: it was again taken in thirteen hundred fifty-six by Orkan son of Ottoman, the second emperor of the Turks, who made it the capital of his empire*; but when Constantinople was taken by Mahomet the second, in one thousand four hundred and fifty-three, that city became the capital of the Turkish empire. Bourfa is most pleasantly situated on the foot of mount Olympus over a plain, which is about four leagues long, and a league wide, having those hills to the north of it which run along by the bay of Montagna. The city and suburbs are about six miles in circumference; the castle of Bourfa is on the highest part; it is walled round, the rocky cliffs below it being almost perpendicular, and beautifully adorned with the trees that grow on them; the rest of the town and suburbs are on heights on each side, but chiefly to the east, there being a very small part of the city on the plain to the north: the suburb where the Greeks live is to the west of the castle; there are about six hundred families of them with their metropolitan, and three churches. The town is divided from the eastern suburb by a deep channel or vale, over which there are several bridges; one of them with shops on each side, is ninety paces long and sixteen broad; the vale being planted with mulberry trees, makes the situation of the houses that are on it very delightful; a small stream runs through it, which swells to a torrent after rains: to the east of this is the suburb, where the Armenians live with their archbishop, of whom there are about eight hundred families, and they have one church. It is said they have three hundred parishes and mosques in the city, and many little mosques arched over with one dome, and the

* See *Bibliothèque orientale* D'Herbelot, at the word *Bursah*.

great ones with several, as well as the kanes and bezostans, all which are covered with lead; these and the agreeable mixture of trees, together with the fine plain beneath, cultivated with mulberry-trees, altogether makes the prospect from the mountain most delightful. The castle, as I observed, is walled round, which I take to be the ancient city Prusa; it is near a mile in circumference; I saw one part of the wall remaining, built after the ancient manner, with one tier of stone laid flat, and another set up on end, alternately; I saw also an inscription, which mentions that the emperor Theodorus Comenes Laikares built one of the towers of the wall. Over the north brow of the hill are ruins of the grand signior's seraglio, which was burnt down some years ago; this being one of the royal cities which have been the residence of their monarchs. Orkan, who took this place, and his children, are buried in an old church in the castle, which is cased with fine marbles, and paved with Mosiac work; to the west of it there is a sepulchre covered with a cupola, where, they say, sultan Osman is buried; and some speak of Bajazet's children as interred near him, but I did not see their sepulchres. This castle is governed by the janitzer aga, who resides in it.

They make in the city a great variety of all sorts of fattins, mostly striped, which are used for the under short garments of the Turkish habit; they make also a great quantity of ineles, of flax and silk, used chiefly for shirts, and a sort of gauze called brunjuke, which is much wore by the ladies for their undermost garments; they export also a great quantity of raw silk both to Constantinople and Smyrna.

The great number of springs that rise all over the city make it a very pleasant place; some flow in large streams, and one in particular comes out of the mountain at the castle like a small rivulet, where the Turks sit in the shade, and where every thing is sold which they delight in. There are several baths to the west of the town which are very famous, and have always been much frequented; in one called Cara-Multapha there is a spring of cold water, and another of hot, within the same room. That called Jeneh-Coplujah [The new spring] is the largest and most beautiful bath; it is a fine building, a large spring rises in the middle of it, and two very hot streams run through the room; near it there is a small bagnio, called, The Jews bagnio: from this we went to a warm water, esteemed holy by the Greeks, and is called Aie Theodory. Another bath is Culatlow-Coplujah [The sulphur bath]. Half a mile farther is a large bath, called Chekrech-Cuplejah, which has not so much sulphur in it as the other, and is more frequently drank, though all the waters are taken inwardly, as well as used for bathing.

I had a letter to the janitzer aga, which was delivered without a present, and I desired him to send some janizaries with me up mount Olympus; but he said, he could not answer for my safety, and added, that sometimes they were even in danger of the rogues in the very skirts of the city; so I applied to an Armenian to whom I was recommended, who carried me to his house the day before I was to go up the mountain, and hired some horsemen well armed to go with me, and we set out very early in the morning. This part being probably inhabited by a colony from about mount Olympus in Thessaly, may be the reason why the mountain had that name given it; the Turks call it Keshesh Daug [The mountain of monks] from a monastery on the mountain, which, as I was informed, was dedicated to the seven sleepers; the first part of the ascent is steep, covered with chestnut, hazel, and beech; it leads to a plain spot on the side of the hill where the Uruks were decamping; the next part was also steep, and covered with several sorts of fir, one of which is a very particular kind; the cones of it, like the cedar points upwards*; a turpentine drops from the fruit of this sort,

* It is what the botanists call, *Abies Taxifolia*, fructu sursum spectante. Inst. R. H.

which

which they call mastic, and sells dear, being used in surgery for wounds. Above this there is another plain, or rather two valleys, divided by a low hill, in each of which there runs a river: there is a very small trout in them, which they call Allah Ballouk [The fish of God], being much esteemed; though I could not perceive that they were different from our common trouts; there is another short ascent to a plain spot, which extends to the foot of the highest summit of the hill; the ascent to which is to be looked on as the last third of the way; this upper part has always snow in the hollow parts of the hill, which is carried every day to Bourfa: above this plain there is no wood except shrubs and the juniper; towards the upper part of the mountain I observed that there was a bastard grey granite. The prospect, they say, from this hill is very fine when all is clear; it was indeed at that time clear all round and above us, but there were clouds below which intercepted the view. Having spent the whole day on this mountain, we returned in the evening to Bourfa.

CHAP. XXV. — *Of Nice, Gemblick, and Montagna.*

WE set out with the caravan towards Nice on the eighteenth in the evening, and travelled along that fine vale to the north-east, which is so well improved with mulberry trees for the silk. We went only four miles to a village called Suhgerly, where we lay in the priest's garden. On the nineteenth we saw a town or village called Chioslec; there is a large old building on a hill to the right of it, and at the north-east corner of the plain is a small lake called Ouskomah. To the east is a small town, if I mistake not it is Chioslec, where they make velvet for cushions used on the sofas all over Turkey, many of which are of a sort of beautiful flowered velvet, but most of them are made with a ground of a hard yellow silk; they make them from fourteen dollars to eighty dollars a pair. We crossed over the hills to the north, and came into the large plain of Ienichahere, in which there is a great lake extending from the town of Ienichahere at the north-east of it, to the south-west end of the plain; in summer the greater part of it appears like a morass, being overgrown with reeds. Ienichahere is a small town, where there are four or five mosques, and only one Armenian church, there being few inhabitants of that profession: I saw only one marble coffin here, with a defaced inscription on it. I cannot conjecture what place this was, unless it might be Cæsarea, called also Smyrdiane, which in Ptolemy's order of places, is put between Nicæa and Prusa at mount Olympus. From this place we crossed other hills to the north, and descended to the lake of Nice; and going on the south side of it about a mile, we turned to the north at the east end of it, and came to Nice. This lake was called the lake of Ascanius, and now has the name of Isnick, from the Turkish name of Nice; it is about twelve miles long. There are a great number of fish in it; but it is navigated only by small boats which are cut out of one single piece of wood.

The city of Nice is situated at the east end of the lake of Ascanius, having a valley to the east of it finely improved with mulberry-trees, through which there run several small streams, which pass through the city, or near it. This city was first built by Antigonos, and called Antigonias; afterwards it had the name given it of Nicæa, from the wife of Lysimachus; it is encompassed with very fine walls, which are almost entire; they are built of stone, with four tier of brick at the distance of every six feet, the walls being about fifteen feet thick and twenty high; they are made with battlements, a walk all round, and towers of brick at the distance of seventy paces, which are about fifteen feet higher than the wall, and are half an oval; on one side of the gate to the lake there is a large octagon tower, and on the other side a round

tower, to the south of which are two or three other round towers. There are two gates, which seem to have been very fine triumphal arches; on one of them to the south, called the old gate, are imperfect inscriptions to the honour of one of the emperors after Nero, whose name I found on it as an ancestor. Within this gate there are remains of another, on which there is an imperfect inscription, where I saw the name of the emperor Claudius. There are signs of an inscription on the north gate, which seems to have been made in copper: at this gate there are two large reliefs of Medusa's heads, with victories over them: on one side there is a fine mezzo relievo of three persons, as big as life, set against the wall, but it is much defaced, and on the other side there is a marble coffin, with a relief of a battle on it. I saw at a mosque two most beautiful pillars in such large spots as are commonly seen in verd antique, some of a light brown, and of a grey, others of a whitish colour, being the only pillars I ever saw of that sort of marble, and would be of very great value to those who are curious. The Greek church, where they say the council was held, is built of brick, and though it is old, yet I take it to be a later building than the time of Constantine; the cathedra or seat, and the semicircular steps at the end, are common in ancient cathedral churches, and these are very ill built; there are some remains both of the Mosaic ceiling and pavement: the Armenians have a small church in a sort of grot under the west end of it. To the north of the town there are two marble coffins; one is of red and white spotted marble; the other has a Medusa's head at each end, and in the middle of the front, is the relief of a man with a club as going away from a woman who is behind him, which is probably designed for Hercules refusing pleasure, and embracing a life of labour and industry; there is a woman on each side in different compartments, and an inscription over all. To the east of the town are the remains of an old channel of an aqueduct, out of which there now runs a large stream that is conveyed to the town by an ill built aqueduct. Over this, on the side of the hill, there is a very curious piece of antiquity now in ruins, though it seems to have been designed to have lasted for ever, but it has been destroyed by force; it is a room hewn out of one stone of grey marble, and seems to have been an ancient sepulchre; it was probably moved to this place, and not cut out of the rock on that spot, unless art has been used to deceive, for all round at the bottom it appears as if it was separated from the rock, and there are other stones under it on the outside, as if designed for the foundation; it is thirteen feet six inches long, and twelve feet ten inches broad; it was cut archwise at top: on each side there is a solid bench or bulk, I suppose to place the coffins on, and there seems to have been one coffin laid across at the east end: on the outside there is an inscription in Hebrew, very much defaced; but it does not seem to have any relation to the building, being in very short lines, and not in the middle of the east end. This room seems to be of the nature of that temple of Thebaic marble, or red granite, mentioned by Herodotus, which was cut out of the isle of Elephantine, and carried down by water to Sais in Delta. Within the city walls there are some very fine large arches now under ground; they seem to have belonged to a theatre, which must have been very magnificent; the arches are turned with large hewn stone; those which I take to be the inner ones are very wide, and in the front of each of them there are others.

The walls of the city are at least four miles round, and yet the present town, which is much like a village, has not above three hundred houses in it, and there are not more than twenty Christian families in the place, the greater part of which are Greeks: they have no trade but that of silk, which is bought up by the merchants, and sent either to Bourla, or to Gemblik, to be embarked for Constantinople. The air is very
unhealthy

unhealthy here, occasioned probably by the rivulets not having a free course, and by turning them into their gardens within the walls, where the water stagnates and corrupts the air. I was informed that Nice is about eighteen hours, or thirty-six miles from Nicomedia, and that it is near sixteen miles from Caramoufal, a port on the bay of Imit or Nicomedia, and twenty-four from another port in that bay further to the west, called Debrendeh, where they commonly go to embark for Constantinople.

On the twenty-first we set out and travelled on the north side of the lake, and in about four hours came to an obelisk, about a mile to the north of it; the people call it Beth-Tash [The five stones], because it consists only of that number; it is of grey marble, and of a singular kind, for it is triangular, and stands on a base and pedestal, six feet nine inches square, and about eleven feet high. There is an inscription on the south side of it, from which one may conclude, that it was erected as a sepulchral monument, probably to some great citizen of Nice: the import of the inscription is, that C. Cassius Philiscus, the son of C. Cassius Asclepiodotus lived eighty-three years.

We travelled on between the hills and the lake, lay at a village called Ieranité, in the house of an Armenian, who endeavoured to intimidate me with regard to the security of the road, which I found was only to put me on hiring him to go along with me. On the twenty-second we came to the west end of the lake, and passed through Bajaric; I observed that the hills are finely improved along the south side of the lake; we turned to the west in that beautiful vale in which the river Ascanius runs; it is finely improved with all sorts of fruit-trees and vineyards; the hills on each side being also under vines.

We came to Gemblic at the north-west corner of this plain, which is most delightfully situated on two little heights, and on the plain by the sea side; it is the ancient Cius, which was destroyed by Philip king of Macedon, and rebuilt by Prusias, and from him called Prusias; there are some inscriptions about the town. This place is twenty-four miles from Nice; the archbishop of that city has his palace of residence here, to which I went; as he is the fifth of the twelve first archbishops, he lives mostly in Constantinople; the Greeks, who are about six hundred families, have seven or eight churches here, and likewise a nunnery, and two convents on the side of the hill over the town; there are about sixty Turkish families in the place; they have two mosques, and mostly inhabit the hill to the west. They have a great export here of corn, of an ordinary white wine, and of all sorts of fruits, to Constantinople. I find the rivers Cius and Hyla are mentioned here; probably they are the names of two mouths of the river Ascanius; and here the poets place the story of Hylas, the waiting boy of Hercules, in relation to his being conveyed away by the nymphs.

On the twenty-third we had a most pleasant ride for twelve miles along the south side of the bay of Montagna, to the town of the same name. To the north of this gulph is that head of land which was called the promontory Neptunium, and is between this bay and that of Nicomedia. Montagna is on the sea, about twelve miles to the north of Bourfa, and is situated under the mountains; the town is about a mile long, consisting of one street near the shore; there are about seven hundred Greek families in it, who have seven churches, and the archbishop of Bourfa has a palace here, residing in this town part of the year; the Turkish families are not above three hundred. This is the port of Bourfa, and is computed to be a hundred miles from Constantinople; it is a place of great resort for the export of silk, corn, and the manufactures of Bourfa, Tourcomen carpets, saltpe're, a poor white wine, and all sorts of fruit to Constantinople, from which they also import many commodities to supply the city of

Bourfa, and the country about it. The antient city Myrlea was half a mile to the south-east of the town, and on the east side of the road to Bourfa, being situated on a hill, which is strong by nature; it was destroyed by king Philip, rebuilt by Prusias, and called Apamea from his wife; it was afterwards called Apamea Myrlea, and Apamea of Bithynia: the first city was built by Myrlus, who was of Colophon, and I suppose head of the colony from that place; it was afterwards made a Roman colony, and was doubtless a considerable place; there are no remains on the hill, except heaps of stones thrown out of the vineyards; it is probable that the city in length of time extended down to the sea; and as a proof of it I saw the remains of a small brick building about a mile to the east of the present town. I went to the kane, and then waited on the archbishop of Bourfa, to whom I had a letter: he entertained me very civilly, though he was in trouble on account of his brother, who was sent for to Constantinople by the vizier, as it was thought, to squeeze money out of him; when I returned to the kane, he sent me a present of wine and provisions. I embarked on the twenty-seventh for Gallipoli; we were obliged by contrary winds to put into a port called Armocui, on the other side of the bay near the point of the cape; there is a hot mineral water at this place, and another to the north-west, at a place called Joloway: I was informed also, that at the north-west point of the cape, at a place called Courai, there is a hot water, where there is a convent belonging to the monastery of saint George of Halkè, which I have already mentioned among the Princes Islands; the Greeks go once a year to that place out of devotion, and to bathe in the hot mud, it being esteemed a great remedy for many disorders, particularly the sciatica. We touched at Rodosto in the way to Gallipoli, where the plague had begun to rage, and I lodged there all night in a coffee-house; we went the next day to Gallipoli; where I immediately embarked for the Dardanel, when I was informed that the plague had also broke out in that city. From the Dardanel we passed by Tenedus, saw the ruins of Troas, embarked for Lemnos, and went from that island to mount Athos; of which I shall give an account in the following book.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE EAST, &c.

BY RICHARD POCOCKE, LL.D. F.R.S.

Book the Third.—Of Thrace and Greece.

CHAP. I.—Of Thrace in general; and of Constantinople.

THRACE was bounded to the west by mount Hæmus, and the river Næstus, and on the other sides by the Propontis, Ægean, and Euxine seas: it was a Roman diocese, and by the Greek church was divided into four provinces: Europa, which was prob-

bably on the sea to the east; Hæmimontana, to the west at mount Hæmus, in which was Plotinopolis; Rhodope, about the mountains of that name, in which was Trajanople; and Thrace-Propæ, probably in the middle between them, of which we may suppose Adrianople was the capital. Thrace is very far from being a barren country, as some of the antients have described it, for the part I saw of it is naturally one of the finest countries I have seen, and the richest soil; and so they say it is to the west of Adrianople; as mount Hæmus is to the west of it, so mount Rhodope runs along the middle of this country to the west of the river Hebrus, and I suppose extends away to the north.

When I arrived at Scutari, they took my slave from me, as I had not the original writing by me to vouch the property of him; but on application I got him afterwards released. I sent from this place to the gentleman to whom I was recommended at Constantinople, who did me the honour to come over and conduct me to his house, where I received all manner of civility during my stay there, as indeed I did from all the gentlemen of the English nation.

As there have been particular descriptions given of Constantinople, it is unnecessary to say much of it. The beauties and advantages of its situation have been much enlarged on, and no account can possibly give a just idea of it, as it surpasses every thing that can be said, inasmuch that the fine views which it affords are alone a sufficient recompence to the traveller who goes to see it. This city is on a promontory at the entrance of the Bosphorus, having the Propontis to the east and south, and the port antiently called Ceras to the north; I found the south-west side on the land to be seven thousand seven hundred paces long; it has on that side two walls built with square towers, and a fosse on the outside of the outer wall, which is twenty paces broad, and faced with stone on both sides: Gyllius makes the south-east side equal to this, and the side on the port a mile less, which would make it in all eleven miles in circumference, though he computes it to be near thirteen miles; it is from half a mile to a mile and a half broad: the ground rising from the port and from the sea round the end of the promontory, makes the situation very beautiful, and it is not difficult to discern the seven hills on which the city is built; the first takes up the whole breadth of the promontory, on which the grand signor's seraglio is built; five more are over the port, divided by valleys that descend from the height, which joins some of the hills, and goes near the whole length of the city, the Adrianople street running all along on the top of it; on the second hill is the burnt pillar; on the third hill, is the magnificent mosque Solimanea; the valley between it and the fourth hill is broad; the aqueduct of Valentinian crossed it, of which there remain about forty arches; the east end of it is destroyed, and the water is now conveyed by channels on the ground; the mosque of sultan Mahomet is on the fourth hill, and that of sultan Selim on the fifth, the western walls of the city running along on the top of the sixth hill. These hills rise so one above another from the port, that they all appear from the mouth of the harbour, and most of the houses having a court or garden, in which they plant trees for the shade and the refreshing verdure, this adds a great beauty to the prospect: the seventh hill is divided by a vale from the height that joins the three last hills, which are to the north of it; this hill alone is computed to be one third part of the city, and is to the south of the fourth, fifth, and sixth hills, the others having the bay to the south of them; and that bay has to the south of it the north-east point of the seventh hill and the three other hills to the north; the pillar of Arcadius was on the seventh hill.

Great part of the houses of Constantinople are built with wooden frames, mostly filled up with unburnt brick; and a great number of houses are made only of such frames

frames covered with boards: they have notwithstanding very good rooms in them; and the streets are tolerable, with a raised footway on each side. The street of Adrianople is broad, and adorned with many public buildings; to the south of it there is a vale, which is to the north of the seventh hill. The bazestans or shops of rich goods are such as have been described in other places; and many of the shops for other trades are adorned with pillars, and the streets in which they are, covered over in order to shelter from the sun and rain. There are also several large kanes, where many merchants live, and most of these have apartments in them, where they spend the day, and retire at night to their families in their houses. The bagnios also are to be reckoned another part of the magnificence of Constantinople, some of them being very finely adorned within. The fountains likewise are extremely magnificent, being buildings about twenty feet square, with pipes of water on every side; and within at each corner there is an apartment, with an iron gate before it, where cups of water are always ready for the people to drink, a person attending to fill them; these buildings are of marble, the fronts are carved with bas reliefs of trees and flowers; and the eaves projecting six or seven feet, the soffit of them is finely adorned with carved works of flowers, in alto relievo, gilt with gold in a very good taste; so that these buildings make a very fine appearance.

It is said that there are three hundred mosques in Constantinople; six of them are royal mosques, distinguished by their number of minarets from two to six (others having but one); and are called after the name of their founders: I went into four of them; sultan Achmed; Solimanea, or the mosque of sultan Soliman; sultan Mahomet; and sultan Selim; they are all built, as most of the mosques are, with a court before them, that has a portico round it, which consists of old pillars of the finest marbles: in that of Solimanea in particular there are four very large pillars of red granite between the stone piers which support the dome; and the mosque is built in a very good taste; there is a gallery round below, separated by pillars from the isle which goes round the part under the dome: there are two porphyry pillars in the portico of this mosque, of the same size as those in saint Sophia; all these buildings are covered with cupolas, and some parts only with a quarter of a sphere; the latter are mostly built against the base of the great cupola, and all is covered with lead; abroad there are fountains to wash on each side of the mosque; and the walls which encompass the great court before the mosque, are built with windows in a good taste, with cross iron bars in them. Near these mosques there are commonly places to prepare, and distribute provisions to the poor on certain days; there are also generally near them shops and a bagnio for the support of the mosques. The grand signor goes every Friday to one of these royal mosques, taking them commonly one after another, by reason that there is a benefaction given to the mosque he goes to, which I was informed, is five hundred dollars: the other two are the Waladea mosque, and sultan Bajazet; all of them having in them, and the courts belonging to them, many fine pillars, especially of verd antique: there also is a royal mosque built by Mahomet the second, to the west of the city at a place called Joupe, which has its name from Joupe a Turkish saint, to whom the mosque is dedicated: in this mosque the grand signor receives solemn possession of his dominions, by having a sword girded about him by the musti. I was curious to see such of the mosques as I could find had formerly been churches, and among them particularly saint Sophia; there are in it eight porphyry pillars, and as many of verd antique, which, I believe, for their size, are not to be exceeded in the world; for the dome being supported by four large piers; between them are four verd antique pillars on each side, and a semicircle being formed as at

each corner by these and four more piers, there are two porphyry pillars in each of them, and it appears plainly that there was a third; for there is an arch filled up next to each pier, which was doubtless done in order to strengthen those piers, the building having visibly given way at the south-west corner, where the pillars of the gallery hang over very much; two of the porphyry pillars in the portico of Solimanea, might be taken from this mosque, and probably the other two might be found, if all the mosques and the seraglios were examined; these pillars are about two feet and a half in diameter, and of a proportionable height; there are pillars of verd antique in the galleries over them: eight large porphyry pillars in saint Sophia are mentioned as taken out of a temple of the sun built by Valerian, and sent by Marcia, a Roman widow, to the emperor Justinian*; so that if the others were of porphyry, they must have been taken from some other place. There are two porticos to the church; the inner one is waincoted with fine marbles: the mosque strikes the eye at the first entrance, the dome being very large; but a great beauty is lost, as the mosaic is all destroyed, except a very little at the east end; so that all the top is whited over; but the sides are waincoted with porphyry, verd antique, and other rare oriental marbles; it is hung with a great number of glass lamps, and the pavement is spread with the richest carpets, where the sopphtis are always studying and repeating the alcoran; and the doctors preaching and explaining it, in particular parts of the mosque, to their separate auditories: the top is covered with lead, and there is a gallery round on the inside of the cupola: this mosque makes a much meaner and heavier appearance on the outside than the mosques that are built in imitation of it. On the south side of it the grand signor has erected a very small but neat library, which seemed to be about twenty feet wide and thirty long; there are presses round it, and two in the middle for the manuscripts; the windows open to a court, round which the mausoleums of three sultans are finely built of marble; and in one of the windows of the library there is a sopha for the grand signor, when he is pleased to come and hear the law read to him in this place. The finest mosque next after saint Sophia, which has been a church, is on the seventh hill, and near the seven towers; it is called by the Greeks Constantine's church, but is the church of a monastery called Studios, from a citizen of Constantinople of that name who built it; there is a very handsome portico to it, with four pillars of white marble, which support a very rich entablature, there being another of the same kind within: the nave is divided from the isles by seven verd antique pillars, six feet two inches in circumference; I took particular notice that they are of the composite order: over these there are as many more pillars of the Ionick order, and probably of the same materials, but according to the Turkish taste they are whited over; there appears to have been a gallery on each side, which is not remaining. There is a cistern under a court to the south of it, in which there are four rows of Corinthian pillars. Another church converted into a mosque, is on the north brow of the fourth hill; it was dedicated to the Almighty, has two porticos, and is divided into three parts, the domes being supported with pillars of red granite; the whole is adorned with the figures of the apostles, and of the history of our Saviour in mosaic work, and the subject of each compartment is described in Greek; the Turks have disfigured the faces of all them. On the outside of this church there is a very fine coffin of a single piece of verd antique of a very extraordinary size: there are crosses cut on it, and probably it is the only one of this sort of marble in the world. The magnificent church of the apostles, built by Constantine the great, was on this

* See a letter of Plutarchus, secretary of Justinian, in Godinus.

hill, where the mosque of sultan Mahomet is situated ; there are now no remains of it ; near it was the cisterns of Arcadius, where there is at present the largest bagnio in Constantinople ; near which I saw the remains of some very thick walls, probably belonging to those cisterns. There is also mosque that was an old church on the fifth hill, and another at the foot it ; but there is nothing remarkable in either of them. About the seventh hill I saw also two other mosques that were churches ; they are not mentioned by any authors ; and, if I mistake not, they are called the church mosques. In this part also there are great remains of vaults and cisterns ; one of them seems to be that which was near the church called Mocianus, built by Anastasius Dicorus ; the cisterns were made by Justinian : on the sixth hill there is a church to which they carry mad people, and lay them in a portico, thinking it a sovereign remedy to bring them to their senses ; this I should take to be about the spot of the church of St. John Baptist in that part which was formerly a suburb, called Hebdomum ; it is said Theodosius brought to this place the head of St. John Baptist from a village called Coslaum near Panticium in the district of Chalcedon ; for near this place there is a large hollow ground now turned into gardens, which seems to be the spot of the cisterns of Bonus, mentioned in this part. Another church spoken of by those who describe Constantinople, is the church of the Virgin Mary in Blachernæ, at a place where there is now a holy water, which is had in great esteem among the Greeks, and there are some remains of very strong walls. To the east of this at the foot of the fifth hill is a part of the city called Phanar, where there is a wall built up the hill ; they have a story, that it was erected in one night during a siege by candle-light ; and that this gave name to that part of the city. Here the patriarch of Constantinople resides, and also the patriarch of Jerusalem, the place being mostly inhabited by Greeks, and between this place and the fountain before mentioned, there are several Greek churches. What they call the palace of Constantine, close to which the walls are built on the sixth hill, seems to have been only one room with the roof supported by pillars, though now it is divided, and made into two stories ; it does not seem to be of great antiquity ; and is probably a Genoese building, as there are coats of arms over the windows.

There are very few remains of any other antiquities in Constantinople. Of the several pillars and obelisks which were in the Hippodrome, there are now only three to be seen ; one is the obelisk of red granite, thirty-five paces from which is the serpentine pillar, and forty paces from that an obelisk, which is built of hewn stone ; all these have been very particularly described ; the obelisk of granite appears to have been longer, the figures at bottom being imperfect : both this and the other obelisks had two steps round them, which do not now appear, as they are continually raising the ground of the Hippodrome. The obelisk which is built of hewn stone was covered with plates of brass, and the holes to which they were fixed are seen in the stones : part of the serpentine pillar is broke off ; at the grand signior's seraglio of Sadabat, there is one made in imitation of it, but not so large : that in the Hippodrome is thought to be a very great piece of antiquity, being said to be the twisted serpents on which there stood a Tripas, supposed to be that which Pausanias and the cities of Greece consecrated to Apollo at Delphi. What they call the Burnt Pillar is on the second hill, which though not of one stone, yet when entire might be esteemed one of the finest pillars in the world, being singular in its kind ; it is said to have been brought from Rome by Constantine the Great, and that he placed on it that exquisite bronze statue of Trojan Apollo, which was a representation of himself ; it is called

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the Burnt Pillar, because the pedestal and pillar have been much damaged by fire; it is erected on a marble pedestal, about twenty feet high, which is much ruined; and probably there were some steps round it; the shaft seems to have consisted of ten pieces of porphyry, thirty-three French feet in circumference, each stone being nine feet four inches long, excepting a wreath of laurel half a foot deep at the top of every one, which had the effect to conceal the joining of the stones: seven of these stones now remain, though an exact describer of Constantinople says there were eight; three of the stones, together with the statue, were thrown down by lightning; if I do not mistake, it was in the time of Alexius Comnenus; it was said to have been of the Doric order, and when entire must have been a most magnificent lofty pillar; it is not well represented even in its present condition by any cuts that I have seen of it; there are now twelve tiers of stone above the seven of porphyry; eleven of them seem to be about a foot deep, and the uppermost is something like a Tuscan capital; and about two feet deep. There is a Greek inscription on the fourth tier, which I had not an opportunity of copying; but it is said to import, that the emperor Emanuel Comnenus repaired it. Arius is said to have died near this pillar, as mentioned by the ecclesiastical historians. Near it is a cistern, the arches of it are supported by sixteen pillars in length, and fourteen in breadth, with as many more on them; it seems to have been a Christian work, there being a cross on some of them, and these letters K. N. I saw what is called the pillars of Marcianus, which is mentioned by Gyllius, but he seems not to have seen it; he also mentions the virgin column, which probably is the same, though he might not know it; for it is now called by the Turks Kish-Tash [The Virgin Stone or Pillar;] it is a very fine pillar of grey granite of the Corinthian order, with a well-proportioned pedestal which had steps round it; the shaft alone seems to be about twenty-five feet high; and this pillar, especially the pedestal, is very ill represented by some travellers: it is supposed that the inscription was made in brass, and they have been able to trace it out by the holes which were made in order to fix on the letters. A pillar like this was removed from some part of the town into the garden of the seraglio, which I saw from Pera between the trees. The historical pillar of Arcadius has been very exactly described; the shaft of it was taken down about thirty years ago, for some public Turkish building; so that the base and pedestals only remain; the base and the column consisted of several tiers of single stones of the same breadth as the base and column, and were laid one over the other, out of which the stairs were cut within; but the pedestal has two stones in each tier so nicely joined, that a very curious person has affirmed that there was but one in each tier.

The seraglio and public audiences of the grand signior have been fully described; I saw part of the ceremony of an audience of the grand vizier, and was habited in the caftan, but I could not enter into the audience-room to see the monarch, because the number of persons permitted to go in with the ambassador was full: a divan is always held before such an audience, at which the ambassador is present, and the grand signior is at a lattice window over the seat of the grand vizier, but is not seen, though by some signal it is known that he is there; and when the business of the divan, as a court of justice, is done, (which is chiefly reading petitions of poor people, who are brought one by one into the presence of the grand vizier), then stools are set before the vizier, the two cadiliskiers, the treasurer and seal-keeper, who are always present; and about seven in the morning the dinner was brought on several small plates placed on large dishes, and put before them on the stools, without their moving from the place where they did the public business; the small plates were very often changed; the

ambassador eating with the grand vizier, and those who go to audience with him, with the seal-keeper, and treasurer; the cadiliskiers being people of the law, are too holy to eat with infidels: after this the grand signior's firman is read, which orders that the ambassador should be introduced. The vizier holds the ordinary divans four times a week in the grand signior's seraglio, and on the other days he has a divan in his own house.

Two rivers fall into the bay of Constantinople, about a league to the west of the city; the northern river is the antient Lycus; the southern one was called Hydraulis. There were many houses of pleasure and gardens of the great men near the banks of these rivers, and on the rising ground; but in that rebellion which set the present grand signior on the throne, the mob requested it of him, that they might be permitted to destroy those houses where the great people spent their time in luxury and idleness, neglecting the public affairs; and their petition not being refused, they levelled every thing to the ground; so that now they have their country houses along the canal in the way to the Black sea. On the northern river the grand signior has a pleasant seraglio called Sadabat; the river is in such a manner confined as to make a fine canal to it, which is about seventeen hundred paces long.

It is said, that every day there are consumed at Constantinople, Scutari, and the adjacent villages, thirty-six thousand measures of wheat: these measures, which are called a killo, are supposed to be sufficient for a hundred persons, so that the number of souls may be computed at three millions six hundred thousand; of these a hundred thousand are computed to be Jews, and sixty thousand Christians; though the former computation seems to exceed. They reckon that there are forty thousand boats, like our wherries, which are uncovered; except those of the grand signior, or grand vizier; the former being covered with red, and the latter with green.

There have been two Armenian presses in Constantinople for about forty years. The vizier Ibrahim Pasha having read an account of the usefulness of printing, persuaded the late sultan Achmet to permit a press to be set up under the direction of Ibrahim Efendi, an Hungarian renagado; they printed twelve books, but about four years ago it was dropped; but they have lately begun to print in Turkish the history of the Ottoman Porte for about sixty years past. I happened to see Constantinople at a time when the Turks were in good humour, and had no reason to be displeased with the Franks, (except that the soldiery would gladly have continued the war against the emperor); they had just made a very honourable peace for themselves with that monarch, and not a very disadvantageous one with the Muscovites, whom they dreaded as a power superior to them; so that I went freely all over Constantinople, and was so far from being affronted in the least, that I rather met with civility in every place; entered publicly into such of the mosques as I desired to see, and sometimes even on Fridays, just before the sermon began, and when the women were come into the mosques to hear their harangues: this is permitted by speaking to the keeper of the mosque, and giving him a very small gratuity, and at other times sending for him when the mosques were shut: and indeed to speak justly of the Turks, they are a very tractable people when they are well used, and when they have no prospect of getting any thing by ill-treatment; and what makes them more troublesome and suspicious in places on the sea, is the rough usage they meet with from the corsairs.

CHAP. II. — *Of Galata, Pera, the Aqueducts, and some other places near Constantinople.*

GALATA is situated to the north of the port of Constantinople, it is encompassed with a wall near three miles in circumference, having the water to the south and east, and is built from the sea up the sides of the hill; it is very much inhabited by Christians, and by all the Europeans: here they have their warehouses, custom house, and all European ships come to this port. The Greeks have three churches in Galata, and the Armenians two: the Jesuites, Dominicans, and Franciscans, have each of them a convent in this place. During the time of the Venetian war a convent under the protection of Venice was seized on, and the church turned into a mosque, and such Franks as lived near it were ordered to remove, on which all the English, and some others, removed to Pera, which is on the top of the hill where all the ambassadors reside, and it is a much finer situation. What they call the Quattro Strade are almost entirely inhabited by Franks and other Christians. Pera is under the Topjee-bashaw of Tophana, and Galata is governed by a waiwode. Pera and Galata are the thirteenth region, which was called Sicena. The Trinitarians, two sorts of Franciscans, and the Capuchins, have each of them a convent in Pera. The ambassadors live here in greater state than in any other parts, because it is the custom of the country, and they keep open table. The king of the Two Sicilies has lately obtained capitulations for trade, as well as the Swedes, and has a minister here. This place and Galata having been much inhabited by Genoese, who had obtained it of the Greek emperors, there are still some of those families remaining, many of whom are droghermen to the ambassadors; of which each nation has a certain number; one or two of them do most of the business of the nation; and the others are employed occasionally by the merchants: there are also Gjovani de Lingue, as they call them, who are young men that have small salaries, take their turn in waiting at the palace, and attend on strangers or others, when there is occasion: the French have twelve of these of their own nation, who are educated at the Capuchin convent at the expence of the king, are sent to different consuls abroad, and promoted as they deserve. The Muscovites and Germans also have some of their own nation, but are obliged chiefly to make use of the natives of the place, who know best how to discharge the mysterious office of a drogherman. The head drogherman of the port is always a Greek, and very often a prince of Moldavia; he is somewhat in the nature of a secretary of state, as well as interpreter, and has a great influence in relation to the affairs of the Europeans, and more particularly when treaties of peace are on foot. It is said the Venetian ambassador, who is called the Bailo, has an unlimited commission from the republic to draw for what sums he pleases, and even that his accounts are not examined. So great an interest that state has to serve with the Porte.

To the north of Pera is Tophana, on another hill, and nothing can be imagined more beautiful than the prospect of the vale between them: on the brow of the hill, on Tophana side, there is a public building called Galati Serai, (for this upper part of the hill is reckoned as a part of Galata or Pera); this building is finely situated round a large court; it is destined for the education of the itcheoglans for the seraglio of the grand signior, and contains in it about four hundred; they are mostly orphans or children of poor people who cannot educate their families; they are kept under great discipline, never stir out, nor can they so much as look out of their windows, and no persons are suffered to go in: they learn to read, write, ride, and draw the bow, and to
chant

chant their devotions; the grand signior goes there once in two years, and chuses out of them such as he pleases about twenty years old, who are made his itcheoglans: most of them are officers about him like pages, and attend him on horseback, or in the chamber, being something of the nature of chamberlains, and these, according to their merit, are often advanced to be pashas, and to the highest offices.

Tophana is so called from the foundery of cannon [Tope]. It is governed by the Topejee-Bashaw [the captain of the artillery], as well as Pera; there are a great number of very fine brass cannon on the quay and other places about it; for now they make none of iron. One of their finest fountains is in this place. To the north of it is Funduckee, and north of that two or three more places built up the side of the hills, which look like one continued town from Galata.

To the west of Galata, on the north side of the port, is the public arsenal or dock called Cassum-pasha, where there are covered buildings to lay up the galleys in winter; and here is what they call the bagnio for the grand signior's captive Christian slaves. I saw here eleven large men of war, and was informed that there are commonly about twenty, and that they have in other parts twenty more; the largest, called the Capitana, as I was informed, is twelve feet longer than the Royal Sovereign, being a hundred and eighty six feet long, and forty-six feet eight inches broad; it is twenty-one feet deep in the hold, has three decks, besides the quarter-deck, and a spare deck: the sheet anchor weighs ninety-five quintals, and the cable is thirty-two inches in circumference; she carries a hundred and ten guns, and sixteen hundred men. The galleys go out every summer round the islands to collect the harach or Christian poll tax; and the captain pasha or high admiral sails with four or five men of war, and levies what money he can on the islands, and other places on the sea, which belong to him.

On the height, to the north-west of the arsenal, is a down called the Okemeidan [the Place of Arrows], where they go to exercise with the bow and arrow; and there are many marble pillars set up to shew how far several grand signiors have shot, some of which are at an incredible distance; it is a height which commands a fine view of the port, and Constantinople: there is an open Turkish namasgah, or praying place on it, where I was informed they circumcise the Grand Signior's children; in this place the grand signior reviews the army before he goes out to war.

Water has been brought to Constantinople at great expence, and is very necessary in this country where they drink it in such great quantities, and use so much for washing and bathing; and the more care has been taken, because a want of it would certainly cause a rebellion in the city; for this purpose they formerly made so many large cisterns as reservoirs of the water of the aqueduct, in case it should fail; and the great cistern under saint Sophia serves for that purpose at this time; the most antient aqueduct was built by the emperors Valens and Valentinian; this aqueduct is seen in three places; it conveys water to the city at the distance of ten miles, being brought for the most part from places three or four miles to the south-east of the village called Belgrade. Their three parts of the aqueduct are called the crooked aqueduct, the long aqueduct, and the high aqueduct; the last is nearest to Constantinople, and receives the water that comes from the other two, which are different streams; the crooked aqueduct is so called, because it makes a turn before it crosses the valley from one hill to the other; this aqueduct is executed in a very fine taste; it is a rustic work, and consists of three tiers of fine arches one over another. The water first runs on a wall, and then on twelve arches, for two hundred and twenty-one yards; it then turns and crosses the vale on the three tiers of arches; in the lowest there are four arches, in the middle ten, and there are passages made through

the piers in the length of the aqueduct, by which one passes to the other side of the valley; in the uppermost tier there are twenty-one arches, the seven or eight first arches on each side are built on the descent of the hill, two or three on the solid wall, and ten over the middle arches; in the upper story also, there are arches through fifteen of the piers, in order to pass the whole length of the aqueduct, as it has been observed there are through the piers of the middle arches; the aqueduct being in that part about six hundred and seventy-two feet long, and a hundred and seven feet high: it is a very magnificent work, and the water is conveyed to it from a rivulet that passes near Belgrade, and must be the *Hydralis*; the water of this river is stopped in two different places by a wall built across, so as to make two large lakes, and runs in channels through the wall, which is built to keep them up: these seem to be Turkish works, and designed as reservoirs of water in case the rivulet should dry up in summer, that they might be supplied by two such great bodies of water to be let out by lower channels which are in the wall, and may be opened on occasion; from the last of these the water passes to a deep basin, into which some other streams are brought, and from that it runs partly in the channels made on the side of the hills, and partly on arches over valleys, and hollows in the hills, to the crooked aqueduct already described, from which it runs on the sides of the hills into another basin, and so does the water of the long aqueduct and from that basin it goes in one channel to the high aqueduct. The other, called the Long Aqueduct, seems to be a modern work, and, I suppose, was built by Soliman the magnificent, who is said to have repaired the other aqueducts; and if it was, it is a work truly worthy of him; and I saw on it a short Turkish inscription: it was built as a further supply of water to be conveyed by the high aqueduct; it is two thousand two hundred and twenty-nine feet long, eighty-five feet and a half high, and the wall is twelve feet thick; it consists of two stories of arches one over another; in the lower story there are forty-seven arches, and fifty in the upper: at the first descent, at each end of the hills, the water runs on a long wall: other streams are brought to this water by the side of the southern hill, which passes likewise on a small number of arches over the valleys that are in the way. The water of this aqueduct, as observed, communicates with the crooked aqueduct, and both run to the high aqueduct, which is a vast massive rustic building, by which the water is conveyed over a valley; it is above eight hundred and forty feet long, and one hundred and twelve feet high; it consists of four large arches, as many over them, and three stories of small ones between them, there being nine arches in the upper and lower stories, and six in the middle one. This irregularity, contrary to the manner of the ancients, and the arches not being true, gives this aqueduct a very Gothic appearance, though it is a work of great expense and magnificence, for the walls are fifteen feet thick; and the great arches are above fifty feet wide. Ascending by the hill to one of the small arches, there is an arched passage from it through the wall, consisting of forty-four steps, which leads up to the great arches above, where there is a passage through the piers, as in the crooked aqueduct, and a descent likewise by stairs at the other end: from this aqueduct the water runs along the side of the hills, in channels covered in with stone, there being arches built only in two or three places. This water formerly run on those arches in the third valley between the third and fourth hill: but the east part of that aqueduct being destroyed, the water is conveyed in channels on the ground to the several parts of the city. About ten years ago a new aqueduct was built to supply Pera, Galata, and the neighbouring villages: the water comes from *Bauchicui*, between Belgrade and *Boiyuderry*, and runs across a valley there on an aqueduct which consists of a great number of arches that are very well built; from this valley it

runs round the hills, and sometimes under ground, and crossing a low ground it rises in such square pillars as have been before described, in order to keep the water to its height : as it passes, part of it is conveyed to the villages on the west side of the canal of the Thracian Bosphorus, and coming near Pera, it rises in the same sort of pillars, and runs into a reservoir, consisting of many little cells made to contain the water, and is conveyed from them to the several parts of Pera and Galata.

The point of Galata opposite to the seraglio was called Cape Metopon. Beshickkio is said to have been formerly called Jafon, from his touching there ; at that place there was a grove of cypress trees, and a temple of Apollo. At Ortacui there was a port called Clidium : and lower there was a port in which the vessels of the Rhodians used to lie, which, I suppose, is the place where ships now ride at anchor near Beshickkio, when they are ready to sail, because it is difficult to go out of the port with a strong north wind. The cape at Cruchiesme was in the middle ages called Mematon. The bay which had the name of Scale was at Arnautcui ; below it is the cape of Edies ; further there is a large bay, on which Bactsu is situated : the cape on which the castle stands, and where the bridge is supposed to have been, was called Cape Mercury. The best port of the Bosphorus was at the river Ormoussdera, it is called Saroniacopa, and by Dionysius Byzantinus, Leostenion. Under Thrapia is the rock Catargo : here is a small river, and the port Pharmaias, which is said to be so called, because Medea touching at this place opened her box of drugs there. The bay of Boiyuedery was called Sinus Saronicus from an altar there to Saron of Megara : the point of this bay to the north was called Amilton and Tripition by the Greeks. The convent of Mavro Molo higher up was destroyed, because it was a place of debauchery for sailors and other inferior people. As to the Cyanean rock on the Europe side ; at the foot of it there is a white marble pillar broken into three or four pieces, and a Corinthian capital near it ; the shaft is two feet in diameter ; above on the rock is what has been thought by some to have been its pedestal ; it is about three feet in diameter, and has round it four festoons joined by bulls heads : there are many names on it, which seem to have been cut by people that came there. The name of Augustus, mentioned by some authors, I suppose, is SEBASTVS, which is cut on the stone in Roman characters, much better than the other, and very near to the base of the pedestal : this is more justly thought to be an altar to Apollo, which the Romans placed on this rock ; though from the holes for irons both above and below, it seems as if some other stones were fixed to it, which would rather incline one to conclude that it was the pedestal of a pillar. On the continent near this island is the light house of Europe, which is a high tower. Going along the coast of the Euxine sea in Thrace towards the west, the first place mentioned is Phinopolis, which seems to be the court of Phineus, from which the Argonauts went (after they had been stopped by contrary winds) to the Asia side, and sacrificed to the twelve gods : it is possible this place put in the Tables was on the west side of that broad cape, which is about two leagues to the west of the cape at the entrance of the Bosphorus, where I saw a square tower on the height with some ancient stones in it. I observed here in the sea cliffs a layer of earth about three feet thick, which appears like planks of timber burnt to a coal. About eighteen miles to the west of this tower was Philea, or Phrygia on the Palus Phileatina ; this place is about the same distance also from Belgrade : what is called the lake is a sort of gulph that winds into the land, and there are some rivulets that run into it ; as well as I could learn there is a bank of sand before the mouth of it, which is covered with water in winter, and when the wind blows strong from the north ; there is now a small port on the outside of it. The town was on a peninsula at the east end of the gulph, on very high

high ground to the west and north, having a gentle descent to the south: on the east side it was defended with a wall, a great part of which is still remaining, and is called by the Turks Dourkous, town and lake; if there had been a good entrance for shipping, this town, which is not a mile in circumference, would have been very finely situated for trade. Halmedyffus or Salmedyffus is said to have been forty miles further; they informed me of a port twenty miles off, which, if I mistake not, is called Aiade; it is well frequented, and probably is the antient Halmedyffus, though there seems to be a mistake in the distance. I was informed that there are some ruins there, especially of the wall that was built by the emperor Anastasius across the neck of the peninsula to Selivrè, the old Selymbria. I was informed that this place is about thirty-six miles from Selivrè, and as far from Constantinople. All the country this way is a very rich soil, and abounds with wood; and the village of Belgrade is situated in a wood; the English, Swedish, and Dutch Ambassadors reside there in summer, where they have cool shady walks in the woods by the two large basins of water which are to supply the aqueduct.

CHAP. III. — *Of Selivree, and Adrianople.*

I SET out with the caravan from Constantinople for Adrianople, on the seventh of July in the afternoon; the road is to the south west, through an open fertile country, which is uneven as far as Selivree: it is to be observed that the present road to Adrianople goes out at the Selivree gate; and that the Adrianople gate is at a considerable distance from it to the west; through which, doubtless, the antient road to Adrianople went, though it is now disused, probably because it is a more uneven country. Near a league from Constantinople, to the left of the road, there is a large building called Bayreut-Han [The Powder House], where all the powder is made for the use of Constantinople, and the places on the Black Sea; and the ships take it in there. Five miles from Constantinople there is a small town called [The Little Bridge], from a bridge there near the sea, over the outlet of a lake; as well as I could learn, the lake receives a small river into it, which probably is the Bathenius of Ptolemy. We stopped here for about two hours, and then travelled almost three hours till midnight, and lay in a meadow near the road. On the eighth we went seven miles to a town called The Great Bridge, where there is a large bridge over the mouth of another lake, into which probably the river Athyra of Ptolemy falls. Ten miles further is a village on the sea called Camourgat; and near a league beyond it there is a small town called Pevadose, situated on a rocky eminence over the sea. Twelve miles beyond this we arrived at Selivree, the Selymbria of Ptolemy, situated very near the sea to the west of the old city, the walls of which are entire, and stand on a small eminence; the old and new town together are about a mile in circumference; it is probable that the wall formerly mentioned went across from the old town to the Black Sea. The Greeks and Armenians have each an old church adorned with Mosaic of the middle ages; about one of them I saw a relief of a man, with a pole or spear in one hand, and in the other a long shield that rested on the ground. The old town is thinly inhabited; the present city, which is a poor place, is to the west of it, and is chiefly subsisted by being a great thoroughfare. I passed the day at Selivree in the kane, and in seeing the antiquities, and set forward in the evening; going out of the town we saw a party of Tartars with their bows slung about their bodies. From Selivree the remainder of the way to Adrianople was near west, and in ten miles we came to a small town called

Keliclee which might be Melantias of the Itinerary, said to be at the river Athyras * : we lay in the fields about a mile further, and on the ninth travelled five miles to Chourley, which seems to be Izhrallon of the Itinerary, which is mentioned as eighteen miles from Heraclea in the way to Adrianople : both the Greeks and Armenians have a church here, and I saw an inscription in the Armenian church-yard, which makes mention of a Perinthian, and probably this place was in the district of Perinthus, called afterwards Heraclea, and at present Heraclee. I saw also about the town several marble covers of coffins, and ruins of a wall built with brick and stone, which seem to be the remains of an antient enclosure. The situation of Chourley is very beautiful, on a rising ground, commanding a view as far as the sea, and is computed to be five hours from Heraclee, and four from Rodosto ; we staid here till the evening, and went about two hours further, and lay in the fields near a village called Bolavanna ; on the tenth we went about two hours to a town called Borgas, which from the name, as well as situation, seems to be the antient Bergulas : we travelled in the evening eight miles further to Baba, where there is a beautiful large Turkish bridge over a small river, a fine mosque, and an old church entire, built of brick ; this may be Burudizum. We went eight miles further, and lay in the open air ; on the eleventh we travelled four miles to Hapsa, which is eight from Adrianople, and seems to be Ostudizum.

Adrianople was first called Orestes, and had its present name from the improvements made in it by the emperor Adrian ; the Turks call it Edrineh ; the town is situated on a rising ground, and on the plain at the foot of it : the antient city seems to have been on the plain, where great part of the walls remain, though they seem to be of the middle ages, and there are many inscriptions which make mention of the later Greek emperors who repaired them. The river Meritchch, which below is the antient Heber, runs to the south of the town, and is joined by two other rivers a little lower, one of which, called the Ardah, is navigable from Philopopoli by floats, and must be the Heber above the conflux ; the other is called the Tounfah. The Meritchch is a fine river when it is joined by the other two, and is navigable down to Enos, a town at the mouth of the river which retains its old name ; but as there are some shallows in the river, they do not navigate it in the summer months. Adrianople is very delightfully situated, in a beautiful plain, watered by three rivers : the shops which are well built and furnished, and the kanes are within the city walls, but most of the people live on the height over the old city, which is a more advantageous situation, where most of the houses have their gardens, and enjoy a very fine prospect : they have two or three beautiful mosques on the outside of the city ; the largest may vie with the best in Constantinople, and is built in a good taste. There are two mosques in the city which were churches ; and there are two large verd antique pillars in the portico of one of them. This is one of the four royal cities in which the grand signiors have made their residence ; the seraglio is to the west of the town, and of the river Meritchch, which runs both on the west and south sides of the city ; it is built on a fine plain spot, and there is a large meadow towards the river planted with trees ; besides the principal building for the grand signior, which did not seem to be large, there are many little houses in the

* The port at the mouth of the river Athyras was called Navale Melanticum. This place was in the road to Constantinople from Heraclea, and was twenty-nine miles from the former, probably by a short way across the country ; between it and Heraclea was Canophrurion, which is said to be between Selymbria and the river Athyras ; but as Heraclea is but fourteen miles from Solivree, the distances of these two places from Heraclea is much too great. Canophrurion ought to be corrected to fourteen, and Melantiada to thirteen.

gardens for the ladies, and in other parts for the great officers; and as they are low, it has the appearance of a Carthusian cloyster. Nobody is permitted to enter this seraglio without a particular order from Constantinople. The Bostangee-bathaw resides in one part of it, to whom most of the country belongs as far as Philopoli, and a great territory round about it, of which he is the governor; and he is not subject to the Bostangee-bathaw at Constantinople. On the hill to the west of the seraglio there is a large summer-house which belongs to the grand signior, from which there is a fine prospect of the city, and all the country round.

The city is governed by the janitzer aga; it is a place of great trade, supplying all the country with goods brought by land from Constantinople, and from Smyrna, and other parts by sea, and up the river; they have a great plenty of all sorts of provisions; they also make silk, which is chiefly used for their own manufactures. The wine of this place, which is mostly red, is very strong and well-flavoured, and they have all sorts of fruits in great perfection: the Greeks have an archbishop here. There is a village called Demerlata, about a league to the south-west of the town, where Charles the twelfth, king of Sweden, resided some years, till he was removed to Demotica, as it is imagined, by the instigation of his enemies, who, it is said, thought that this place was too near the great road. The French have two or three houses here, and a consul: the English also have a person with consular power to act for them, though they have little business; but formerly when there was war with the emperor they had their factors here, and sold a considerable quantity of cloth, tin, and lead. When I was at Adrianople I saw the entrance of an ambassador extraordinary from the emperor, on the conclusion of the peace.

CHAP. IV. — *Of Demotica, Rodosto, and Gallipoli.*

WE left Adrianople on the seventeenth, travelled southwards, and passed through a village called Ahercui, where there is a large lane for the grand signior's camels, which are bred in that country: we went in between the hills, and arrived at Demotica on a small river called Kefeldele-su, which falls into the Meritcheh about a mile to the north-east; it is near twelve miles from Adrianople: the present town is chiefly on the north and east side of the hill, where the antient town was likewise situated, which is supposed to be Dyme; there are remains of the walls of a castle, and of several artificial grottos: the Christians live on the east side of the hill, and have two churches. Charles the twelfth, of Sweden, lived at this place for some time: I was informed that he commonly rode out every afternoon, and that some few of his followers, who were given to gallantry, were obliged to be very secret in those affairs, the king having been always very remarkable for the strictest chastity; druggermen and people of great consideration often came to him. I should conjecture that Plotinopolis was higher up the river on which Demotica stands, as Trajanopolis was twenty-two miles from it in the way to the city of Heraclea. The hills that run along from the south-west to the north-east near Adrianople seem to be mount Rhodope. Between Adrianople and Plotinopolis, there was a place called Nicæa, where it is said the Arians drew up a confession of faith in order to impose on the world, the place being of the same name as the city where the famous council was held. On the eighteenth we went a mile to the north-east to the river Meritcheh, which is here very rapid; we crossed it on a flat bottomed boat, and travelled seven miles near out through very fine country to Ouzoun-Kupri [The Long Bridge], a town so called from a bridge built across the plain, and over the small river Erganeh to the west of

of the town, which overflows the plain in winter, being near half a mile long, and consists of a hundred and seventy arches; it is built of hewn stone, and is a very great work. If Dyme was between Plotinopolis and Trajanopolis, this would be the most likely place for the latter; at present it is only a small town, having very few Christians in it, and no church. We went sixteen miles further to the east to another small town called Jeribol, which seems to be a corruption from Hierapolis; this possibly might be Apris, where the roads from Trajanople to Heraclea and Gallipoli seem to have parted; we lay at this place, and on the nineteenth went eight hours to Rodosto. The whole country of Thracia passed through from Constantinople is an exceeding rich soil, which produces in the downs the greatest plenty of herbage I ever saw in places entirely unimproved, and a great quantity of excellent corn, and also some flax; the country is mostly uneven, and has very little wood in it; so that the ancients, who say Thracia is a barren country, except near the sea, were very much mistaken. Rodosto is the old Bisanthe, afterwards called Rhedeftus, and in the Itinerary Refiston; it is situated in a very large bay on the sea, and up the side of the hills, the town being near a mile in length; it is chiefly inhabited by Turks, though there are several Greek and Armenian families in the town; the latter have one church and the Greeks five, and their archbishop of Heraclea has a house here; they make exceeding good wine, and it is a place of great export of corn for Constantinople. The late princes Ragotski resided in this town, in a palace where several of their adherents now live, and receive their pensions from the porte. To the north-east is Heraclea the old Perinthus, about the point that makes this great bay to the north. When I arrived at this place I paid off my janizary, and the next day he came and said he was not satisfied, that he expected to have been longer with me, and if I would not give him more he would oblige the consul at Adrianople to pay him, and at last threatened me with the mequime or court of justice; but as he could not intimidate me, I heard no more of him; and on the twentieth embarked for Gallipoli, where I arrived on the twenty-first. This is the antient Callipolis, finely situated at the northern entrance of the Hellespont on rising grounds, and on the south side of them, so that it makes no appearance coming to it from the north. Lampfacus is on the other side in Asia, about a league further to the south; a village called Shardsak, being directly opposite to Gallipoli; this city, though it is three miles in circumference, is but a poor place, and has very little trade. The upper parts of the town, where the people chiefly live, are pleasant, and the houses have gardens to them; the shops are in the lower part of the town. There is a little rivulet to the west of the city, and to the south a small enclosed port, and a fine basin within the walls which is not now used; the old ruined castle is above it to the north. To the east of the port there are about twenty ruined houses, which were built along the shore for the reception of galleys, probably during the time of the Greek emperors. Near a small bay to the north of the city, and on the Propontis, there is a fine powder house, where all the ships of the grand signior take in their powder that go out into the Mediterranean. There are about three hundred Greek families here, they have two churches, at one of which the archbishop of Heraclea has a house, in which his suffragan bishop resides; there are some families of Jews here. As passengers often stop at this port in their way between Smyrna and Constantinople, and other parts, so the plague is frequently brought to this city. About two leagues to the north of Gallipoli is the narrowest part or neck of this peninsula, which was computed to be about five miles broad; there were three towns on it, one to the west called Cardia on the bay Melanis, which makes the peninsula; one in the middle called

Lyfimachia, which is thought to be a large village on the height called Boulaiyere; it was built by Lyfimachus, who destroyed Cardia, and was afterwards demolished by the Thracians, and rebuilt by Antiochus: the third town was Pactye to the east, which might be either in a shallow bay rather to the south-east and by east of Boulaiyere, or on a little bay, something more to the north than that village, where a small rivulet falls into the sea. There was a wall across this neck of land, and a town near it, which on this account was called in the Greek language Macrontychon [the Long Wall]. Going to the south, a little north of the narrow passage, where, I suppose, Sestus and Abydos were situated, there is a ruin of an old castle or town on the height, about half a mile from the sea; it is called Acbash, and is the abode of a *de vishe*; this probably was *Ægos*, where the Athenians lost their liberty, being defeated by the Lacedæmonians, and that the rather, because by the best information that I could get, there is a rivulet there as there was at *Ægos*, which went by the same name, and was to the south of the supposed Sestus, which I imagine was not where the castle now is, for reasons I have already mentioned; there is a deep bay here, at the bottom of which is a large village called Maydos; this probably is the port *Cœlus* [*Κοῖλος*], which might have its name from the great hollow or bay; and it is described as south of Sestus. At this port the Athenians beat the Lacedæmonians by sea, and erected a trophy at *Cynossēma*, or the tomb of Hecuba, which I suppose to have been the present European castle, commonly thought to be Sestus, being a high point of land to the south of that port, and so very proper for the erection of a trophy, on account of a victory gained in that harbour. *Cynossēma* also is mentioned as opposite to the river *Rodius*, which seems to be the river at the castle over against it on the Asia side. *Alopeconesus* was at the western cape of the south end of the peninsula; the eastern cape was called *Mastusia*, where the outer castle of Europe is situated, in which a pasha always resides. To the north of it is a little bay, and a fine spot of ground, which probably was the site of *Eleus*; the tower or sepulchre of *Protesilaus* is mentioned near it, as well as a small temple to him.

CHAP. V. — *Of Mount Athos.*

WE embarked at Lemnos, and landed at Monte Santo, as it is called by the Europeans, on the eighth of September; it is the antient mount Athos in Macedonia, now called both by Greeks and Turks, *Haion Horos* [The Holy Mountain] by reason that there are so many convents on it; to which the whole mountain belongs; it is a promontory which extends almost directly from north to south, being joined to the continent by a neck of land about a mile wide, through which some historians say Xerxes cut a channel, in order to carry his army a short way by water, from one bay to the other; which seems very improbable; nor did I see any sign of such a work: the bay of *Contessia* to the north of this neck of land was called by the antients *Strymonicus*; to the south is the bay of Monte Santo, antiently called *Singiticus*, and by the Greeks at this day *Amouliane*, from an island of that name at the bottom of it, between which and the gulph of *Salonica* is the bay of *Haia-Mamma*, called by the antients *Toronæus*. The northern cape of this promontory is called cape *Laura*, and is the promontory *Nymphæum* of the antients; and the cape of Monte Santo seems to be the promontory *Acrathos*: over the former is the highest summit of mount Athos; all the other parts of it, though hilly, being low in comparison of it; it is a very steep rocky height covered with pine trees; if we suppose the perpendicular height of it to be four miles from the sea, though I think it cannot be so much, it may

may be easily computed if its shadow could reach to Lemnos, which they say, is eighty miles distant, though I believe it is not above twenty leagues.

There are on Monte Santo twenty convents, ten on the north side, and ten on the south, most of them near the sea, there being only two on the east side, and three on the west, that are above a mile from the water, the cape itself not being above two leagues wide. Many of these convents are very poor; some indeed have estates abroad, and most of them send out priests to collect charity, and the person who returns with the greatest sum of money is commonly made goumenos or abbot, till another brings in a greater. They pay a certain price for their lands, and a bostangi resides in their town to receive it, and to protect them against injuries; every convent also pays a poll tax for a certain number. It is thought that they are obliged to give lodging and provisions to all comers; but where persons are able they always expect charity; no female animal, except those that are wild, is permitted on this mount. Their manner of living is much the same as that of mount Sinai; they never eat meat. The priests and waiters, when in their refectory, wear the hood on their heads, and a long black cloak; and a person from a pulpit reads some book in the vulgar Greek all the time they eat. In every convent they have many chapels adjoining to their rooms, probably fitted up by particular persons, out of their devotion to some saint; there are also houses with chapels to them all over the lands of the convents; which they call Kellia, and might formerly be the cells of hermits, but are now inhabited only by a caloyer or two, who take care of the gardens or vineyards adjoining: those houses which are on their estates at a distance from the convents they call Metokia. Besides their lay caloyers, they have also hired servants to labour, called Men of the world [Κοσμικοί]. They have no manner of learning among them, nor do they so much as teach the antient Greek, though I was informed they did; so that the priests lead very idle unprofitable lives: and considering them in a political view, any one would think that two or three thousand persons would be much better employed in the world in propagating the Christian race in a country where the number is daily diminishing; so that in this respect it is the policy of the Turks to encourage this life. Some of their convents have been founded by princes of Bulgaria, Servia, and Walachia, and are filled with people of those countries; and these priests are so extremely ignorant, that they can neither talk nor read the vulgar Greek. The convents are built round a court with a church in the middle; four of them on the east side are the largest and richest, and of them Laura is the chief, and has the greatest interest and command over the rest, and the monks of it are esteemed the most polished, as well as the most politic; Iveronè and Vatopede are the most beautiful both in their building and situation on the water; the fourth is Calandari: four or five convents on the west side are very curiously situated, being built on high rocks over the water.

When I landed I went first to the convent of Laura, where Neophytus, archbishop of Naupactus and Larra resided; he had resigned his archbishopric above twenty years. I was conducted to their refectory to see them dine, and to the archbishop's apartment, at whose table I always eat. The marble font in the church seemed to be an antient vase. On the ninth, I went to visit the monasteries on the north side of the hill, and in four hours came to the poor convent of Caracallo, where we took some refreshment, and in an hour more came to the convent Philotheo, which I viewed, and went on to the monastery of Iveronè, which is delightfully situated on a flat spot near the sea in the middle of beautiful meadows; it is a large convent, where I was very civilly entertained, pressed much to stay, and saw an old bishop of Lemnos, who had resigned,

and an archimandrite of Muscovy, who had travelled in that country. I then went by water an hour to the north to the poor convent Stravro Niketa, where I was very civilly entertained by the archbishop of Philippi and Drame, who had resigned; he conducted me to the orangery, and presented me with a bough loaded with lemons. Aged prelates often resign their bishopricks, and come to these convents, in order to end their days in a quiet retirement. I went by water an hour further to the convent Pantocratori, where I lay; the abbot had travelled in Spain, Italy, and Germany, and talked Italian. This convent was founded by John prince of Wallachia, who with some of his family are buried in it. I here saw a hermit at some distance in a wood; he lived in a hut almost inaccessible, by reason of the briars; they said, he was a hundred years old, and had lived there forty years; he had no chapel, not being obliged either to attend the sacrament, or to administer it, or perform any offices of the church; he had nothing on but a coarse coat and trowsers, without a shirt. On the tenth, we rowed to the large convent of Vatopede, where I received great civilities; and they sent to my boat presents of fruit and other things. We went two hours to the north to the convent of faint Simenus, built by Pelisena daughter of Arcadius. We here mounted on mules, and went half an hour through pleasant fields to Kilandari convent, which is one of the four great ones, and was founded for Servians, by Stephen king of Servia; the monks seemed to be very ignorant, and I was but very indifferently accommodated. On the eleventh, we went two hours up the hills to the south to the convent Zographo; they say, it was founded by a nephew of Justinian for Bulgarians: it is two miles both from the convents Castamoneto and Dokiario; we went to the sea on the south side of the cape, and arrived at Dokiario convent; we afterwards sailed a mile to the poor convent of St. George Zenopho; and tasted a salt water in the way, which is soft and purges; we then went by water to Simopetra convent, and afterwards to St. Gregorio and St. John Dionysius, where we lay. On the twelfth, we went by water to the monastery of St. Paul, from which we rid two miles round the hills over the sea to the hermitages of St. Anne, near the most southern extremity of the cape; they consist of about forty houses, inhabited by near a hundred hermits: they are situated in a semicircular hollow of the hill; there are some hermits also near the convent of faint John Dionysius, and near Simopetra: two or three hermits live in each of the houses. Some of them who retire in this manner have little fortunes of their own, and live on their gardens, and what bread or corn they can either get from the convents, or purchase; and when I was there, they were busy in gathering and drying their figs, raisins, and nuts; they make also a small quantity of wine and brandy for their own use; some of them work and make wooden spoons, or carve images of devotions. On Sundays and holidays they go to the church of St. Anne, which is common to them all, where they shew the hand of that faint; this place is four miles from Laura, and from the highest summit of the hill. We returned to faint Paul's, and went by water to Simopetra, which is the most curious of all the convents, as to its situation; it is built on a rock which rises up out of the side of the hill towards the top of it, the whole hill being covered with trees; an aqueduct adds greatly to the beauty of the prospect, which consists of three stories of arches; it conveys the water to the convent from the neighbouring height. On the thirteenth, we went to the convent of Zeropotamo, where, in the front of the church, there is a curious old relief of faint Demetrius in verd antique; and in the walls of the convent I saw two antient heads. We went a mile and a half to the poor convent of Rufikon, which is to the east of Zenopho; we went an hour further to a large convent not half a mile from Cares, which is the only town on Monte Santo, and is

about the middle of it, situated towards the top of the height on the north side, and is the most pleasant part of all the mountain. The land of this place belongs to several convents, and most of them have houses and gardens here. The town is inhabited by caloyers, who have their shops, and sell such things as there is a demand for; the only artists they have are those that make cutlery ware and beads, and carve reliefs very curiously in wood, either on crosses or in history pieces; and here they have a market every Saturday, when the people at the distance of three or four days journey bring in corn, and other provisions; all they send out from their mountain being those trinkets they make, and walnuts, chefnuts, common nuts, and some black cattle which they buy, and sell when they are fit for the market; they are also supplied in part from abroad with wine; the cold, as it happened this year, very often destroying their grapes. Many houses and gardens in Cares are purchased of the convents by two or three caloyers for their lives, who cultivate their gardens, make those images, and lead very agreeable independent lives.

Most of the monks on this mountain are what they call Stavrophori, from a cross they wear under their caps worked on a piece of cloth, which is called Stavromene, to which also they tie a very small cross made of wood; these have taken the vow on them, and then they can never eat meat, nor leave this life; whereas in other convents there are very few of them. As to those of the highest state in the monastic life, called by them the Monks of the Megalokema, I believe there are very few of them, though I was told some old men in their infirmaries, who were past the world, had taken this vow on them, which is an entire renunciation of the world, of property, and of all office, and employ, and an obligation to greater internal exercises of devotion: the hermit I saw in the wood, if I do not mistake, was of this sort.

CHAP. VI. — *Of Thessalonica, and the places in the way to it.*

FROM this country of men, into which none of the fair sex are permitted to enter, we set forward by land to Salonica on the fourteenth, with a little caravan, and went northwards to the gulph of Contessa, our journey afterwards being mostly to the west. We came to the isthmus, or neck of land, by which this land is joined to the country to the west; the whole length of Monte Santo being about thirty miles: at the north-east extremity of it there is a small cape which extends into the gulph to the north, and, I suppose, is the promontory Acrathos. On the north side of the bay they shewed me a port called Esborus, which may be Contessa of the maps, and possibly the antient port of Amphipolis; the point to the north, which makes this bay, is not brought out far enough to the east in the common maps, for it appears to me that there was another bay to the north of this; the whole, according to the sea-charts, being the bay of Contessa. At the west end of this bay I was shewn another port called Erifo, where, they say, there are ruins of an old city called Paliocastro, which might be Acanthus, to which Xerxes led his army: to the north of this was Stagira, where Aristotle was born. The river Strymon, which was the bounds of Macedonia to the north, fell into the sea at this gulph; it is made to have two mouths, one of which might fall into this south part of the gulph, the other into the north part. To the north-east of the Strymon was the country called Macedonia Adjecta, inhabited by the Edones; it extended to the Nestus, and was a part of Thrace conquered by king Philip, and added to Macedonia. To the south of that country I saw Thasius, a large island, with four or five villages on it, being famous among the antients for excellent white marble, and for its mines of gold. I was well informed that in one part of the island are many

graves and coffins cut out of the rock ; it is forty miles from Lemnos, and opposite to Cavalla and the Nestus. The part of Macedonia from mount Athos to the peninsula of Pallene, or Phlegra, was called Chalcidice.

We soon came into an improved country inhabited by Christians, and lay at Palaio-cori. On the sixteenth we proceeded on our journey, and having gone about half way, I saw at some distance to the north a long narrow lake called Bazaruke, where there is a lake in Dewit's map, which, according to that, empties itself into the Singitic bay. We lay at Ravanah ; and on the seventeenth, about ten miles from Salonica, we descended into a fine plain, in which runs a small stream that must be the river Chabrius ; there is a salt pool near the sea, which, I suppose, is about the mouth of it. Four miles from Salonica in the same road are hot baths, the waters are only lukewarm, and I thought there was a mixture of salt and sulphur in them ; there are probably those baths from which Thessalonica was first called Therma, and gave the name of Thermaicus to this great bay, which is now called the Bay of Salonica ; the city being situated about the north-east corner of it, and has the forementioned plain to the north east, some hills to the north west, and a great plain to the south west, extending beyond view to the south, I suppose to the mountains Olympus and Pierus, and the other mountains near Larissa. In this plain, and near it, were many places very famous in antient history. The country about Thessalonica was called Amphaxitis, the river Echedorus ran through it, which is said to have been drunk dry by the army of Xerxes ; to the north on this river was the country called Mygdonia ; the rivers Axios and Lydias likewise run through this plain ; between them the country was called Bottiaea, in which Pella was situated, where the kings of Macedon resided, from Philip the father of Alexander the great, down to Perseus, and where Alexander the great was born. To the south of the river Axios in Emathia was Edeffa or Ægæ, fifty-nine miles from Thessalonica, in the Roman road ; Diocletianopolis and Pella being between these places. In Ægæ the kings of Macedon resided before they removed to Pella, and it continued to be their burial place. Between the Lydias and the Aliacmon was the country called Pieria, in which was Methonè ; at the siege of this city king Philip lost his eye ; here also was Pydna, near which the Romans vanquished Perseus, and put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To the west of these places was Berrhoea, fifty-one miles from Thessalonica ; of the people of this place saint Paul testifies that they were more noble than the Thessalonians, in that they received the word with all gladness : near mount Olympus was Dios, where Alexander set up the bronze statues made by Lysippus of those brave men who died on the Granicus in the battle against the Persians. It is to be observed, that many places both in Syria and Asia Minor, have the names of places in these parts, which were doubtless given them by colonies that went out of Greece, and by the kings of Syria, and the Greeks that followed them, after the time of Alexander the great, who were doubtless fond of giving the Greek names of their own native country, to those strange places they went to inhabit, as of mount Olympus, Pieria, Magnesia, Hera-clea, Berrhoea, and many others.

Thessalonica is said to have its name from its foundress Thessalonica, sister of Alexander the great : the present walls, which seem mostly to have been built under the Greek emperors, are five or six miles in circumference, taking in the plain ground on which the city now stands ; it goes up to the top of the hill, and joins to the castle, the present city not taking up above half the ground enclosed within the walls, which were well repaired when the war broke out with the emperor. The walls come very near the sea, and the boats are drawn up on the beach, there being no quay ; the streets are not well laid out, and the houses are ill built of unburnt brick, having gar-

dens to most of them. There are in the city some few remains of antiquity ; one of the principal is a very grand triumphal arch much ruined, but in the perfection of the sculpture, and costliness of the work, it seems to rival any arch that remains ; it consisted of three arches built of brick and cased with marble. One member of the cornice under the spring of the arch is worked with one row of leaves like the Corinthian order ; there were niches in the fronts between the arches ; the piers all round were adorned with three compartments of reliefs one over another, as of some procession ; the reliefs are four feet two inches deep, and are divided from one another by other reliefs which are a foot broad, and consist of running boughs and flowers ; the reliefs are much defaced, but seem to have been cut in very great perfection, and the arch is said to be of the time of the Antonines ; it is probable, that the upper part was adorned in proportion to the rest, but whatever ornaments there were they are now destroyed ; as the arch seems to be low in proportion, it may be conjectured that there was another compartment of reliefs also covered by the earth. The shops and houses are built about it in such a manner, that it was difficult to take the measures, especially of the middle arch, which I have given by the best computation I could make. Another piece of antiquity is the remains of a very fine Corinthian colonnade, it consists of five pillars of Cipolino ; the capitals are of exquisite workmanship ; the pillars, two feet in diameter, are nine feet two inches apart ; the frieze is fluted, and on the entablature is a sort of an Attic order of square pilasters with an architrave over it, the other parts of the entablature being taken away, if ever there were more ; but the greatest beauty of this colonnade are four alt-reliefs in both fronts, between the Attic pilasters, of a person as big as life ; to the east is a Bacchus, Mercury, and two Victories ; to the west Leda, a woman, a naked man, and a woman in profile, with something in her left hand held up ; the sculpture of all of them is exceedingly fine : by this disposition one would also imagine, that this was a triumphal monument in an extraordinary taste, it being otherwise difficult to conceive how two fronts of such a colonnade could appear to advantage. Within the south gate of the city, there is an ancient gateway or triumphal arch remaining of hewn stone ; on each side to the south there is a relief about three feet long, and two and a half wide. There are several mosques in the city which were formerly churches ; that which carries the greatest mark of antiquity, is the rotundo, and if it was not an ancient temple, it was certainly built when Christianity was first publickly established, though I imagine it to have been a heathen temple, and probably a pantheon ; the walls are very thick, and built of good brick ; the chapels round it are arched over with double arches of brick, excepting the two entrances to the west and south ; there are in them oblong square niches which appear like windows, and are now filled up ; above these the wall is not, I suppose, so thick by twelve feet, and over every one of these apartments there is an arched nich. The cupola is adorned with mosaic work, appearing like eight frontispieces of very grand buildings, the perspective of which seemed to be very good ; the apartment opposite to the entrance is lengthened out to twenty-seven paces, and ends in a semicircle, which, if it was a temple, I suppose must have been added by the Christians for the altar. They shew a sepulchre to the east of this mosque, in which, they say, Ortagi Effendi is buried, who took the city. The most beautiful mosque in the town, which was a church, is that which had the name of saint Demetrius ; it is seventy-one paces long, and forty-one broad ; there are on each side a double colonnade of white marble pillars, each supporting its gallery, with pillars over them ; the gallery supported by the inner rows of pillars being under the gallery of the pillars that are on each side next to the middle nave ; the whole church is cased within

within with marble; there is a church under it, which is shut up, and no one can enter; it is said that St. Paul preached in it. Another mosque was the church of St. Sophia, built something on the model of St. Sophia in Constantinople, having a cupola adorned with beautiful mosaic work; there are some fine verd antique pillars in the church and portico; and in the church there is a verd antique throne or pulpit, with two or three steps up to it, the whole being of one piece of marble. A fourth mosque was the church of St. Pantaleemon, which is but small; before it there is a sort of fuggeltum or pulpit, with winding steps up to it, all of one block of white marble; on the sides of it are cut three arches, supported by Corinthian pillars, under which are mezzo-relievos of the Virgin Mary, and other saints: I saw such another at one of the mosques; these seem to have been made in the very earliest times of Christianity, before the art of sculpture was entirely lost. There are several Greek churches in this city; but I could not find out the tomb of Eutyches, the adversary of Nestorius; they have an archbishop, and a small monastery on the hill within the walls. The number of Jews here is thought to exceed the number of Christians and Turks put together, inasmuch that they have a great influence in the city. The Turks drink much, and to that may be imputed their being very bad people in this place; the janizaries in particular are exceedingly insolent. They have a great manufacture of coarse woollen cloth in and about Salonica, which is exported to all parts of Turkey for the wear of common people. The English, French, Dutch and Venetians, have their consuls here, the chief export being silk, wax, and cotton to Smyrna, in order to be embarked for Europe, and a great quantity of tobacco to Italy, as well as to most parts of Turkey, as it is esteemed the best after that of Latichea. A pasha and janitzer aga reside in this city. Salonica is fifteen days journey with a caravan from Constantinople, being about a hundred and eighty miles from Rodosto; it is three days from Cavalla, Monte Santo and Larissa; sixteen miles from Veria, perhaps Berrhoea; and four days from Volo, the old Pagasa on the bay Pagasæus, now called the gulph of Volo.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the fields of Tempe, of Larissa, Pharsalia, and the battle between Cæsar and Pompey.*

THE road from Salonica to Larissa is dangerous and unfrequented; so that most persons embark at Salonica for the port of Claritza in Thessaly, on the south side of the bay of Salonica, being a voyage of about fifteen leagues. We embarked for that place on the nineteenth in the afternoon, and arrived on the twentieth late at night, and lay in the open air at the foot of mount Ossa in Thessaly, in that part of it which was called Pelasgiotis; the country of Magnesia, and mount Pelion being to the east, and make that head of land which is to the north of the bay that was known to the ancients by the name of Pagasæus. The next morning we went to the convent of St. Demetrius on the side of the hill over Claritza: this place is about two leagues from the river Peneus, which rises in mount Pindus, the greatest part of the way being a rich narrow plain not a mile broad, which may be the pleasant fields of Tempe, that are described to be five miles long, and of the breadth of half an acre at the mouth of the Peneus. On the west side of the Peneus is the famous mount Olympus, which the poets feigned to be the seat of the gods. We came to the Peneus, where there is a bridge over it to the west side; here we were stopped at a custom-house where the officer made a demand, and talking high, he proceeded so far as to make mention of bastinados; but a janizary I had with me answered very coolly, that the officer must exercise his severity first over him; and shewing my firman, or passport, he began to be

be easy, and permitted us to go on. We travelled on the east side of the Peneus, where the road seems to have been levelled by cutting away the rock at the foot of mount Ossa; the road leads to the south-west for about two leagues, the passage for the river being in some parts very narrow, with small islands in the middle, so that the water of the Peneus might be confined on some great rains, and cause the flood in the time of Deucalion. Some say the passage was enlarged by an earthquake and the poets feigned that the giants put mount Ossa on Pelion and Olympus, and made way for the river to pass freely.

We lay in a kane at Baba, about four hours from the port, having travelled in all two leagues by the river. On the twenty-second we came into a valley about two leagues long, and two miles broad, in which we went to the south, the Peneus running along the north side of the plain towards the east, we went southwards between the hills which are to the west, and crossed some low hills into that large plain, in which Larissa is situated about two leagues further on the river Peneus. It is much to be doubted whether the first of these plains was not the fields of Tempe, as some authors mention that the Peneus passed through the fields of Tempe, and then between Olympus and Ossa, though others speak of them as at the mouth of the Peneus. Xerxes sailed with his army from Thessalonica to this river; and it is to be observed that Daphne was the daughter of Peneus, and that the fable of her and Apollo had its scene here. The Peneus is mentioned as a clear river by Homer. To the north-east of Larissa there is a descent on every side to a very level ground, which in some parts is morassy, and probably is the basin of that lake which overflowing, together with the Peneus, caused the Deucalion flood. To the west was Cyncephala, where T. Quintus Flaminius vanquished king Philip in a very great battle. Larissa still retains its antient name, and is situated on the Peneus, which runs on the west and north sides of it; to the west there is a large stone bridge of ten arches over the river: a small rivulet, which is dry in the summer, runs into the Peneus near the bridge, and probably passed through the west part of the old city. Larissa is said to be thirty miles from the sea, but it is not more than eighteen: it was for some time the residence of Philip king of Macedon; before the battle of Pharsalia, Scipio and his legion were quartered here; and after his defeat Pompey came to this city, and going to the sea, embarked on board a merchant ship. There are no sort of remains of antiquity in this place, not so much as the walls, except some pieces of marble about the Turkish burial places. The present town is three miles in circumference, and in the middle of it there is a wooden tower, with a large striking clock in it, which has been there ever since the Christians had possession of this country, and, I suppose, is the only one in all Turkey: a pasha resides here, and they compute fifteen thousand Turkish houses, fifteen hundred Greek, and about three hundred Jewish families. The people, both Turks and Greeks, have a bad character, and it is dangerous travelling near the city, except on the side of the port of Claritza; it is a great road from Larissa three days to the west, from Albania the antient Epirus, and from many other parts to go to the port, in order to embark for Constantinople, Smyrna, and Salonica: they have only one Greek church here, and their metropolitan. Twenty-four miles to the south-east of Larissa is Volo, said to be Pagasæ, where the poets say the ship Argos was built; and near it is Aphitæ, from which place, they say, the Argonauts sailed: the south-east corner of this land is the old promontory Sepias, where five hundred sail of Xerxes fleet were shipwrecked in a storm.

We set out from Larissa on the twenty-third on post horses, which are to be had in many parts of Turkey, and one travels on them with great security, as the pashas commonly

commonly dispatch their people this way; and so it is supposed that those who travel in this manner belong to the great men, who would find out the rogues if they gave their people any disturbance. When travellers have an order in their firman for horses they pay only ten aspers an hour for each horse, otherwise they agree as they can. From Larissa we went southwards over uneven downs, and descended into a very fine plain about twenty miles long from east to west, and almost a league broad at the east end, widening to the west; which, without doubt, is the plain of Pharfalia; there is a small town to the south of the plain called Catadia, over it is a ruined place on a hill, which seems to be Pharfalus, being about thirty miles from Volo, the old Pagasæ, as Pharfalus is said to have been; a small river runs through the plain to the west, which must be the antient Enipeus that fell into the Apidanus, and so both ran together into the Peneus. To the north-east of the supposed Pharfalus the hills turn northward towards the river, and on these hills I suppose Pompey's army was encamped near the stream, as Cæsar's probably was on the hill to the east of Pharfalus. Pompey had the Enipeus to the right wing of his army, for Cæsar says he had a rivulet to the right with high banks for his defence. Historians give an account that this battle was fought in the plains of Pharfalia near Pharfalus, and between that town and the Enipeus, which fixes the place; and yet it is very extraordinary that Cæsar should not mention the name of Pharfalus and of the Pharfalian plains; he only says, that after taking Metropolis he chose a place in the country for providing corn, which was near ripe, and there expected the arrival of Pompey: perhaps he neglected all these circumstances out of a sort of vanity; as well imagining that every one must be well informed of the very spot where a battle was fought which determined the empire of the world. In the middle of the plain, about two leagues north-west of the supposed Pharfalus, is a hill, on which probably Metropolis was situated, which Cæsar had taken, where I was informed there are some ruins, and about as much further are two hills in that part of the plain where it extends further northward, on one of which might be Gomphi, which he had taken before. The soldiers of Pompey had possessed themselves of the highest hills near the camp, where being besieged by Cæsar, and wanting water, they fled towards Larissa, and Cæsar coming up with them at about six miles distance, and preparing to attack them, they possessed themselves of a hill that was walled by the river, which I should have thought to have been the first high hill to the south south-west of Larissa, at the foot of which, I suppose, the Apidanus flows, if the distance was not rather too great.

We took some refreshment at Catadia, and changed our post horses; this town is seven hours from Larissa, that is, about twenty miles, and we set out the same day for Zeitoun, which is computed to be twenty-four miles from Catadia; it is situated near the bay, called by the antients Malliacus: the road is over rich hills, which extend to the east, and make the head of land which is between the bays Pagasæus and Malliacus, and is the antient country of Thessaly, called Phthiotis, from Phthia where Achilles was born: there was a town called Thebes in this part, and the Myrmidons were of this country, of whom the poets feign that of pismires they were made men; but Strabo mentions their industry like that of a pismire [*μύρμηξ*] in cultivating their land, as a more probable derivation of that name. Passing these hills I saw to the west a long narrow lake called Davecleh, of which I can find no account; but possibly the river Apidanus may rise out of it.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of Zeitoun, Thermopylae, and other places in the way to Livadia.*

ZEITOUN is situated on the south side of a hill at the foot of the high mountains, and on another hill to the south, inhabited by Turks; on the top of the former there is a castle: it is situated about four miles to the west of the north-west corner of the bay of Mallaeus, and about as far north of the river Sperchius; consequently this must be Lamin, famous for the Laminian war, which the Greeks waged against Macedon after the death of Alexander: there may be three or four hundred houses in Zeitoun, the greater part Christians, who are said to be a good sort of people, but the air is unhealthy in the summer.

When I came to Zeitoun I went to the kane, and chose for coolness, and to be free from vermin, to lay in the gallery which leads to the rooms. In my first sleep I was awakened by a terrible noise, and leaping up found great part of the kane fallen down, and the horses running out of the stable; I did not know what was the cause, but my servant immediately said it was an earthquake, so that we were in the utmost consternation; the front and greatest part of the kane was destroyed, and we got out with much difficulty. A Turk who lay on a bulk before the gate was covered with ruins, but was taken out alive, and not much hurt. It was a moon-shiny night; but so many houses had fallen down, and such a dust was raised, that we could not see the sky; the women were screaming for their children and relations who were buried in the ruins of the houses; some of them were taken out alive, but several were killed: and going to the churches the next day I saw many laid out in them in order to be buried, their houses being fallen down. I got my things removed to a dunghill in a place most clear from buildings, and I felt near twenty shocks in about two hours time, some of which were very great: the next day it rained, and I got into a shed, but the people advised me to leave it; and every thing was attended with the utmost face of distress, nothing was to be got, nor could I have horses till the afternoon; and when I crossed the plain I was shewn cracks in the earth about six inches wide, which they said were made by the earthquake. This calamity chiefly affected the Christians, whose houses were built only of stone and earth, but not one of the houses of the Turks fell down, which were strongly built with mortar. I observed as I travelled that the earthquake had thrown down many of the houses in the neighbouring villages, but did no great damage on the other side of the hills, which bound this plain to the south.

The valley in which Zeitoun stands is a fine spot of ground, it is about five miles wide, and the river Sperchius runs along the south side of it: this vale extends beyond view to the west. The Thaumaci are mentioned as at the entrance to a great plain: probably at the end of this plain there may be a narrow pass between the mountains to another plain, which seems to have extended to Epirus, and to the bay Ambracius on the Adriatic sea, between which and the bay of Zeitoun seems to be the narrowest part of Greece; and probably it may not be above a hundred miles from one sea to the other. The country of Doris was at some distance to the west on the south side of the river; it was called Tetrapolis, by reason that it had four principal cities. The first order among the Greeks called the Doric, was probably invented in this country; in the beginning it was a very simple order, as it appears even now in some places; the capital consisting only of a large list or square stone, and a large quarter round under that, and the entablature of a deep architrave of one face,

a broad frieze, and a very simple cornice. The river Sperchius is a considerable stream: Sperchia is mentioned in such a manner by Ptolemy as to shew that it was not at the mouth of the Spherchius, but to the north of it, probably where Leda now is at the north-west corner of the bay, which is the port of Zeitoun; on the east side of the bay, about the middle of it, is Achino, doubtless the antient Echinus.

To the south of the Sperchius and of the bay was the country of Locri Epichnemedii, the Opuntii being to the east of it: our road was between the sea and the high mountains; these mountains are called Coumaita, and are doubtless the old mount Oeta, so that I began to look for the famous passage called Thermopylæ, where the Spartans with a few men opposed the great army of the Persians. At the place where the road first turns to the east, between the mountains and the sea, are hot waters which the Greeks called Thermæ, and gave the name to this streight of Thermopylæ, that is, the gates or pass of the baths. It is certain, that this pass is mentioned as sixty paces wide, and in some parts only broad enough for a single carriage; so that as the narrow passage is mentioned on the sea, in case it lead to the same road in which we went across the mountains, the sea must have lost, and left the passage wider, though possibly it was a way round the cape by the sea side, where there might be some narrow passes. After going about six miles to the east, our road was to the south between the mountains; I observed two sources of the hot waters, which are salt and impregnated with sulphur; they incrust the ground with a salt sulphureous substance: the river Boagrius runs into the sea from between these hills, which is probably the stream that is so often passed in this road. The whole country of the Epichnemedii is full of high mountains.

Near the entrance of the bay of Maliacus is the north-west corner of the island Negropont, the old Eubœa; it is a very high point of land: the Greeks call this island Egripus, from the chief town the antient Chalcis, opposite to old Aulis, which now has that name, being on the Euripus passage, where the sea frequently flows and ebbs, and probably the present name is a corruption from this word; it is but twelve miles from Thebes in Bœotia; there is a passage to it by a draw-bridge, and a pasha and janitzer aga reside there; the former commands the country to the west near as far as Salona. This island is said to be three hundred and sixty-five miles round, in some parts forty miles broad, and a hundred and fifty miles long, though it cannot be so much, for from Zeitoun to Athens, which is much about the length of it, is only a hundred and eight short miles, according to their computation: Eretria was the next city in it after Chalcis, which was destroyed by the Persians, rebuilt, and then taken by Lucius Quintius; here was the school of the Eretrian philosophers, and near it was Amarinthus, famous for the worship of Diana. At the promontory Artemisium the Greeks fought the first battle with Xerxes. I observed two points or heads of land on the south side of the bay, and saw the high rocky cape of Eubœa to the north, which is now called Lebada, and is the promontory Cencœum. I observed also a small island, which may be Myonnesus.

About ten miles from Zeitoun, we passed by Molo, and a little further had Andra to the left; we then went on southwards between the high hills, often crossing a stream, which I suppose, is the antient Boagrius, at the mouth of which there was a port, probably near Andra; I saw a part of the mountain to the south, which has many summits, and is called Iliakora; we came to a poor hamlet called Ergierè, fourteen miles from Zeitoun, and lay in the open air, the earthquake having thrown down all their houses.

On the twenty-fifth we went on, and in an hour came to a guard-house, where they keep watch in order to catch rogues; it is half way between Zeitoun and Livadia. I saw on the mountain to the west an old castle called Kidonietry, near which they say there are ruins of an old town called Paliocastro, which may be Thronium, the capital of this country, though the distance is rather too great from the mouth of the Boagrius, for it is mentioned only as three miles from it: Alope was situated to the south-east of it, near which was Naryx, the native place of Ajax. We ascended the height of the mountains, and on the top of them passed by another guard, and descended into a vale about a league wide, and four leagues long, having that chain of mountains called Iapora to the south, which are said to be mount Parnassus, on the south side of which at a great distance was Delphi. From this part we saw Dathis, on the side of the hills to the north. This vale I judged to be part of Bœotia; in it is a village called Turcorigori, inhabited chiefly by Turks: here, or in some other part of the vale, might be Orchomenus; for near it I saw the fields covered with pieces of brick. I observed some dry beds of torrents in this vale, and towards the east end a river runs as from the north-east, which we passed on a bridge; it is called Mavro Nero [Black water]; it runs into another vale to the south, and must be the river Cephissus, which empties itself into the lake Copias; this second vale is about two miles wide, and winds round to the lake I shall mention, having mount Parnassus to the west. In this vale to the north of the Cephissus, I suppose was Cheronæa, the country of Plutarch. We crossed over low hills, and came into the vale, about half a league wide, and two leagues long, extending eastward to the lake: on the south side of this vale on the foot of the mountains, is Livadia; the foot of mount Parnassus extends to the west of it, and the mountains south of it I take to be Zogara, which is mount Helicon, for both these are ranges of mountains, which extend some miles, though one part where Delphi was, might be the height of Parnassus, properly so called, which had two heads.

Livadia is the antient Libadia; it is about twenty miles from Castri, the antient Delphi. This place was famous for the worship of Jupiter Trophonius, public games being performed to his honour here; and an opening of the earth is mentioned, where they worshipped him, and there his oracle is said to have been; it is mentioned also as a cave to which it was very difficult to descend. The town of Livadia is divided by a rivulet which separates the two parts of the hill on which it is built; this water has its source from a very fine spring without the town; the west hill being a perpendicular rock, a room is cut into it about three feet above the ground, and twelve feet square, with a bench on each side cut in the rock; it appears to have been painted; and this, without any enquiry, the Greek schoolmaster told me was the place where they worshipped Trophonius; there are several niches cut on the face of the rock to the south, and I observed one round hole which went in a considerable way, though it did not seem big enough for a man to get through it, but possibly it might be the difficult entrance to the grot of Trophonius, and to the recess where the oracle was uttered. There are some imperfect inscriptions about the town which mention the name of the city: there are six hundred and fifty houses in the town, fifty of which are inhabited by Jews, and there are an equal number of Christians and Turks; the former have three churches; and there is a castle on the summit of the western hill.

CHAP. IX. — *Of the lake Copias, Thebes, Phyle, and some places in Attica.*

FROM Livadia I set out to the east for Thebes, which is in the road to Athens, and soon came near the antient lake Copias, now called the Valto of Topolia, that is, the marsh or fen of Topolia, which is a village on the north side towards the north-east corner of it; and as the lake took its name from Copæ, which is said also to be on the north side of it, it seems probable that Topolia is the old Copæ; though I at first imagined it to have been under the hills, which we passed over into the vale of Livadia, at the west end of the lake, where there is a monastery, and a village called, if I mistake not, Ciaipou; but as Coronæa is said to have been at the north-west corner of the lake, it is probable that it was there, and that the famous battle was fought near it, probably at the end of the plain in which the Cephissus runs; in this battle Agatilaus beat the Athenians and Bœotians; and at Thebes I was told, that Granitzo, two hours to the south of Livadia, was the old Coronæa: mount Libethrius was near Coronæa, on which were the statues of the Muses, and this might be the hill between the two plains, or that to the north of the Cephissus: at the north-east corner of the lake was Medeon, and near it on the east side Onchæstus, and south of the lake towards the east end Haliartus, which might be at a ruined place in the middle way between Livadia and Thebes, which the common people say was old Thebes: Mount Cithæron is probably that mountain we had to the left, which extended to the mountains of Megara. The plain in which the lake of Topolia lies, seems to be about twelve miles long and six broad, that is, between thirty and forty miles in circumference, though Strabo makes it to be near fifty; the reason why it is called at present rather a marsh than a lake, is, that in summer the water does not appear, all being overgrown with reeds, though it has always water and fish in it. There are several pools about the plain, which probably have a communication one with another, and in winter the water rises very much; all over it there are dry spots, which are improved, and also some villages: where the water remained it appeared green, the other parts looking white in the season of autumn, when we passed that way: this lake overflowed in such a manner, that it once destroyed two hundred towns and villages: it is very observable in this lake, that though the Cephissus, and many streams fall into it, yet there are only subterraneous passages out of it, which are said to be sixty, and are seen about Topolia. Strabo mentions a subterraneous passage from it to lake Hylica, and there is a lake at some distance to the north of Thebes, and of the hills, which is now called the lake of Thebes, being about six miles over every way: it is probable that these lakes and morassy grounds had such influence on the air of Bœotia, as to affect the intellectual faculties of the inhabitants of this country, insomuch that a Bœotian genius for dullness became a proverb of reproach.

We arrived at Thebes about twenty-four miles from Livadia: this city is said to have been first founded by Cadmus, on the spot where the Arx-Cadmia was situated; and here Amphion is said to have made the stones dance into their places by the force of his music: but the city was so destroyed by Alexander the great, that it never well recovered itself afterwards; it produced many great men, as Pindar, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Hercules, and Bacchus; it is said to be situated on the river Ismenus, which, I suppose, is at some distance to the north: the city is in a plain about five leagues long and four miles broad; but the ground about Thebes is uneven, being divided into many little low hills by torrents which come from the mountains, and on one of these hills the present town is situated, which is about a mile in circumference; it is
supposed

supposed to be the spot on which the antient city was founded by Cadmus, which was called Arx-Cadmia. To the east is another hill of greater extent, and rather lower, which plainly appears to have been built on; and upon these two hills, and the valley between them, the antient city seems to have been situated; there is nothing to be seen of the ruins of it, except some little remains of the city, or castle wall, to the west, near a large square tower, by which it appears that the walls were cased with grey marble both inside and out, one tier set up an end remaining; so that probably they were built after that very antient Greek manner one tier set up an end, and the other laid flat: there is also an old gate standing ten feet wide, and arched over, all of large hewn stone, which, if I mistake not, was made for a portcullis, but without any ornament whatsoever. There is a fountain to the south of the town, and the water for the use of the city is conveyed in channels along the ground from the south-east, passing over the valley to the hill on some modern arches. They say there were a hundred churches in and about the town, some of which are in repair; fragments of inscriptions have been found about them, and I saw some Corinthian capitals of the finest workmanship. An archbishop resides here, and a waiwode and cadi, there being in the town about two hundred Greek houses, seventy of the Jews, and a thousand of the Turks. There are some hills to the north of Thebes at some distance, which intercept the view of the lake. It is about eighteen miles from this city to the passage to the Negropont, and Athens is about thirty-six miles both from the antient Aulis and from Thebes.

I went at Thebes to the kane, and the next day moved to the house of a priest; and the archbishop of Thebes hearing of me, sent and desired to see me. I was very courteously entertained by him, and met the archbishop of Ægina at his house, who was making a progress to collect charity for his church. I saw two hills in the plain to the north-west, and they shewed me a hill to the north north-west, which they said was Plataea, but that place was near the road from Athens to Megara.

We set out for Athens on the twenty-seventh. The road leading to that city goes to the east for about six miles; it then turns to the south over some low hills, and at length crosses the mountains called Ozia, which are the antient mount Pentelicus, famous for its fine marble: having ascended to the height of it, we came to Phyle on a high rock towards the descent on the other side, to which Thrasibulus fled, when he was expelled by the thirty tyrants, whom he afterwards drove out; the top of the hill, not half a mile in circumference, is fortified with strong walls, which are almost entire; there is a view of Athens from it, though it is at ten miles distance: descending the hill we saw a road to the left, leading to a convent between the mountains, which is called Panagia, and passing by Cassia we came into the plain of Attica, in which Athens stands: this plain is about two leagues broad, and three in length, from mount Hymettus on the east, to the hills towards Eleusis; but north of mount Hymettus it extends to the east to the sea towards Porto Ralli, which is near the promontory Sunium, and to the north towards Marathon, where Miltiades defeated the Persians.

CHAP. X. — *Of Athens.*

TO the west of mount Hymettus, which was famous for its honey and fine marble, there is a range of lower hills; that which is nearest to Athens is mount Anchesimus: Athens was about a mile to the south-west of it, on a hill, which on every side, except to the west, is almost a perpendicular rock; it is about three furlongs in length, and one in breadth; this hill was the antient Acropolis, first called Cecropia; to the
north

north of which the present city of Athens is built, as the antient city in length of time probably extended all round it; the walls, I suppose, being those modern ones with which it was defended when it was under the Venetians.

Two rivers watered the plain, one the Ilissus, which run between mount Anchefmus and mount Hymettus, and so passed to the east of Athens. The Eridanus ran in the plain to the west of the city, and being divided into many parts to water their olive gardens, it becomes a very inconsiderable stream, as the other is quite lost, by diverting it into their fields.

Athens is situated about two miles from the sea, was built by its first king Cecrops, who was succeeded by several kings to Codrus; after him it was governed by Arcons, at first made during life, and afterwards for ten years, and last of all yearly: they were conquered successively by the Persians, Macedonians, and Romans, and for five or six ages past the city has undergone a great variety of fortune, and notwithstanding there are great remains of its antient grandeur, which are proofs in what a degree of perfection the noble arts of sculpture and architecture flourished in this city, which was the mother of arts and civil polity.

The ascent to Acropolis is at the west end; there are three gates to be passed through in the way to the top of the hill; the propylæum was probably about the third gate, which was built at a great expence; there is a small square tower remaining a little way within it, which seems to be of great antiquity, as I observed by that antient manner of laying the stone so often mentioned; it has only a cornice round at top, and is not twenty feet square; it is said that it was adorned with fluted Ionic pillars, and a rich frieze covered with reliefs, and probably those reliefs which I saw on the wall within the gate were part of them; but this colonnade does not remain, and the castle wall is built almost all round it. This might be the temple of victory without wings, built near the wall from which Ægeus the father of Theseus threw himself down, when expecting his son, and not seeing the signal agreed on, he apprehended he was dead; or it might be part of the propylæum, and have another answering to it; and if so, the ascent probably was winding along the west side, and the grand entrance might be from the south, probably by a magnificent flight of steps, near to the south-west corner of the hill. This tower is not above twenty feet to the south of the west wing of, what is called, the arsenal of Lycurgus, which might either be the temple of winds, or the citadel mentioned here by Pausanias, or a building he speaks of to the left of the temple of Victory, in which he describes several very famous paintings: it is a building of the antient Doric order, having a wing on each side to the south, in which there seems to have been two pillars; the temple probably opened to the south with six pillars in front, and a colonnade of three more on each side leading to a door, which has two smaller doors on each side of it. These inner pillars are higher than the others, as if they had supported some covering, and it is possible there might be two other rows of pillars within. There was also a portico with a colonnade in the other front, and there are rooms under the whole.

From this temple we went to the famous temple of Minerva called Parthenon, it was built under Pericles by Ictinus the architect. As it is of that plain Doric order before mentioned, it may be questioned whether the other more beautiful orders were invented when it was built, as one would imagine they would have embellished this temple in the finest manner of those times, when they bestowed so much expence on it: it was miserably shattered in the late Venetian wars; for the powder being kept in it, a bomb of the Venetians happened to fall in by the hole, which was in the middle of the arch, to give light within, which blew up the temple; so that only the

west end remains entire, and the pillars and pediment of the east end. The fluted pillars are very large in proportion to their height, and being without base or pedestal, have not so much as a fillet at bottom: two tier of columns are mentioned by some modern writers as round the inside, and to have made a gallery, of which there is now no sign, and probably this was a Christian work; but the semicircle at the east end, which is almost essential to a Greek church, as well as the pillars of the altar are shown. I saw the sign of the wall which separated the inner part of the temple from the pronaos, or ante-temple, and as there were two entrances to the temple, it is probable there was a pronaos at each end, as there was at the temple of Theseus, only with this difference, that the pronaos there is open, having only two pillars in front; one of them remains entire, and there are signs within of the wall of the other. It appears notwithstanding that there were folding doors at the entrance from the portico to the west, as by opening and shutting them they had worn the marble pavement. Probably they placed in the middle part of the temple, that famous statue of Minerva which was dedicated by all the Athenians, and was said by the vulgar to have fallen down from heaven. At each end of the temple of Minerva there is a double colonade, and from the floor on which the outer row stands there are two steps up to the second colonade, each a foot deep, so that those pillars are near two feet shorter than the outer row, and the pillars on each side are on a pavement about half a foot lower than the inner row. This made me imagine that possibly the outer pillars were an addition in the time of Adrian, to erect on them those magnificent pediments, which were doubtless the finest adorned of any in the world, and the ornaments appear to have been made in Adrian's time, his statue and that of his empress Sabina being among them; they are very singular in their kind, not being reliefs but entire figures of the finest statues, which appear as big as life, being history pieces; that to the west, Pausanias says, represented the birth of Minerva. I saw in the pediment one naked figure sitting, two clothed, a woman as in a posture of walking, all without heads, and two bodies in the middle; one standing, and Adrian sitting with his arms round a woman, and a naked figure fallen down; the history on the eastern pediment was the dispute between Minerva and Neptune about naming the city; where I saw remaining the head of a horse, a naked man which was sitting fallen down, two men sitting, their heads being broke off, one like a woman as flying, the head likewise gone; the middle part was all destroyed; and on the other side there remain only three broken figures: there were in each of them at least a dozen statues bigger than the life, besides a carriage and two horses in one; so that if this ornament was not originally designed, it is improbable that a pediment should be made capable of receiving them, and by making the pillars in front longer, they gave a lighter air to the building; whereas if the double colonnade had been at first designed, there would have been the same reason for making all the pillars of one length, and it must rather have offended the sight to see the pillars on each side much shorter than those in the front. All round between the triglyphs in the frieze, there are most exquisite alt-reliefs of combats with centaurs, lions, and many on horses; and all round the temple on the outside of the walls there are most beautiful bas-reliefs in the frieze, which is three feet four inches deep, being chiefly processions and sacrifices, and was a work of immense cost; but they are not seen to advantage; and if these and the other reliefs are of the same date as the temple, they are on the supposition I have made in relation to the history of architecture, a proof that sculpture was in the greatest perfection, when architecture was not arrived at its highest improvements.

About

About sixty paces to the north of the temple of Minerva in the Acropolis of Athens, is a temple, which is supposed to be the Erechtheion; Pausanias says it was a double temple; what now remains seems to be only one part of it; the building is of a very beautiful Ionic order, fluted within eight inches of the capital, which space is carved with bas-reliefs of flowers; the cushion of the base is fluted horizontally, as described in Caria; the pilasters at the end of the wall appear as if they were Doric, but in reality are only the cornice between the pillars continued round on the pilasters, and below it the relief of flowers is likewise continued on them: the building extends in length from east to west, the other part seeming to have been to the east; at the west end there is a small door, not in the middle; and above, it is adorned with Ionic pilasters, which are about three quarters of a circle; at the east end are six pillars of a portico with steps up to them; it appears that there was a wall to the west of them; and it is to be supposed that the west end of the east temple corresponded to this, at a proper distance to the east; the room seems to have been divided into three parts; to the western part on the south side was a portico from which there was a door now almost buried under ground; this portico consisted of a colonade of caryatides four in front, and one more on each side, as it is to be supposed, though there is now only one on the west side; they are very fine statues of women, with beautiful drapery, and their tresses hanging down in a fine manner; they are seven feet long; each of them has over its head two quarter rounds adorned with eggs and darts; these members are round; over them there is a square broad fillet which supports the entablature, and if there were six more such statues to the other temple, they might be the nine Muses, and the three Graces, unless they might be the daughters of Erechtheus, who were so renowned for their virtue: on the north side there is a portico of four pillars in front, and one more on each side: the whole is built of marble, the walls being two feet thick, and the pillars of this beautiful building are all of hewn stone. It is remarkable that there was a well of salt water in this temple, concerning which they had some fabulous stories.

At the south-west foot of the hill are the remains of the theatre of Bacchus; it is built of large hewn stone; in the wall of the semicircle, opposite to the scene, are two arches at an equal distance from the middle of the theatre: there are thirty arches which extend to the east from the theatre, they seem to have been an aqueduct, the ground is risen to the spring of the arches: some have taken this to be the portico of Eumenes, though they do not seem to have been arches of that kind: on the same side of the hill, towards the south-east corner, there is a grot cut into the rock about twenty feet wide, and twenty-six long, with a particular sort of Doric frontispiece: the whole is crowned with a work, on which are two inscriptions relating to two victories gained at the games by two tribes; and the archons mentioned in the inscriptions show it to be of great antiquity; there is a plinth over it as for a statue, and on one side on the hill is a stone cut like a concave dial; to the west of the front of the grotto are two or three niches cut in the rock, probably for statues; and a little higher on the hill are two Corinthian pillars; this has been thought to be the grotto in which Apollo had his amours with Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus; but that is described as a little below the Propylæum, descending from the hill, and must have been either at the west end, or very near it, either on the north or south sides, and probably was that which in Fanelli's plan is called the grotto of Nineveh, or rather Niobe, as it is called in a Venetian plan of Acropolis; so that this building seems to have been erected on another occasion to some deity by those two tribes which had gained the victories; unless

unless we can suppose that the way from Acropolis extended all down the side of the hill; and even then it is not probable that this should be that temple, as it is mentioned under the Propylæum.

Further to the east, at the south-east corner of the hill, is that curious small building, commonly called the lantern of Demolthenes; but it is said to be a temple of Hercules, built in all probability on the occasion of the victory of the tribe Acamantis, when Euainetus was archon, which was in the hundred and eleventh Olympiad, that is, in the four hundred and eighteenth year of Rome, as appeared by an inscription on the architrave now defaced or hid, the convent of the Capuchins being built round the greater part of it; this circular building is of the Corinthian order fluted, having six pillars round it: there are two tripodes cut between the pillars in bas relief; from these to the solid basement the wall between them consists of one stone; the architrave and frieze also all round are of one stone in depth; the cornice is composed of seven stones, and the whole is crowned with a single stone hollowed within; it is adorned on the outside with leaves, and on the top there is an ornament which is very much defaced, but is something like a Corinthian capital: the reliefs of combats round the frieze, which are also defaced, are said by some to be the labours of Hercules.

To the south-west of Acropolis is the hill called Areopagus; it is directly south of the temple of Theseus, and has its name from the trial of Mars there on account of the murder of Hallirrhothius; it is a rocky hill not very high. The place of judicature, which was afterwards fixed to that very spot where Mars was tried, seems to have been to the north of the height of the hill; it makes a large semicircle to the north, and the side of the hill that way is supported by a wall of very large stones, and makes part of a circle, but does not rise above the ground of the area; to the south of it in the middle, there is a sort of tribunal, cut in the rock as for a throne, with steps up to it on each side, and in the middle; and at some distance on each side are four steps cut in the rock to the higher part of the hill: it was at this place that St. Paul would have taught the Athenians the knowledge of that God whom they ignorantly worshipped.

To the east of the hill of Areopagus is the high hill called the Museum, from the poet Musæus, who used to rehearse his verses there, and was buried on that spot; it is directly south of the theatre of Bacchus; this place was well fortified by Demetrius. There are several grottos, probably for sepulchres, cut in the rock round it; and on the top of the hill are remains of a very magnificent monument of white marble, which is a proof both of the perfection of architecture and sculpture in Athens; it is a small part of a circle, about fifteen feet wide on the outside; to the south there is a balustrade about ten feet above the ground, over which on four stones seven feet nine inches deep, there are reliefs as big as life; beginning from the west is the figure of a man, then one in a car drawn by four horses abreast led by one man, another single man; and further to the east five men stand close one before another; if the building was perfect to the east, it appears plainly it is ruined to the west, and that a third, and it may be a fourth pilaster is wanting on that side; between the two pillars to the east there is an oblong square niche, in which there is a statue sitting, and under it this inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Α[ΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ], supposed to be the ancestor of the person represented sitting in a larger niche to the west with a semicircular top, under which statue is the name of the person to whom this monument is supposed to be erected ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΗΡ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ . ΠΙΣΑΕΥ.; it is also supposed, that to the west there was another niche and statue of some other ancestor of this person; the other side of this building was adorned

with Corinthian pilasters corresponding to these, two of them only remaining; on one side of the pilasters, between the statues, is a Latin inscription to the honour of Antiochus Philopappus; and though this inscription is imperfect, yet it may be gathered from it that he was a consul, and preferred to the prætorian order by Trajan: probably this monument is the same as that mentioned by Pausanias, only under the name of a Syrian; who might some way or other derive his pedigree from the kings of Syria of the name of Antiochus.

At some little distance to the east on the plain there is a fountain, which may be Enneacrunos; and further east are the remains of the city of Adrian, as it is called on a magnificent gate to it, which is like a triumphal arch; it had also the name of new Athens, and I found an inscription to the honour of Adrian, put up, it may be, by the council and people of the citizens of both cities; though it is to be looked on as a part of Athens; it being only a compliment to give it the name of the emperor. This gate, which fronts to the west and east is of the Corinthian order, and very magnificent; the capitals of the pilasters are very particular. This little city of Adrian probably consisted only of a few public buildings erected by him, and was enclosed by a wall built with buttresses, extending from the gate to the south, and it may be as far to the north; there are no other remains of this city, except some very magnificent fluted Corinthian pillars to the number of seventeen, being six feet in diameter, and consisting of sixteen stones in the shaft, each about three feet deep; by measuring their distances, I could see that there were six rows, and about twenty pillars in each, which make in all a hundred and twenty; and Pausanias says, there were a hundred and twenty pillars of Phrygian marble in that temple, which was built to Jupiter Panellenius, and Juno, and to all the gods. The grand gate does not seem to have corresponded to this building, as it is not parallel with the pillars; so that probably this gate led to the library and gymnasium adjoining to the temple, in which he says there were a hundred pillars of Libyan marble: on two of the pillars there is a wall built with three passages in it, one over another, and openings at the sides like windows and doors, which have made some imagine, that the palace of Adrian was built on those high pillars, which would indeed have been a very bold work; but this wall appears to be modern, being built, as may be seen, after part of the entablature was broken down; and they pretend to say, that some hermit lived in that airy building.

To the south of this part of the city, near the bed of the Ilissus, there is a standing water, and two ruined conduits, which they call the fountain Callirrhoe, and on the height, on the other side of the Ilissus, are remains of a beautiful small temple, which is almost entire, and was the temple of Ceres Chloe; it is built of very white marble, the walls being of one stone in thickness, the front is to the west, and had, I suppose, four pillars before the portico; the cushion of the base is fluted horizontally; and the work of the base ranges round the temple and the inside of the portico; there were four steps all round on the outside; this temple was converted into a Greek church; but it is not now used by the Christians. There is no water in the bed of the antient river Ilissus, except when the winter torrents run from the mountains, the waters being diverted above to their gardens and olive trees: continuing along to the north by the bed of this river, we came to a large bridge over it of hewn stone, consisting of four arches, each twenty feet wide: on the west end of it is the front of a building, which they say, is the remains of a nunnery that was on the bridge before the Turks had possession of the country. This bridge leads to the Circus, on the foot of mount Hymettus above half a mile from the city; it was about two hundred and seventy paces long, and sixty-two wide; the seats were built up the side of the hill, but
nothing

nothing remains of it, except a small part of the wall on each side of the entrance. On one side, towards the further end, is a passage up to the height over it, hollowed through the rock, which seems to have been done for the sake of bringing the stone; though the common people say, that the conquered at the games went off that way, not to have the disgrace to return in the face of the people.

Near a mile to the north-west is mount Anchefinus, called St. Georgio, from a church on it of that name; what is commonly taken for Anchefinus, is a small high rocky hill, about a mile to the north north-east of Athens; though it is probable that the whole chain of low hills which runs to the north between the two rivers went by that name. On the foot of this hill towards the town are two Ionic pillars, supporting their entablature, each of them consists of two stones in the shaft, which rise about fourteen feet above the ground, and are two feet four inches in diameter. On the eastern pillar are signs of the spring of an arch, so that it is to be supposed an arch was turned from it, and that there were two pillars on the other side; it is probable that on this arch was the remaining part of the inscription, which, if it were perfect, is supposed to signify that Antoninus Pius finished the aqueduct in new Athens, which was begun by Adrian; for this seems to have been a portico to a reservoir, of which I thought I saw some signs, there being an area cut to the north into the hill, with some little remains of the wall round it about forty feet wide, and a hundred long; the water was probably brought round the hill to this place, it may be from the Ilissus; and from this reservoir it might run on arches to the new city of Adrian.

Going from the house of the English consul, at the north-west foot of Acropolis, I saw in a private yard remains of an antient wall of hewn stones, one tier laid flat, and the other set up an end alternately, which might be part of the old Prytaneum. To the north of Acropolis in the city there are remains of a wall of hewn stone, which possibly might be the temple of Venus Urania. What is commonly called the Temple of Winds, is an octagon building, and remains entire, but the ground has risen within a foot of the top of the door, which is next to the street; it was called by the antients the Octagon Tower of Winds, and was built by Andronicus Cyrrhestes; there was a weather-cock to it, which was a triton that turning round, with a wand pointed to the wind that blew; the top of it consists of a small round stone about three feet in diameter, against which there rests a number of stone slabs all round, which are about two feet wide at bottom, and diminish towards the top; the small pillars which support the cornice within are of the same fluted Doric order which is seen in the other buildings here: there is an entablature on the outside, and below the two faces of the architrave are the figures of the winds larger than life in mezzo relievo; the space they take up as they are in a flying posture, being about three feet and a half in depth. The creator of Raphael moving over the elements in his paintings in the Vatican gallery, is something in this taste; over every one, in the face of the architrave, is cut the name of the wind in Greek; and each wind has some emblem relating to one of the eight different seasons of the year, which seem to intimate that such a wind commonly reigns at that time; so that dividing the year into eight parts, allowing six weeks to each season, and beginning with ΚΑΙΚΙΑΣ, or the north-east, and with the month of October; this wind has a plate of olives in its hand, though I could not see it distinctly, by reason that a tree grows before it; this is the season for olives, which in antient times, as well as now, were the great revenue of Athens: the next is ΒΟΡΕΑΣ, or the north wind, which has a shell in its hand to shew the power and dominion of the sea at that time: ΣΚΙΡΩΝ, the north-west, is pouring water out of a vase, being a rainy wind: ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ, the west, has a lap full of flowers, being a wind

that reigns part of February and March : ΝΟΤΟΣ, the south ; this and the following are hid by the houses built against them ; it probably may have later flowers, as ΑΙΨ, the south-west, may have early fruits : ΕΥΡΟΣ, the south-east, holds its garment as if it were windy ; and ΑΙΗΛΙΩΤΗΣ, the east, has in the garment the latter fruits, apples, peaches, pomegranates, oranges and lemons : some of the antients called this the fundial, there having been on every side, below these figures, a dial, of which the lines are now seen. The figures of the winds are a great instance of the boldness of designing, and of the perfection of sculpture at the time this building was erected.

Within the present town are the remains of a portico of four pillars supporting a pediment ; it is of that fluted Doric order already described : this is commonly called the temple of Augustus, and there is an inscription on the architrave of the time of the Roman emperors ; it is so defaced I could not copy it, but it is said to be to the honour of Caius, though the building without doubt is of a much older date, on what occasion soever that inscription was put up : near it on a long stone, which might be the side of the door-case, is that famous law of Adrian, concerning the custom to be paid on the oil of Athens.

The most magnificent and beautiful piece of architecture in this city is seen in the remains of a building, which is said to be the temple of Jupiter Olympius ; which was a very antient temple, said by some to have been built by Deucalion, but it was very much adorned and improved by Adrian ; and what remains seems to be a building of that emperor's time ; the ruins of a very large enclosure confirm that it is part of this temple ; for it was four stadia or five hundred geometrical paces in circumference ; the three pillars which stand together are fluted ; and the lower part filled with cablins of reeds, is of one stone, and the upper part of another, so joined, that it is not easily discerned that they are of two stones ; the other pillars are plain, of one stone, and have a very grand appearance ; I saw a rough wall to the west extending above a hundred yards to the north, and in one part there is a semicircular tower.

The temple of Theseus is on the outside of the town to the west, being to the north of Areopagus, and to the north-west of Acropolis ; it is exactly the same kind of architecture as the temple of Minerva ; two steps go all round the building. The pillars in the portico or pronaos to the west are four inches above the bottom of the others, and it had such a portico to the east, for at that distance I saw there had been a wall ; the Greeks having, I suppose, destroyed the east end to make the semicircular place for the altar. In the front between the triglyphs are mezzo relievos of single combats, being the actions of Theseus ; and from the corner on each side are four such reliefs ; and in the front within there are fine reliefs on the architrave, which is continued from the front of the portico or pronaos to the side pillars ; to the west are the battles of the Lapithæ and the Centaurs ; to the east are persons sitting and others combating ; all in a fine taste, and of excellent workmanship.

Of the three ports of Athens, Phalereus and Munychia were to the east of a small promontory, and the Pyræum to the west of it ; the latter is much frequented, being a well enclosed port with a narrow entrance, and about a mile in circumference ; it is called by the Greeks Porto Drago, and by the Italians Porto Leone, from a statue of a lion that was there, which is now before the arsenal at Venice : the foundations of a wall are seen from the Pyræum to Athens, which probably is that called Macrotychi, which was built in so much haste by Themistocles.

At Athens I was recommended to the English consul, who was a Greek ; he accommodated me in his house, and introduced me to the waiwode, to whom I made a very handsome

handsome present; and on shewing my firman, he said, he was there to obey the grand signior's commands; so that I saw every thing in and about Athens with the utmost freedom.

CHAP. XI. — *Of Eleufis, Megara, and the Isthmus of Corinth.*

WE set out on the fourth of September for Lessina, and travelled in that road which was called the Sacred Way, because they went by it in procession to the temple of Ceres and Proserpine: at the first entering in between the hills, above a league from Athens, we passed by a large convent, and afterwards near an oblong square building with buttresses round it, which seemed to be a cistern, and in half an hour came to a ruin on the right, which might be a small temple, there being many niches cut in the perpendicular rock of the mountain which is near it; this may be some remains of the temple of Ceres, Proserpine, Minerva and Apollo, which is mentioned in this part by Pausanias. Passing the hills we went close by the sea, in a road cut on the side of the hill, and came into the plain, having a salt lake to the right, which, without doubt, is some remains of the channels called Rheti, from which a salt water ran into the sea; insomuch that some were of opinion that the stream came from the Euripus of Eubœa: these were the bounds between the territories of the Athenians and Eleusinians. The Cephissus ran through the Eleusinian territories, and is said to have overflowed Eleufis, so that it must be on this side of the hills, though I did not observe any river, and probably it is only a winter torrent which spreads itself over the plain. There are many other fables of these parts relating to Ceres, Proserpine and Triptolemus, as Eleufis is said to be the scene of their story. To the north-east in the way to Bœotia was Plataea, where the army of Xerxes was routed by Pausanias. Having passed the lake, and coming towards the bay, I saw some broken pillars both towards the sea and to the right; this might be the place called Erineon, from which, they say, Pluto carried Proserpine to his infernal regions; for it is mentioned as near the Cephissus. We turned to the south into the plain of Eleufis, which extends about a league every way; it is probably the plain called Rarion, where, they say, the first corn was sowed. There is a long hill which divides the plain, extending to the east within a mile of the sea, and on the south side is not half a mile from it; at the east end of this hill the ancient Eleufis was situated; about a mile before we came to it, I saw the ruins of a small temple to the east, which might be that which was built at the threshing floor of Triptolemus. In the plain, near the north foot of the hill, are many pieces of stones and pillars, which probably are the remains of the temple of Diana Propyæa, which was before the gate of the city; and at the north foot of the hill, on an advanced ground, there are many imperfect ruins, pieces of pillars and entablatures; and doubtless it is the spot of the temple of Ceres and Proserpine: I here saw the same sort of Doric capitals as those at Athens, except that they had only three flutes in the quarter round of the capital, and probably are very ancient. I saw likewise a fine Ionic capital, and one of a pilaster of the Corinthian order, which probably belonged to some later improvements of the temple. All up the east end of the hill are ruins, and on the top of it are many cisterns cut down into the rock in the shape of jars to receive the rain water; and to the west on a higher part of the hill are remains of a tower; there is a ruin in the plain to the south, probably of the temple of Neptune; there are also two other ruins to the east, which are not far apart; one of them might be the temple of Triptolemus, and the other the well of Callichorus, where the women used to dance and sing in honour of the supreme goddess of the place. To the west are the foundations

dations of a gate of the city of grey marble, and a little further there is a fine trunk of a statue of a sheep with a curling fleece divided down the back; being the beast which was sacrificed to Ceres: at the temple of Ceres I saw the large bust or upper part of a statue, supposed to have been designed for that goddess; it is so large that it measured at the shoulders five feet and a half broad; there is a circular sort of ornament on the head above two feet deep, the middle part of which is adorned with foliages of oak, as mentioned by travellers, but the face is much disfigured; I saw also what I took to be an altar of grey marble, cut like a bason and sunk into the ground; it is probably of the Taurobole kind for sacrifices, in the same manner, as several others I have seen. The present poor village of Leffina is inhabited only by a few Greek families.

Going on to Megara, which is situated with regard to Eleusis as this is to Athens, and about the same distance, we went to the west of the long hill that divides the plain, and on the south side of it came to a spring near the sea, the water of which is not good; it has been supposed to be the well Anthenon, at which Ceres sat down to repose herself after the fatigue she had undergone in searching after Proserpine. Passing to the south over hills near the sea, we turned to the west into the plain of Megara, which extends about three leagues to the west, and may be a league wide; on the south side it has for half way those hills which were called mount Nifus, at the east end of which Megara was situated; the other part of the plain is bounded to the south by a chain of lower hills extending eastward to the sea, being a little more to the north than mount Nifus: to the south of these last hills is another plain, which is to the east of Megara, and extends about a league every way; at the east end of it is the port of Megara called Nisæa, from the founder of it, Nifus, the son of Pandion king of Megara. Megara was partly on a hill, and partly on the plain to the east, where there are remains of two towers of a gate of grey marble, on which is that curious inscription relating to the public games. The city walls appear to have been built from north to south up the hill; on which there was a famous temple of Ceres: to the south of the city are remains of a small round building cased with large pieces of grey marble, on which there are several Greek inscriptions, that are much defaced; and though Pausanias gives an account of a great number of public buildings at Megara, yet there are no other remains of them. They find here several medals, most of which were struck in the city. The whole bay between the Morea and Attica, had the name of Saronicus, and is now called the gulph of Engia, from the island of that name, the old Ægina: the island Colouri, the antient Salamis, extends from the head of land towards the port of Athens to the old promontory Minoa, which is south of Megara; Ajax was king of it, who sent his troops and twelve ships to the siege of Troy. To the north of Megara about a league, are several old churches, the place being called Palaichoro, or the old village, and is supposed by some to be Rhus, mentioned by Pausanias; Euclid was of this place, and his school was kept here, his disciples being called Megarici.

We left Megara on the eighth, ascended the high hills to the south, and saw to the west under us the north-east bay of the gulph of Lepanto, formerly called the bay of Corinth; and consequently we were on the Isthmus of Corinth, which is in Achaia. The little bay before-mentioned is made by a head of land, which extends to the west from the east end of the gulph, on the south side of which is the port of Argilio: Cromyon was on the other side of the Isthmus. The rocks Scironides were about this place, where a famous robber Saron attacked people in the road, and threw them down the rocks; but Theseus took this robber, and served him in the same manner, throwing him into the sea; and the poets feign that his bones became rocks; it is probable there

might be another road nearer the sea, for this we went in was at least a mile distant from it. On the east side, on the top of the mountains, we came to a narrow pass, where Scira might attack the travellers. Adrian is said to have made this way broad enough for two chariots; to the east of this was cape Minoa. We went on winding round the high hills, descended to a rivulet, and ascending again, came to a fine fountain on the hill, with three basins full of water; it is called Brifimiguifi. We at last descended to that low ground, which is properly the Isthmus; the narrowest part of it seemed to be towards the north end between a bay on each side; and it is probable that with the help of machines they drew their vessels by land across that part to Schœnus. A ridge of very low rocks run across the Isthmus, near the first entrance of it, then at a little distance appear like ruins; and further on is the canal, which was begun to be dug across it, where one sees the bank of earth that was thrown up on each side; it extends about half a mile from the west; and where they left off, I saw plainly the ground was very rocky, which doubtless made them desist from their enterprize, though it is said that the oracle at Delphi advised them against it: the persons who at different times endeavoured to make this canal were Alexander, Pitias, Demetrius, Cæsar, Caligula, Nero, and Herodes of Athens. Further to the north, about the middle of the Isthmus, runs a small stream from the east, and to the south of it is a very high steep bank, on which are remains of the wall that was built across the Isthmus by the Greek emperor Emanuel in one thousand four hundred and thirteen, and was demolished by Amurath the second in one thousand four hundred twenty-four, but rebuilt by the Venetians in one thousand four hundred and sixty-three; this wall might go to the port Cencrea; but the present port of Corinth on the western gulph, which was called Lechæum, is at a great distance from it, and on the south side of the gulph: this part was called Examilia, because it was six miles broad; and there is a village to the south-east which now bears that name; notwithstanding the Isthmus is not above four English miles wide, but it is to be considered that the Greek miles were very short; at the end of this wall by the sea there are great remains of a large square castle, but I could see nothing like a theatre, which seems to have been in another place. In the road to Corinth there was a temple of Neptune, and it is said, that the theatre and the stadium built of white stone, were in the way to the temple, being on part of mount Oenius, called also the mount of temples, from the great number there were on it; as the temples of Bacchus, Pluto, Diana, and many others: here was also a forest of pine trees, with which the victors at the games were crowned. I suppose these public buildings were on the foot of the hills to the south, somewhere about the village Examile: it was here the famous Isthmian games were held every lustrum or five years, instituted by Theseus in honour of Palæmon, or Portunus, to which all the people of Greece resorted; and these games, without doubt, answered some end of trade; for which this place was so well situated on both seas; which made Corinth so flourishing a place.

CHAP. XII. — *Of the Morea in general; and of Corinth.*

THE Morea was first called Argos, from the city of that name; it was afterwards called Apia, from Apis the third king of the Argives; and then Peribonetas from Pelops king of Phrygia; and lastly the Morea, because, as it is now, the figure of it resembles the leaf of a mulberry-tree. It is computed to be about a hundred and seventy miles long, a hundred broad, and six hundred miles in circumference going round the bays: it is now governed by a pasha, and in the time of the Venetians was divided

divided into four parts; Chiarenza, containing Achaia; Belvedere, in which was Elis and Messenia; Zaconia or Maina, which was the old Laconia and Arcadia; and lastly, Sacania, which was the country of Argos. The Morca is mountainous, but the country on the sea and in the vales between the mountains is very rich, and produces a great quantity of corn, oil, and silk, the latter chiefly about Mithra and the country of Calabrita, through which the Alpheus runs.

From the lower part of the Isthmus there is an ascent up a steep bank to a higher ground, on which Corinth stands near the south-west part of the Isthmus, a small mile to the south of the gulph of Lepanto, and to the north of the high mountains, and rather to the north-west of that high hill called Acrocorinthus, on which the citadel was built. Corinth was first called Ephyra, and was built by Sisyphus, son of Æolus; it was destroyed by the Romans in the Achaic war, but was rebuilt by Julius Cæsar, and made a Roman colony; the common people now call it Cortho: at present there are very little remains to be seen in this great city. There are some ruins of walls towards the port which was called Lechæum, there having been walls on each side of the road leading to it: this port is said to have been two miles from the city, though I should not have computed it to be above one. Cenchræ also, now called Kechreh, was computed as eight miles distant. The antient city seems to have been on the spot of the present town, and to the west of it in the plain: without the town to the north there are great ruins of a large building of very thick walls of brick, which might be antient baths, or the foundation of some great building; for I observed, that the rooms which are arched are very small: at the south-west corner of the town are twelve fluted Doric pillars about five feet in diameter, and very short in proportion, resting on a square base, as I observed one of them, the bases of the others being under ground; they seem to be much older than those of Athens, and differ from them in the capital; for instead of a quarter round below the square member at top, there is a quarter of an oval; and five inches below the capital are three angular channels round the pillar, and below these the flutes begin. If I mistake not, they are all of one stone, except that the upper part of the shaft down to the flutes is of the same stone as the capital. There are seven pillars to the south, and five to the west, counting the corner pillars twice: there is one pillar without a capital near them, which is as high as the architrave over the others. The present town is very small, and more like a village: they have an export of corn, and some oil. The castle on Acrocorinthus is kept in repair, and so strong that it stood out a siege of four months by all the Turkish army: in it is the fountain Pirene, sacred to the Muses, from which it is said Bellerophon took Pegasus whilst he was drinking; which is doubtless the reason why usually the reverse of their medals was Pegasus, and sometimes with Bellerophon on him. It is said that the city walls went to the top of this high hill, that is, probably the walls on both sides of the city were continued up to the castle: I saw no other ruins that I could make any thing of: so little is now remaining of that city, which was formerly so famous for its architecture, sculpture, and paintings.

CHAP. XIII. — *Of the gulph of Lepanto, and Patras.*

THE gulph of Lepanto, formerly called the bay of Corinth, is about four leagues wide in the broadest part, and, they say, it is a hundred miles long; but the whole length from Corinth to the castle of the Morea at the entrance of it, is computed but twenty-two hours travelling, at less than three miles an hour, so that at the most it cannot be above sixty miles. On the north side of this bay were the countries of

Phocis, Locris, Ozolae and Ætolia; Anfilio is the first port to the east, which might be Pagæ of the territory of Megara: it is situated to the south of a cape which extends to the west from the Isthmus. In the length of Phocis there are three great mountains, which stretch to the sea; the eastern one is called Livadiostro, being south and west of Thebes; the next to the west is Zogara, and is the old Helicon to the south of Livadia; and the third is Iapora, which is mount Parnassus, and is to the north of Salone*: Corinth is eight hours, probably near twenty miles both from Argos and Napoli Romania, which was Naupolia the port of Argos, and it is about double the distance from Leondari, the antient Megalopolis, which was the capital of Arcadia.

We set out from Corinth to Patras on the ninth, by a road which is on the south side of the gulph of Patras: about four miles from Corinth there is a river, which may be the Asopus, and a mile further another, which probably is the Nemea, described as near Sicyon, which was on a rising ground to the south, a village called Vasilica is now on that spot; Sicyonia was a distinct territory from that of Corinth, but both of them were in Achaia Proper; about six miles further there is a ruin on a high hill, which may be Ægira, said to be a mile from the sea, and on a hill: many places are mentioned along this coast, of which I could find no remains, only about seven miles further I saw a piece of a thick wall on the sea shore, which appeared as if it had fallen down, where possibly Helice might have been, said to be overflowed by the sea; about ten miles to the east of the castles, is a small town and port called

* Ten miles north west of Argilio is Isola bona, where there is a good port, and it has a convent on it: five miles from this is Isola delli Afini, which is uninhabited and woody, it is opposite to Dibreua: the bay in this island is called Diporti having two ports. Five miles to the west is the port called Livadiostro, which is the port of Thebes, being about twelve miles distant from it across the mountains; and sixty miles from that, according to their computation, is the great bay Prespitia, which is the port of Livadia, being about twelve miles from that city. This bay has three ports in it, Livadia to the north, Laigiera to the west, where there is a rivulet, and St. Cedro to the east; it is probable that one of these was the antient Mychos: ten miles from this was the great bay of Salona, which has many ports in it, and is under mount Parnassus: this bay was called Crisæus: Cirrha was on the western promontory of it, and gave name to the cape; it might be at a ruined place called Panaia: on the opposite promontory was Anticyra famous for hellebore; to the north of which was Medeon. Crissa was on this bay, I suppose at the bottom of it: and about six miles to the north is Salona, thought to be Amphissa in Locris. Chalcion also in Locris was north of Crissa; to the north of which was Delphi, now called Castri, about eight miles west of Salona: to the west of this was the country of the Loeri Ozolae, of small extent, and no places of note in it; but it is probable, that the three following ports were in that country: Vidavi is five miles west of the bay of Salona, which might be Oeneon; and five miles from that is Tifali, which may be Oeanthe; ten miles from this is St. Nicola, opposite to which is the island of Stafonie, which is about thirty miles from Lepanto, the antient Naupactus in Ætolia, situated on the side of a hill at the first entrance of the narrow passage out of the gulph, which is not two leagues wide; this was in the hands of the Venetians when they had the Morea. About three miles to the west is a low point of land, the old promontory Antirrhium at the entrance of the gulph on which the castle of Romeli is situated, which was also in possession of the Venetians, who near this place beat the Turks in a sea fight in One thousand five hundred and seventy-one. There is a regular tide here, which at full moon rises about three feet in the gulph. Ætolia was bounded to the west by the river Achelous, which probably is the river Aspero, and empties itself opposite to the Curzolari islands; to the west of this was another river called Evenus, which may be the river Aphidare, near a cape of that name: between these two rivers was Ætolia proper; Ætolia adjecta being to the east of the Evenus, which was part of the country of the Loeri, and is the reason why Ptolemy places Naupactus, and some other parts under the Loeri. The Achelous also was the bounds of Achaia the Roman province, which comprehended under it Doris, the Loeri, and Opuntii, as well as Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. Between the two forementioned rivers was Pleuron near the sea, at the foot of mount Aracanthus, which may be the mountain called Galata; at the eastern foot of which is the village Galata, and has been thought to be Celydon, which was the antient Æolis; but as this was on the river Evenus, it ought to be looked for more to the west: Between this and Pleuron was Olenus: about twenty miles from the castles, there is a port much frequented called Messalongi.

Voritza, which probably was Ægium, where the council of all Achaia was held; its country is said to be watered by two rivers; the Phoenix, probably in a beautiful little plain a league to the south-east of it, and the Meganitas, which may be the river that falls into the sea to the east of the town, and has a large bridge over it; at the west end of the town I saw a ruin of a small antient building, and in the front of an old church a fine relief of a lion seizing a horse. Four miles to the west was Rhypæ, said to be above the military way, and so probably was at some distance from the sea towards the mountains: further to the west was port Erineus, probably the port of Lambirio four miles west of Voritza. The port Panormus was opposite to Naupactus; and now there is a port called Tekeh over-against Lepanto; it is three miles to the east of the castles, which are built on the promontory called Rhyum, and also Drepanum, being a flat point, which is not a league from the opposite castle; this is called the castle of the Morea and of Patras, being about four miles to the north of the town of Patras, in the middle between them is a port called Laia.

Patras was first called Aroe, then Patra, and being made a Roman colony by Augustus, it had the name of Colonia Augusta Aroe Patrensis, and so it is styled on the coins of the city: the reverse being a man ploughing with a yoke of oxen. It had its second name from Pater, son of Preuges, who made great improvements in the city, and there are medals with his head and name, and the same reverse as the others. Augustus sent to Patra many of those who assisted him in gaining the victory of Actium. There were several temples in this city, and one near it to Diana Triclasia, with a grove, to whom a young man and virgin were yearly sacrificed, in expiation of the crime of two young persons, who, in the time of Diana, married against the will of their parents. The city is at the south-west foot of the hill of the castle, on which it is supposed the first antient city was built; it is about a quarter of a mile from the sea, and more than a mile in circumference. There are some small ruins, probably of a Circus, which on one side seem to have had the advantage of a rising ground for the seats; and across a bed of a torrent to the east of the castle are remains of two aqueducts, the southern one is built of very thick walls of brick, and is entirely destroyed, the other is standing, consisting of two tier of arches one over another. Near the sea there is a large uninhabited convent, where, they say, they have the body of St. Andrew in a stone tomb, to which they pay great devotion, and shew a little cell near the church, which is half under ground, where, they say, the Apostle lived, who converted these people to Christianity, and was martyred here at a place they pretend to shew on a raised stone work about thirty feet square, which seems to be the crown of an arch that is under ground. They have here an archbishop and twelve parish churches, to each of which there belong about eighty Christian families; and there are four other churches. There are about two hundred and fifty Turkish families, who are not the best sort of people, and the others of that profession in the Morea may be ranked with them; there are about ten families of Jews. The air of this place is exceedingly unhealthy in the summer, as it is almost all round the Morea, except that on the eastern side it is not so bad; but Patras and Corinth are most remarkable for bad air, insomuch that labourers will not live here in summer, but come from abroad, and stay during the winter months. There is a fine plain to the south of the town covered with olive trees; the fruit of which produce only a thin oil fit for clothiers, and is sent to France. They also export silk; and from the ports near, especially in the gulph, they carry a great quantity of corn to Christendom, though it is prohibited. They have also tobacco for their own consumption, but about the gulph there is a strong sort used for snuff, and exported for that purpose.

They have here many gardens of oranges, lemons, and citrons; and the town and country are well supplied with all sorts of goods by the shops which are in this city. The English consul-general of the Morea resides in this city, but the French consul lives in Modon, and has a vice-consul here. The Venetians and Dutch also have their consuls, it being a road where many ships come to anchor, especially those which trade into the gulph, and to some ports near. Patras is reckoned twenty leagues from Cephalonia, thirty from Zanth, and forty from Corfu, from which island to Otranto in Italy it is near as many more, though from the nearest point it is computed only twenty leagues, which is the short passage they make from Patras and Corfu with their row boats.

To the south of Patras, at a distance from the sea, was Pharæ, which might be at Saravalle about a league from Patras under the mountains, where there is an old castle. Further to the south was the river Pirus, which probably is the Lefca that waters the plain. To the south of this was Olenus, founded by Olenus, son of Vulcan, which is supposed to be Caminitza, about twelve miles from Patras; it is said to have been near the river Melas, which must be the river Caminitza. Beyond this there is a cape of low land, which extends a great way into the sea, making two heads, one stretching to the north-west, and is called cape Baba; the other extends further to the west, and has the name of cape Chiarenza, where there is no town or village, only a custom house; this is supposed to be cape Araxus: on the south side of this cape towards the east, there is a ruined place, called by the Greeks old Achæa; this seems to be Dyme, a Roman colony, which was five miles to the north of the Larissus that must be the river Gastounch, on which there is a town of that name: this river was the bounds between Achaia and Elis, as the Alpheus was between this and Messenia, the latter is supposed to be the Orpheo, about thirty miles south of the Gastounch. The poets feign that Alpheus pursuing Arethusa, was turned into this river, Arethusa being metamorphosed into a fountain which ran under ground, and broke out near Syracuse in Sicily; and that the river Alpheus pursued her unmixed through the sea, and joined her at that stream, they also add that any thing put into the Alpheus, appeared at that fountain. This is the river which Hercules is said to have turned, in order to clean the stables of Augeas, king of Elis, which held three thousand oxen, and had not been cleaned in thirty years.

They have wolves, jackals, and some linxes on the mountains of the Morea. It is computed that this country has in it about a hundred thousand Christians, seventy thousand having been sold when the Turks took it from the Venetians, who held it only twenty-five years; it then flourished more in people, being now thinly inhabited, though at present it has rather the advantage in a free trade, the Venetians not having permitted any thing to be exported but to Venice; whereas it would rather seem to have been more politic to have given a new conquered country all the advantages of a free trade.

The part of the Morea called Maina, from a town of that name, is divided into the upper and lower, from which the inhabitants have the name of Maniots, living among those inaccessible mountains, which are the antient mount Taygetus, where they have always preserved their liberty. To each part they have a captain or head, and these are generally at war with one another, and sometimes a pretender sets up, and causes a civil war. The upper Maina is to the west of the river Eurotas; the inhabitants of this part are the more savage people, and come little abroad; those of the lower Maina to the east, extending to the gulph of Coron, and near to Calamita are more civilized, go abroad to Calamita, and pay only a small poll tax when they

are caught out, but the people dare not injure them. Their country produces nothing but wood, and all their export is of the large acorn, with its cup, which is sent to Italy for tanning; so they go into the neighbouring parts, and labour the land for a proportion of the produce, and will pay nothing to the grand signior. It is said that any one recommended to their captain might travel in those parts very securely.

CHAP. XIV. — *Of the island of Cephalenia.*

AT Patras I embarked for Messina in Sicily on the twentieth of October, and we were obliged by contrary winds to put into the port of Argostoli on the south side of Cephalenia. This island is called by Homer Samos and Same; it is computed to be a hundred and seventy miles in circumference, and is about three or four leagues to the north of Zanth. C. Antonius returning from exile came to this island, and began to build a city; but was recalled before it was finished. Marcus Fulvius, after he had conquered the Ætolians, took this island; the city of Same sustaining a siege of four months. Cephalenia was given to the Venetians in One thousand two hundred and twenty-four; it was taken by the Turks in One thousand four hundred and seventy-nine, and retaken in One thousand four hundred and ninety-nine; it has in it about sixty villages. Samè was to the east of the island, and was destroyed by the Romans; afterwards there was a town there called Cephalenia. To the north is the port Fiscardo, and to the south a very fine harbour called Argostoli: at the further end of it is a town of the same name, which is the capital of the island. The antient city Cranium was situated about this place; to the north of it is a castle on a high hill, and a village round about it: this hill, if I mistake not, is called mount Gargasso, on which there were some remains of a temple of Jupiter; it may be the old mount Ænus, where there was a temple built to Jupiter Ænefius: at the north-west end of the harbour is the town of Lixairi: there is another port to the west called Valle de Alefiandro. This island is governed in the same manner as Zant, by a proveditore, and two consilieri, who sit with him, and have votes in hearing causes, all three being noble Venetians; they have two or three Greek syndics on the part of the people, to take care that the antient laws of the island are observed: in these islands they keep the old style. In Argostoli they have three Roman churches, and one at the castle, and there are two Roman convents in the town: the bishop, who is a suffragan of the archbishop of Corfu, resides at Zant; they are Greeks in all the other parts of the island. Cephalenia is well peopled and improved, considering that it is a rocky and mountainous island: this improvement consists chiefly in vineyards and currant gardens; the currant trees are a small sort of vine, they export a great quantity, and the fruit grows like grapes; they make a small quantity of very rich wine of this fruit, which has its name from being the grape of Corinth; the best, which are the smallest, are of Zanth, but they have them about Patras, and all up the gulph. The state of this island is very miserable, for it is divided into two great parties under Count Metakfas, and the family Anino, who judge in all affairs of their clients by force of arms, so that often the whole island is under arms, it being the great aim of each party to destroy the other. Another powerful family is the Coriphani, his ancestor was a fugitive from Naples, and with which soever side he joins, that party is sure to be the stronger; there are besides these other families of condition, which take part on one side or other, and they are all descended from fugitives, so that the whole island is full of

very bad people; and the Venetian governors find their account in these divisions. A story they have invented will give some idea of the character of these people, as well as some others: they say that the Creator, when he made the earth, threw all the rubbish here; and that there being three notorious rogues he sent one to this island, another to St. Maura, and the third to Maina. We came into the port of Argostoli on the twenty-second, and went to the town; I desired to be ashore as one performing quarantine, and with a little money I might have obtained it, on the condition of being a prisoner with any one they should please to name, to whom I should have been sure of being a prey, and in whose house I must have remained, and could never have gone out without him, and consequently should not have been in a very agreeable situation; so I chose to remain on board the ship, and we set sail again on the seventh of November.

CHAP. XV. — *A Voyage from Leghorn to Alexandria in Egypt.*

HAVING made some observations in my voyage from Leghorn to Alexandria, I thought it might not be disagreeable to the reader to see them in this place. On the seventh of September, One thousand seven hundred thirty-seven, we sailed out of the road of Leghorn on board an English ship bound to Alexandria in Egypt. This sea is now called the Tuscan sea, lying between Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and part of Italy, to the south of the republic of Genoa, the ancient Liguria.

We sailed about two leagues from the island of Gorgona, which is like a high rocky mountain, the cliffs of which are almost perpendicular all round, except in one place to the east, where they have a small port called Gorgona, which is the only entrance to the island, being a shelter for small fishing boats. Over this port the grand duke has a fortress with about twenty soldiers in it, who, by their situation are capable of hindering the landing of a considerable body of men; some fishermen live at this port, who chiefly are employed in catching anchovies.

We afterwards sailed to the east of the island of Capraia, the Capraria of Pliny. This island is about two leagues long, and one broad, being mountainous and rocky. We had a plain view of the only town in it of the same name of the island, which is situated on the high ground over the sea to the east; to the south of it is a large castle on a rock, and the town extends to the north to a small bay, on which there is a fishing village; the chief support of this island being a trade in fish, which they carry to Leghorn. There is a Franciscan convent in the town, which belongs to the province of Corsica; this island being subject to the Genoese.

We afterwards passed by the island of Elba, the Ilva of the ancients; it is about five leagues long, and three broad. Pliny says it was a hundred miles round in circumference, of which it may not fall much short, if measured round by the bays and creeks, of which there are a great number. The north part of this island, with the port of Ferraro, and a castle called Cosmopoli, belongs to the grand duke of Tuscany. The south part (except Porto Longone, which belongs to the king of Sicily, and all about it within cannon shot of the fortress) is subject to the duke of Piombino; in the territory of the latter, the iron ore is found; and they say, that having cleared the mines entirely of the ore, after leaving them about thirty years they find iron ore in them again, which perhaps gave rise to what Virgil says of it:

Ilva

Insula inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis.

And

And this also may be the reason of what Pliny affirms, that there had been more iron dug out of it in three thousand years than the whole island would contain: it is a very remarkable passage, "*Unde per tria annorum millia plus esset ferri egestum, quam tota contineret insula.*" They have a vulgar notion that the iron cannot be melted here, which possibly may be owing to what Strabo says of *Æthalia*, which some have thought to be *Elba*; he affirms they could not melt the iron on the spot, but carried the ore immediately to the continent; and therefore some think there is a quality in the air which hinders the ore from melting or running; but it is more probable that they had not the conveniency of wood for their foundery in so small an island.

Three leagues to the south-west of *Elba* we saw the flat island of *Planosa*, called by the Romans *Planasia*: the land of it is so low, that it cannot be seen further than the distance of four or five leagues. I was informed that ruins of houses and castles are seen on it from the sea, when they sail near it; that fishermen and others go there in the day-time, but that it is not inhabited for fear of the Corsairs; this island belongs to the duke of *Piombino*.

Four leagues south of *Elba* we saw the island of *Monte Christo*, which appears like one high mountain; it is now uninhabited, and I have many reasons to think that it is *Æthalia* of Strabo, which has so much puzzled the geographers; many of them having conjectured that it was *Elba*; but as Strabo himself was at *Populonium* on the promontory of *Piombino*, and saw all the islands of this sea from that place, we cannot suppose he could be mistaken; and in another part he mentions both *Ilva* and *Æthalia*, so that it cannot be *Elba*; he also makes *Æthalia* equally distant from *Corfica* and *Populonium*, that is three hundred stadia or thirty-seven miles and a half, and *Monte Christo* answers exactly, measuring on the sea charts about twelve leagues or thirty-six miles for each. There is also no other island on that side of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, except *Capraia*, which can be seen from *Populonium*; and *Monte Christo* being so near *Elba*, is most likely to partake of the nature of the soil of it, producing iron ore in the same manner, which might grow again in the pits; the knowledge of which may be lost by reason that the island is now uninhabited. Strabo mentions the port *Argous* in this island, which he observes (according to fabulous history) was said to be so called from *Jason's* touching there with the ship *Argos*, when he was in search of the habitation of *Circe*; *Medea*, as they say, being desirous to see that goddess.

Three leagues west of *Monte Argentato* in Italy we saw the island of *Giglio*, called by the Romans, *Idilium*, *Ægilium*, and *Iginium*; we could but just see the flat island of *Gjanuti*, four miles south-west of *Giglio*, thought to be *Dianium* of Pliny, called by the Greeks *Artemisia* and *Artemita*. We had for a considerable time a sight of the island of *Corfica*, and a plain view of the town of *Bastia*, on the flat shore on the east side of it. We were several days east of *Sardinia*; having often a sight of that island, as we were frequently becalmed, and sometimes had contrary winds; so that we did not see *Sicily* till the thirteenth day from the time we set sail, though the voyage in other respects was by no means unpleasant, as we had very fine weather.

We did not sail a great way from the most western of the *Liparæ* islands, called *Ustica*, which I take to be the island *Euonymus* of Strabo; to agree with whose description of it, the old geographers in their maps have made an island south-east of the others, and called it *Euonymus*; because Strabo says, that it is the farthest to the left sailing from the isle of *Lipara* to *Sicily*, and that on this account it had its name: but

but for reasons I shall mention, I apprehend that Strabo meant it was on the left, sailing from Sicily to the isle of Lipara; for, he says, this island is farther out in the sea than any of them, which could not be properly said of an island to the south-east of the others, because that would be nearer to the land both of Italy and Sicily; and if it were not for this objection, it might be an island called Volcanello, to the south-east of Volcano, at a very little distance from it; which is a very small island, that has a smouldering Volcano; the other Volcano breaking out in flames. I must observe, that all the maps, especially those of the old geographers, are very false with regard to these islands; and I find the sea charts are most to be depended on for the number and situation of them; though I observed that De Lisle's map only is right in making two Volcano islands, one larger than the other; who, notwithstanding, if I am rightly informed, is mistaken in placing the little one to the north, which ought to be to the south-east. I could not but please myself with the imagination that I was near the place where the Romans, at the Lipare islands, gained their first sea victory, in a most signal engagement with the Carthaginians, under the conduct of the consul Duilius; who was not only honoured for it in a solemn manner, but had a sort of triumph decreed him during his whole life, and the famous Columna Rostrata was erected to his honour, which is now to be seen in Rome with a long inscription on it, and is one of the greatest and most curious pieces of antiquity remaining; being about two thousand years old.

I saw cape Gallo, which is very near the port of Palermo, and falling in with the west of Sicily, we sailed between the islands called by the ancients *Ægates*; though in all the maps we see particular names given them by the old geographers, yet I cannot find that the old names of these three islands are certainly known; that to the north-east opposite to Trapano, from which it is ten miles distant, is now called Levanzo; south of it is the island Favagnana, which is ten miles in circumference: it is a fine fertile spot of ground, being mostly a flat, with a high hill towards the north side, on which there are three castles garrisoned by the king of Sicily; in one of which the governor resides. This place was a great refuge for the Corsairs; and they frequently came out from it, and infested the seas till Charles the fifth carried his arms into Africa. The third island, thirty miles west of Trapano, is called Maritimo; it appears like a high mountain; to the north-east of it is a rocky promontory, which is a peninsula, and much lower than the rest of the island; on which there is a castle built, where they keep a garrison: the islands called *Ægates* are famous for a second signal victory by sea which the Romans obtained over the Carthaginians under the command of the consul Lutatius Catulus; concerning which the historian says, that after the battle the whole sea between Sicily and Sardinia was covered with the wreck and ruins of the enemies fleet; and this total defeat put an end to the first Punic war.

The mountain of Trapano is one of the first things that strikes the eye to the west of Sicily, on the top of it is a castle; and at the foot of this hill to the west is a flat point of land which stretches into the sea, and the city of Trapano stands there, on the spot where the ancient Drepanum was situated: this is called by Virgil *Illectabilis ora*, because here *Æneas* lost his father Anchises, and after his return from Carthage, he celebrated divine honours to his memory in this place. This city is remarkable for actions in the Punic wars, as well as the small island of *Columbaria* opposite to it. The mountain of Trapano to the west is mount Eryx, so famous for the worship of Venus, who on this account was called *Venus Erycina*. Virgil makes the temple of this goddess

goddeſs to be built by Æneas and his followers, when he was about to leave behind him the women, and infirm people to ſettle on the iſland :

*Tum vicina aſtris Erycino in vertice ſedes
Fundatur Veneri Idaliæ.*

Strabo ſays, that the town on the top of the hill was originally inhabited by women dedicated to the goddeſs by foreign nations, as well as by the Sicilians; but that in his time it was inhabited by men, and the temple was ſerved by prieſts, who lived in great poverty; the place not being then frequented: he adds that the Romans built a temple to this goddeſs at Rome without the Porta Collina, called the temple of Venus Erycina; ſo that probably the devotion was removed to that place.

To the ſouth of Trapano I had a plain view of the city of Marſala, built where Lilybæum ſtood, which was the port where they uſually embarked for Carthage: the promontory and town alſo are often mentioned in hiſtory, eſpecially that of the Punic wars: it is ſaid the port was deſtroyed by the Romans, in order to hinder the convenient paſſage of the Carthaginians to and from the port, in caſe they ſhould afterwards recover it; and it was entirely filled up again by Don John of Auſtria in One thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſeven. Auguſtus brought a colony to this town. The ſea-coaſt being ſhoally it answers in that reſpect very well to the deſcription of Virgil in this verſe,

Et vada dura lego ſaxis Lilybeia cæcis.

I ſaw between Sicily and Africa the iſland of Pantelera, which was called Coſyra by the Romans, and by Strabo Coſſura; who ſays it was equally diſtant from Lilybæum, and the city of Aſpis, or Clupea of the Carthaginians; it is confirmed to be that iſland from the name of Coſra which the inhabitants of Africa now give it in the Arabic language: it belongs to Sicily, and is made uſe of as a place of baniſhment. To the ſouth-eaſt of this is the iſland of Limoſa, and a few leagues ſouth of that, a larger iſland called Lampidoſa, which did belong to a Chriſtian hermit, and a Marabut or Turkiſh hermit, and ſerved as a place both for Chriſtians and Turks to take in proviſions, with an agreement that neither of them ſhould ſuffer from thoſe of the different religion. The Marabut dying not long ago, the Mahometan Corſairs ſeized on what was on the iſland, and carried the Chriſtian away captive, of which great complaint was made by the French conſul who demanded the captive.

Strabo in three places mentions the iſle Ægimurus together with Coſſura; in one particularly, ſpeaking of the ſeveral ſmall iſlands in general as near Coſſura and Sicily, he only mentions Ægimurus in particular, and therefore probably it was the largeſt of them. The three iſlands which are near Pantelera or Coſyra, are Semetto, Limoſa, and Lampidoſa; and the laſt being much the largeſt, probably it is Ægimurus. On this iſland, in the firſt Punic war, the Carthaginian fleet was ſhipwrecked in the conſulſhip of Fabius Buteo.

We thought we ſaw cape Bona, which is the north-eaſt promontory of the great bay of Carthage. The ſea to the ſouth of Sicily was called by the antients the Libyan or African ſea, and comprehended that part of the Mediterranean, which is on the coaſt of Africa, from the entrance into this ſea at the pillars of Hercules, or the ſtreights of Gibraltar, to the eaſt bounds of Cyrenaica, where the Egyptian ſea begun. This is now commonly called the ſea of Barbary along the Afric coaſt, and on the ſide of Sicily the ſea goes by the name of the channel of Malta.

When

When we approached Sicily I found we were sailing along the same coast by which Æneas made his voyage; and as I had a view of the cities and places on the shore, I could not but observe the justice and poetical beauties of the descriptions of the great master of the Latin Epic poetry.

As soon as we had doubled the south-west point of Sicily we saw the city of Mazza, the antient Mazara, from which one third part of Sicily is now called Valle di Mazara: some way to the east of it was the famous city of Selinus, which was destroyed before Strabo's time. The poet makes mention of it as abounding in palm trees:

Teque datis linquo ventis palmosa Selinus.

We afterwards had a very plain view of the city of Xiacca on the side of a high ground. Sailing on I saw the city of Girgenti on the side of a hill, being built up to the top of it; this town is about four miles from the sea, and is the antient city of Agrigentum, where the tyrant Phalaris resided. This city remained when most of the other towns on the south of Sicily were destroyed in the Carthaginian wars: it was first a colony of Ionians; and afterwards a colony was brought to it from the cities of Sicily by T. Manlius the Prætor. Under the Greek name Acragas Virgil describes its eminent situation, as well as mentions its having been formerly famous for a fine breed of horses:

*Arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe
Mœnia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum.*

At the same time I had a plain view of mount Ætna, which now among the vulgar goes by the name of mount Gibello, and is seen almost all along the south and east coasts of Sicily: I discerned a very little smoke ascending from the top of it. This mountain, so famous among the antients, is very beautifully described by Virgil, as seen by Æneas from the coasts of the Cyclops about Catana, where Ulysses had put in not long before, and where both those heroes, according to the fictions of the poet, met with such extraordinary adventures in relation to Polyphemus. I soon afterwards saw cape Leocate at the mouth of the river Salso, the antient Himera, near which there was a castle called Phalarium, where it is said the brazen bull was kept: there is also a river called Rocella, which runs into the sea to the north of Sicily, the source of which is near the fountains of Salso, and the Rocella was formerly also called the Himera, which gave occasion to the antients to make a very extraordinary story, affirming that these two rivers were one, and called Himera, and that part of the river run north, and the other part south, and that in some places the water was fresh, and in others salt; of which Vitruvius gives the true cause, that one part of this river, or rather one of these rivers passed through places where they dug salt; for in the middle of the island, about the source of the river Salso, there are mines of rock salt, which probably is the reason of the modern name of this river.

Further to the east I saw a city called Terra Nova, near a river of the same name; this is supposed to be Gela, which had its name also from the river, as is mentioned by the poet:

*Apparet Camarina procul, campique Geloi,
Immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.*

There is but one city more mentioned by Virgil on the south side of Sicily, which was in ruins in Strabo's time: the place where it stood is now called Camarana, the old name of the city being Camarina, a colony of the Syracusans.

We had a sight of Malta at a great distance, and at length came up with *cape Passaro* the old promontory of *Pachynum*; as it is a peninsula, and the land very low to the west of it, so it appears at a distance like an island, with a castle built on it, in order to hinder ships from going into the port, to lay in wait for other vessels. The ground off this cape is very foul, and ships cannot come to anchor there without danger of cutting their cables, so that it answers very well to the poet's description of it:

Hinc altas cautes, projectaque saxa Pachyni
Radimus.

Over this cape we saw the high lands about *Syracuse*.

To the east of Sicily is that sea which was called by the antients, first the *Ausonian* sea, and afterwards the *Sicilian* sea; it extended from the streights of Sicily, now called the *Faro* of *Messina*, to the promontory of *Iapygia* in Italy, to the mouth of the *Adriatic* sea, to the bay *Ambracius* in Greece, and as far as *Crete*, having the *African* sea to the south: I do not find any particular name for this sea at present, but the mariners call all these seas as far as the *Adriatic*, by the general name of the *Mediterranean*, as they call the seas farther to the east the *Levant*.

We lost sight of Sicily on the twenty-first of September in the evening, and making a great run on the twenty-fourth in the morning we saw to the north of us the high mountains of *Candia*, the antient *Crete*, which is remarkable, as it was the scene of so many fables of the antients.

From *Crete* eastward near to *Cyprus* it was called the *Ægyptian* sea, extending westward on the coast of Africa to *Cyreniaca*, where the *African* sea began.

On the twenty-seventh of September we came in sight of the coast of Africa about *cape Solyman*, in the kingdom of *Barca*, and just on the confines of *Ægypt*, which was that part of *Marmarica* about little *Catabathmus*, where the famous temple of *Jupiter Ammon* was situated, to which *Alexander the great* travelled with so much difficulty to consult the oracle: near it there was a famous fountain of the sun, which, they say, was cold at noon, began to grow warm at night, and was very hot about midnight. The next day we came in sight of the tower of *Arabia*, and the day after saw *Alexandria*; as we approached it we had a very agreeable prospect of the famous column, of the walls of the old city, of the country covered with palm trees, which grow to a great height, rising up above the buildings of the city. And on the twenty-ninth we arrived in the port of *Alexandria*, after a very pleasant and agreeable voyage of twenty-three days.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

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